UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 01138932 7

HANDBOUND
AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO PRESS


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
University of Toronto

http://archive.org/details/studyofacadianfr00gedd

PC
4229335

69

7959 I

STUDY

OF

AN ACADIAN-FRENCH DIALECT

SPOKEN ON

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE BAIE-DES-CHALEURS

BY

JAMES GEDDES, JR., PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES IN BOSTON UNIVERSITY

"Les patois présentent à l'étude des sons, des formes, des mots, des phrases: chaque partie de cet organisme doit être soigneusement étudiée."

GASTON PARIS, *Les parlers de France, Bulletin*, no. 1, p. 12, July 1893.

12466
12/11/12

HALLE A. S.
MAX NIEMEYER, PUBLISHER
1908

PC
3642
C3G4

Préface.

Dans l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord, le chapitre du Canada est assurément des plus intéressants. Aussi n'a-t-on jamais traité de l'histoire canadienne sans éveiller la plus curieuse et la plus constante attention. Témoins, ces deux pionniers, Garneau en français, Parkman en anglais: leurs histoires ont été suivies de beaucoup d'autres; elles n'ont cependant pas cessé d'exciter l'intérêt et resteront longtemps encore la base de toutes les recherches sur le Canada.

De même que l'histoire, la langue française au Canada a été, bien qu'en un moindre degré, un sujet de beaucoup d'intérêt. Pourtant ce n'est guère que depuis trente ans qu'on a commencé à faire des recherches sérieuses dans ce domaine. Avant 1880, on se bornait à constater la prononciation de la langue parlée et à corriger les mots mal prononcés ou les expressions fautives, dont l'usage était le plus répandu au Canada. Les voyageurs manquaient rarement d'effleurer ce sujet de la langue. Ils se demandaient bien des fois si l'idiome des Canadiens français était un dialecte de quelque province de la mère patrie, ou une espèce de français corrompu.

On avait pu constater d'une façon générale qu'il y avait deux variétés du parler français au Canada: le français des Canadiens et le français des Acadiens. Mais on ne s'était pas avancé assez loin dans les recherches pour déterminer d'une manière claire et précise si les deux variétés avaient la même origine ou si elles sortaient de souches différentes. Les premières tentatives sérieuses, faites par Oscar Dunn, furent couronnées par l'apparition en 1880 du *Glossaire franco-canadien,* qui fit date dans l'histoire des recherches linguistiques au Canada. Ce petit livre, chef-d'œuvre en son genre, est devenu le modèle des ouvrages analogues qui ont suivi. La première livraison, la seule qui ait paru, du *Dictionnaire des locutions vicieuses du Canada* de J.-A. Manseau, était aussi pleine de promesses. Ces deux manuels indiquaient déjà qu'on avait droit d'attendre des recherches auxquelles le public commençait à s'intéresser, des résultats encore plus importants et plus intéressants. C'est le *Bulletin du parler français au Canada* qui a eu le privilège de réaliser ce bel espoir.

Cette Étude du parler français de Carleton, province de Québec, a été entreprise en pleine connaissance de ces conditions, il y a dix-huit ans. Les faits linguistiques furent recueillis en grande partie pendant l'été de 1890. Depuis lors, des observations faites au cours de plusieurs voyages au Canada et la lecture des

ouvrages canadiens nous ont permis d'augmenter le nombre des nos témoignages et de les présenter dans un ordre logique. Les sons du parler de Carleton ont été notés au moyen d'un système facile de transcription phonétique. M. E.-S. Sheldon, professeur de philologie romane à l'université Harvard, s'en était déjà servi pour signaler quelques traits phonétiques du parler français de Waterville, Maine, États-Unis. Ses observations parurent en 1887 dans les *Transactions and proceedings of the Modern language association of America.* A l'exception des articles: *Contributions to a history of the French language in Canada,* publiés entre les années 1885-1887 dans l'*American journal of philology,* par le professeur A.-M. Elliott, de l'université Johns Hopkins, on peut dire que le professeur Sheldon a été le premier à traiter ce sujet selon les règles de la science moderne.

En 1894, le manuscrit original de cette Étude eut le privilège d'être mis sur les rayons de la bibliothèque de l'université Harvard, où il est resté sept ans. Il aurait pu y rester bien plus longtemps encore si les progrès de la phonétique n'avaient fait penser que sa publication pourrait être de quelque utilité: 1° En faisant connaître les résultats de l'Étude même. 2° En aidant, par l'emploi du système de notation le mieux connu et le plus usité, au mouvement vers l'unité phonétique, c'est-à-dire vers l'uniformité dans la notation des résultats de toute espèce de recherches dialectales, de telle sorte qu'on ne soit pas obligé d'apprendre un nouveau système chaque fois qu'on désire étudier des faits linguistiques. Cette dernière considération a puissamment contribué à la décision que nous avons prise de faire publier l'ouvrage.

Dans un article: *Observations sur la phonétique française de M. Paul Passy,* dans le premier volume (1888) de *Phonetische Studien,* M. Willem-S. Logeman écrit dans une note (n° 3, au bas de la page): "La confusion lamentable dans les systèmes de signes phonétiques est peut-être le plus grand ennemi de la science de la phonétique." L'auteur de cette Étude croit que cela est indiscutable. Depuis plusieurs années, il fait son possible pour le succès d'un mouvement dont le but est l'adoption d'un système unique de notation pour indiquer la prononciation dans les dictionnaires, les livres de référence ou de textes, surtout dans les livres destinés aux écoles, et dans les travaux dialectologiques. L'essentiel, c'est que le système soit uniforme; car quel qu'il soit et malgré son imperfection reconnue, il rendra forcément de meilleurs services que les innombrables systèmes connus uniquement des inventeurs, qui souvent sont les seuls à s'en servir.[1]

Le système d'abord adopté pour noter les sons du parler de Carleton ressemblait à celui dont se servent MM. Gilliéron et Rousselot et répondait assez bien aux exigences de la phonétique populaire. Mais l'emploi d'un assez grand nombre d'accents au-dessus des symboles mêmes, et parfois au-dessous, rendait la lecture moins facile que dans la notation adoptée par l'Association phonétique internationale. D'ailleurs les progrès

[1] On trouvera un compte rendu des initiatives entreprises par l'université de Boston afin de faire avancer le mouvement vers l'unité phonétique dans les publications suivantes, qu'on peut se procurer en s'adressant au secrétaire de l'Université: 1° *Proposed international phonetic conference* (to adopt a universal alphabet to serve as pronouncing key in dictionaries) *Circular inviting opinions.* 2° *A universal alphabet.* 3° *Simpler spelling.* 4° *L'importance de l'unité phonétique.*

qu'a faits ce dernier système depuis quelques années un peu partout dans le monde nous font croire qu'ils se continueront et qu'ils seront durables. Aussi les avantages de ce système nous paraissent-ils évidents. Nous avons décidé d'adopter ce système. Il nous a donc fallu substituer à la notation adoptée en premier lieu celle de l'Association phonétique internationale.

Trois années s'écoulèrent avant que l'ouvrage parvînt aux mains de l'imprimeur. Pendant ce temps on fit les premières démarches nécessaires pour la publication de l'ouvrage. Enfin, en 1904, grâce à la bienveillance du Dr. Karl Vollmöller, l'Étude était livrée au Dr. Max Niemeyer, publiciste bien connu de Halle, qui chargea son imprimeur, M. Ehrhardt Karras, de l'impression du livre. Pendant trois ans, les diverses séries d'épreuves firent le trajet de Halle à Boston.

Cette Étude n'est pas l'ouvrage d'un seul individu. L'auteur a eu des collaborateurs qui lui ont apporté un concours précieux. Il n'aurait guère été possible de recueillir aussi complètement les traits linguistiques du parler de Carleton sans le concours généreux de l'institutrice, Mlle Elmina Allard. C'est dans la maison de son père, où à plusieurs reprises il passa quelques semaines, que l'auteur de cette Étude a fait les enquêtes les plus fructueuses et obtenu les résultats les plus satisfaisants.

Le manuscrit original passa sous les yeux du professeur Sheldon, qui ne nous a jamais refusé ses conseils. C'est grâce à son expérience et à ses connaissances de la matière que nous devons d'avoir pu faire bien des corrections, éviter des inexactitudes et améliorer sensiblement tout l'ouvrage. C'est aussi par son entremise qu'en 1901 on obtint le privilège d'enlever le manuscrit de la bibliothèque de l'université, afin de le faire publier.

L'expérience démontra qu'il n'était guère possible de faire publier en Amérique un ouvrage qui contenait tant de signes phonétiques, à aussi bon compte qu'en Europe. C'est pour cette raison que l'Étude fut expédiée en Allemagne. C'est alors que fut entreprise la tâche peu légère de transcrire tout l'ouvrage. On ne jugea guère pratique de renvoyer l'Étude à l'auteur en Amérique, pour qu'il en fasse la transcription. On crut plus avantageux de la faire en Allemagne, au fur et à mesure qu'on en faisait l'impression. Pour cela, il fallait un ouvrier imprimeur de première classe, capable de venir à bout d'une pareille entreprise. Heureusement M. Karras trouva un maître ouvrier des plus adroits pour cette tâche délicate. Ce travail considérable de la transcription de tout l'ouvrage du système adopté en premier lieu dans celui de l'Association phonétique internationale, a été entièrement fait par M. Max Rothe. De plus, il a fallu, naturellement, arranger la multitude de références semées partout dans l'ouvrage, les en-tête des pages, les centaines de notes, de manière à ce que la page imprimée corresponde à la page du manuscrit. Cette rude tâche, vrai travail de bénédictin, a été, comme la transcription phonétique, entièrement exécutée, avec une exactitude remarquable, par M. Rothe.

Les premières épreuves de tout l'ouvrage ont été soigneusement parcourues par M. Adjutor Rivard, professeur à l'université Laval et le savant éditeur du *Bulletin du parler français au Canada*. L'avantage d'avoir pu profiter des connaissances et

de l'expérience du premier spécialiste de ce genre de travaux au Canada doit être bien reconnu. M. Rivard n'a épargné ni corrections, ni critiques, ni ses idées personnelles, afin de rendre l'Étude plus exacte, meilleure et plus au courant des dernières recherches. Les nombreuses références qu'on trouve éparpillées partout dans l'ouvrage aux articles de M. Rivard, ainsi qu'à la matière du *BPFC*, sont les meilleurs témoins de la valeur qu'on attache aux efforts des érudits canadiens-français pour jeter de la lumière sur leur propre idiome.

En constatant ces faits, le désir sincère de l'auteur est de montrer qu'il apprécie hautement ce qu'ont fait ses collaborateurs. La simple justice exige qu'ils aient ce qui leur est dû. Sans le secours actif et sympathique de tous ces travailleurs, il n'aurait pas été possible de présenter l'Étude telle qu'elle est.

Si elle réussit à démontrer que le parler français de Carleton n'est que la vieille langue nationale des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles, comme on la retrouve dans les meilleurs écrivains de l'époque, elle aura atteint son but. Si, en outre, et en même temps qu'elle démontre cette vérité, elle fait voir l'avantage capital qu'il y a à indiquer la prononciation des parlers populaires au moyen d'un système bien connu, elle aura tant soit peu contribué à enlever l'entrave la plus formidable aux progrès de la science de la phonétique.

J. G. j^e^

Le 17 juin, 1908.

Contents.

Page

Table of references XI

Abbreviations XVIII

Map XIX

I. Introduction.

II. Phonology.

A. Vowels.

Brief index of sound notation 5

Tabular view of the dialect vowels 6

View of the dialect consonants 6

General observations 7

§ I. *a* as in Fr. *pas* 8

§ II. ∪ = *a* in Fr. *pas* and *a* in Fr. *rat* 9

List 1. ∪ = *a* in Fr. *pas* or *rat*, accented 9

„ 2. ∪ = *a* in Fr. *pas*, accented 11

„ 3. ∪ = *a* in Fr. *pas*, unaccented 12

„ 4. ∪ = *a* in Fr. *pas* or *part*, accented 13

„ 5. ∪ = *a* in Fr. *pas* or *part*, unaccented 14

„ 6. ∪ (*w*∪) = *a* in Fr. *pas* (*bois* = E. "wood") . . . 14

„ 7. Canadian ∪ = *a* in Fr. *pas* or *part* 15

§ III. *a* = *a* in Fr. *rat*, *part* 15

List 8. *a* = *a* in Fr. *rat*, *part*, accented 16

„ 9. *a* = *a* in Fr. *rat*, *part*, unaccented 17

„ 10. *a* = *a* in Fr. *part*, accented 18

„ 11. *a* = *a* in Fr. *part*, unaccented 19

„ 12. Special cases 20

§ III A. *æ* = *a* in Fr. *rat* 23

Page

§ IV. *e* = *e* in Fr. *de* 23

List 13. *e* = Fr. *è*, accented . . . 24

„ 14. *e* = Fr. *è* in suffix *-ière* . 25

„ 15. *e* = Fr. *è* (written *ai*) . . 26

e Special cases 27

§ V. *ɛ* = *e* in Fr. *net* 28

List 16. *ɛ* = *e* in Fr. *net*, accented 28

„ 17. *ɛ* = *è* in Fr. *père*, accented 29

„ 18. *ɛ* = *è* in Fr. *père*, unaccented 30

ɛ Special cases 31

§ VI. *ə* = *e* in Fr. *je*, *me*, *te* 32

List 19. *ə* = *e* in Fr. *je*, *me*, *te* . 32

ə Special cases 33

§ VII. *i* = *i* in Fr. *ni* 34

List 20. *i* = *i* in Fr. *ni*, accented 34

„ 21. *i* = *i* in Fr. *ni*, unaccented 34

§ VIII. *ɪ* as in E. *pin* 34

List 22. *ɪ* as in E. *pin*, accented . 34

ɪ as in E. *pin*, unaccented 35

ɪ Special cases 35

§ IX. *o* = *o* in Fr. *pot* 36

List 23. *o* = *o* in Fr. *pot*, accented 36

„ 24. *o* = *o* in Fr. *pot*, unaccented 37

„ 25. *o* = *o* in Fr. *tort*, accented 37

o Special cases 38

§ X. *ɔ* = *o* in Fr. *tort* 39

List 26. *ɔ* = *o* in Fr. *tort*, accented 40

„ 27. *ɔ* = *o* in Fr. *tort*, unaccented 40

§ X A. *ʌ* = *o* in Fr. *col* 41

List 27 a. *ʌ* = *o* in Fr. *col*, accented 41

Page

§ XI. *o* and *ɤ* 41
List 28. *o* = *eu* in Fr. *peur* . . . 42
„ 29. *o* = *eu* in Fr. *peu* . . . 42
„ 30. *ɤ* = *eu*, closer than in Fr. *peu* 43
„ 31. *o* — Fr. *e* before *r* + pronounced consonant, in unaccented syllables . . 43
o Special cases 44

§ XII. *u* = *ou* in Fr. *tout* 45
List 32. *u* = *ou* in Fr. *tout*, accented 45
„ 33. *u* = *ou* in Fr. *tout*, unaccented 46
„ 34. *u* = *o* in Fr. *fort* or *pot*, accented 46
„ 35. *u* = *o* in Fr. *fort* or *pot*, unaccented 47
„ 36a. *u* = *o* in Fr. *fort* or *pot*, in Cheticamp 49

§ XII A. *ʊ* as in E. *bush* 49
List 36b. *ʊ* as in E. *bush*, accented 49

§ XIII. *y* = *u* in Fr. *lune* 50
List 36. *y* = Fr. *eu* initial in learned words 50
y = Fr. *ui* Special cases 51

§ XIII A. Nasal vowels 52

§ XIII B. *ã* = Fr. *ain, ein, in* 53
List 36A. *ã* = Fr. *in, ein, ain* . 54

§ XIII C. *ɑ̃* = Fr. *on* 54
List 36B. *ɑ̃* = Fr. *on* or rather to my ear *ɛ̃* = Fr. *on* . 55

§ XIII D. *ɛ̃* = Fr. *on, an* or *en* 56
List 36C. *ɛ̃* = Fr. *on, an* or *en* . 56

§ XIII E. *ẽ* = the nasal of Fr. *é* 57
List 36D. *ẽ* = the nasal of Fr. *é* 57

§ XIII F. *ɔ̃* = Fr. *on* 57

§ XIII G. *œ̃* = Fr. *un* 58
Canadian *ɛ̃* = Fr. *un* 58

§ XIV. Diphthongs 58
List 37. *wa* = Fr. *oi*, accented . 59
„ 38. *wa* = Fr. *oi*, accented . 59
§ XV. „ 39. *we* = Fr. *oi*, unaccented 60
§ XVI. „ 40. *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*, accented . 61
„ 41. *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*, unaccented 62
wɛ Special cases 62

Page

§ XVI A. List 42. *we* = Fr. *oy*, unaccented 63
§ XVI B. „ 43. *wɛ* = Fr. *oy*, unaccented 63
§ XVI C. Transitory sounds: *ɛstaty* = Fr. *statue*, etc. 63

B. Consonants.

General observations 65

Labials.

§ XVII. *b* 65
§ XVIII. *p* 67
List 44. *p* = Fr. *b* 67
§ XIX. *v* 68
List 45. Fr. *v* before *oi* unrepresented in the dialect 68
v Special cases 69
§ XX. *f* 70

Dentals.

α. Stops.

§ XXI. *d* 71
List 46. *d* Special cases 71
§ XXII. *t* 72
List 47. A final *t* heard in dialect words where unusual in modern French 73
„ 48. Showing the same feature in Canadian words . . 74
t Special cases 74

β. Sibilants.

§ XXIII. *s* 76
List 49. *s* = Fr. *ch*, *ʃ* = Fr. *s* . 77
„ 50. *s* = Fr. *x* 77
„ 51. *s* final heard in certain words where not final in French as in *artɪs* = Fr. *artiste* 78
s Special cases 78
§ XXIV. *z* 79
z Special cases 79
§ XXV. *ʃ* = Fr. *ch* 80
ʃ Special cases 80
§ XXVI. *ʒ* 80
List 52. *ʒ* = Fr. *ch* 81
ʒ Special cases 81

Page

Palatals.

§ XXVII. *g* 82
List 53. *g* = Fr. *k* 82
g Special cases 83
§ XXVIII. *k* 84
k Fr. *g*. Special cases 1° . 84
k Special cases 2° 85
§ XXIX. List 53a. *c* = Fr. *k* before front vowels 86
§ XXX. „ 54. *c* = Fr. *t* + *i* + vowel 86
§ XXXI. *j* = Fr. medial *ill* or *ille* final 87
List 55. *j* = Fr. *d* before *i* . . 88
„ 56. *j* = Fr. *gu* before *e, eu, i* 88
j Special cases 89

Liquids.

§ XXXII. *l* 90
l Special cases 90
§ XXXIII. *r* 92
List 57. *ər* = Fr. *re* 93
„ 58. *ər* = Fr. *r* + other vowels than *e* 94
„ 59. *or* = Fr. *re* (Bonaventure) 94
§ XXXIV. „ 60. *r* = Fr. *eur* 95
„ 61. *r* or *rr* = Fr. *eur* . . 95
„ 62. *we* = Fr. *-oir* 96
„ 63. *r* = Fr. *l* 97
r Special cases 97
Cases of Fr. *r* unrepresented . 98

Nasal consonants.

§ XXXV. *m* 99
m Special cases 99
§ XXXVI. *n* 100
n Special cases 100
§ XXXVII. *ɲ* 101
List 64. *ɲ* = Fr. *n* + cons. *i* 101
ɲ Special cases 102

Aspirates.

§ XXXVIII. List 65. *h* = Fr. *h* in *hache* . 102
§ XXXIX. List 66. *x* = Fr. *ʒ* and *ſ* . . 103

III. Morphology.

§ XL. General remarks 105
§ XLI. The definite article 105

Page

§ XLII. The indefinite article 107
§ XLIII. The noun 107
List 67. Nouns used as feminine in the dialect, being masculine in modern French 107
„ 68. Nouns used as masculine in the dialect, being feminine in modern Fr. 109
„ 69. Nouns in *al*, plural the same 110
§ XLIV. The adjective 111
List 70. Adjectives ending in *f* remain invariable in the feminine 111
„ 71. Adjectives ending in *t*, where no corresponding *t* is usually sounded in modern French 112
§ XLV. The numerals 113
§ XLVI. The pronoun. Weak personal forms 115
§ XLVII. Strong forms 120
§ XLVIII. Possessives. Weak forms . . . 122
Strong forms 123
§ XLIX. Demonstratives. Weak forms . 123
Strong forms 124
Canadian strong forms 126
§ L. Interrogatives 127
§ LI. Relatives 128
§ LI(A). Indefinite pronouns 128
§ LII. The verb 129
§ LIII. Auxiliary *awɛːr* 130
Auxiliary *ɛːt* 132
Auxiliary *ale* 134
Auxiliary *fɛːr* 136
§ LIV. General view of the dialect verb-endings 137
§ LV. Verbs of the first class, infinitive in *e* 138
List 72. Special cases 140
§ LVI. Verbs of the second class, infinitive in *-iːr* 142
§ LVII. Verbs of the third class 149
1°. Infinitive ending in a consonant other than *r* . . . 149
List 72(A) 150
2°. Infinitive in *r* preceded by a vowel, (but not *i*) . . . 154
List 73 155

Page

§ LVIII. Exclamatory, negative, and interrogative forms 160
The passive verb 161
Pronominal verbs 161
Neuter verbs 161
Impersonal verbs 162
§ LIX. Adverbs 163
§ LX. Prepositions 169
§ LXI. Conjunctions 172
§ LXII. Interjections 174

IV. Phraseology.

§ LXIII. Acadianisms 175
§ LXIV. Commonest family names . . . 219
§ LXV. Christian names 220
§ LXVI. Anglicisms 226
§ LXVII. Indian words 254

V. Results of the Study.

List 74. Sporadic cases 263
„ 75. Picard 264
„ 76. Norman 265
„ 77. Center of France 266
„ 78. Saintonge 269
„ 79. Paris and neighborhood 271
„ 80. XVIth century French 275

Table of names and titles 280

Word index 289

Corrections 315

Table of references.

(Giving titles in full of works referred to.)

Adam, L., *Les patois lorrains.* Paris, 1881.

Agnel, E., *Observations sur la prononciation et le langage rustique des environs de Paris.* Paris, 1855.

Aim and principles of the International phonetic association. Bourg-la-Reine, Seine, France, 1904.

American journal of philology. Baltimore, since 1880.

American notes and queries. Philadelphia, since 1888.

Araujo, F., *Recherches sur la phonétique espagnole,* in *Phonetische Studien,* I. Band, 1890, S. 399.

Bartsch, K., *Chrestomathie de l'ancien Français.* Leipzig, 1884.

Behrens, D., *Unorganische Lautvertretung innerhalb der formalen Entwicklung des französischen Verbalstammes,* in *Französische Studien,* Bd. III, 1882, p. 19.

Benjamin, S. G. W., *The cruise of the Alice May,* March, 1884, pp. 719-734, *Century magazine.* An illustrated description of life, manners, and customs in the French towns about the Baie des Chaleurs.

Bernardin de St. Pierre, *Paul et Virginie.* Hachette, Paris, London, Boston, 1883.

Bescherelle aîné, *L'art de conjuguer.* Paris, about 1878.

Beyer, F., *Französische Phonetik.* Cöthen, 1888.

Beyer, F., und Passy, P., *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Französisch.* Cöthen, 1893.

Beza, T., *De francicae linguae recta pronuntiatione.* Genevae, 1584. Reprinted by Tobler, Berlin, 1868.

Bibaud, M., *Le mémorial des vicissitudes et des progrès de la langue française au Canada.* Montréal, 1879.

Bourciez, E., *Précis de phonétique française.* Paris, 1889.

Bridel, D., *Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande.* Lausanne, 1866.

Brunot, F., *Précis de grammaire historique de la langue française.* Paris, 1887.

Buies, A., *Anglicismes et canadianismes.* Québec, 1888.

Caron, M. l'abbé N., *Petit vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadiens français.* Trois-Rivières, 1880.

Casgrain, M. l'abbé H. R., *Un pèlerinage au pays d'Évangéline.* Québec, 1887.

Cauvet, A., *La prononciation française et la diction.* 10e édition. Paris, 1889.

Chabaneau, C., *Histoire et théorie de la conjugaison française.* Paris, 1878.

Chamberlain, A. F., *Notes on the Canadian French dialect of Granby, P. Q.,* in *Mod. lang. notes,* vol. VII, pp. 12-14, Jan. 1892. Baltimore, Md.

Chamberlain, A. F., *Phonetics* (to same dialect), in *Mod. lang. notes*, vol. VIII, pp. 16-18, Jan. 1893.

— *Words of Indian origin in the French Canadian dialect and literature.* These articles run *passim* thruout vol. I, 1888, and II, 1889; vol. IV, 1889, pp. 77-78; in *American notes and queries.*

Chambure, E. de, *Glossaire du Morvan.* Paris, Autun, 1878.

Chartier, E., *La propriété de l'expression. BPFC.,* VI, septembre 1907, pp. 7-17.

Clapin, Sylva, *Dictionnaire canadien-français.* Montréal, Boston, 1894.

Corblet, J., *Glossaire étymologique et comparatif du patois picard.* Paris, 1851.

Darmesteter, A., *La prononique non initiale, non en position,* in *Romania,* tome V, pp. 140-164.

— *A reply to F. Talbert's letter: "De la prononciation de la lettre a au XVIe siècle".* Paris, 1876, in *Romania,* tome V, pp. 394-404.

— *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux dans la langue française et des lois qui la régissent.* Paris, 1877.

Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, *Le seizième siècle en France.* Paris, 1887.

Daudet, A., *La belle Nivernaise.* (Jenkin's edition.) New York, 1887.

Delbouille, A., *Glossaire de la vallée d'Yères (Haut-Normand).* Havre, 1876.

Diez, F., *Grammaire des langues romanes,* 3 vol., traduits par A. Brachet et G. Paris. Paris, 1874.

— *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen.* 5. Ausgabe. Bonn, 1887.

Dottin, Georges, *Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine.* Paris, 1899.

Du Bois, L., *Glossaire du patois normand.* Augmenté par Travers. Caen, 1856.

Dunn, Oscar, *Glossaire franco-canadien et vocabulaire de locutions vicieuses usités au Canada, avec une introduction de* M. Fréchette. Québec, 1880.

Elliott, A. M., *Contributions to a history of the French language of Canada,* in *American journal of philology.* Preliminary: *Historical,* vol. VI, 1885, pp. 135-50. *Speech mixture in French Canada. External influence,* vol. VII, 1886, pp. 141-60. *Ibidem.* A. *Indian and French,* vol. VIII, 1887, pp. 135-57; 338-42. *Ibidem.* B. *English and French,* vol. X, pp. 133-58.

Eveillé, M. A., *Glossaire saintongeais.* Paris, 1887.

Favre, L., *Glossaire du Poitou.* Niort, 1886.

Fortier, A., *Bits of Louisiana Folk-Lore,* in *Transactions and proceedings of the Modern language association of America,* vol. III, 1887, pp. 100-168.

Französische Studien. Heibronn, seit 1881. See Behrens, Göhrlich.

Fréchette, L. H., *Sainte Anne d'Auray et ses environs,* in *Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société royale du Canada,* t. VI, 1888, section I, pp. 77-91.

Gaudy et Lefort, *Glossaire genevois.* Genève, Paris, 1827.

Geddes, J., jr., *American French dialect comparison,* in *Modern language notes.* Paper no. I, vol. VIII, Dec. 1893, pp. 225-230; vol. IX, Jan. 1894, pp. 1-6; Feb. 1894, pp. 50-57; also separately printed. Paper no. II, vol. XIII, Feb. 1898, pp. 44-49; April 1898, pp. 105-112; May 1898, pp. 136-142; also separately printed.

— *Canadian-French. The language and literature of the decade 1890-1900,* in *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie,* herausgegeben von Karl Vollmöller, Bd. V, Heft 2, 1902-3, pp. 294-358; also separately printed. Erlangen (Junge u. Sohn), Paris (J. Gamber), 1902. Bd. VI, 1905, pp. I. 408-I. 429; Bd. VIII, 1906, pp. I. 217-I. 258.

— *A universal alphabet,* in *Neueren Sprachen,* Bd. XIII, Okt. 1905, pp. 349-364.

Gerbié, F., *Les Acadiens. Soirées canadiennes,* t. III, p. 92.

Gingras, J. F., *Manuel des expressions vicieuses les plus fréquentes.* Ottawa, 1867. 3e édition, 1880.

Godefroy, F., *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle.* Paris, 1881-1895.

Göhrlich, E., *Die südwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl,* in *Französische Studien,* III. Band, pp. 41-176.

Grandgagnage, C., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue wallonne.* Liège, 1865.

Grandgent, C. H., *German and English sounds.* Boston, 1892.

— *A short French grammar.* Boston, 1894.

Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von G. Gröber. Strassburg, 1888. See Suchier.

Guerlin de Guer, Ch., *Introduction à l'étude des parlers normands.* Caen, 1896.

— *Le parler populaire dans la Commune de Thaon* (Calvados). Paris, 1901.

Hamilton et Legros, *Dictionnaire international français-anglais.* Paris, Boston, 1888.

Hatzfeld, Darmesteter et Thomas, *Dictionnaire général de la langue française du commencement du XVIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris, sans date. (Publié en fascicules en 1893-4-5.)

Hildreth, Richard, *History of the United States.* 6 vols. New York, 1849-1856.

International French English and English French dictionary; Paul Passy, editorial critic of French pronunciations; George Hempl, editorial critic of English pronunciations. Hinds, Noble, and Eldredge, New York, 1904.

Jaubert, M. le comte H. F., *Glossaire du centre de la France.* Paris, 1864.

Jônain, P., *Dictionnaire du patois saintongeais.* Paris, 1869.

Joret, Ch., *Un signe d'interrogation en Normand,* in *Romania,* tome VI, 1877, p. 133.

Jutras, V. P., *Lexicologie franco-canadienne. La vieille grange,* in *BPFC.,* V, février 1907, pp. 211-217; mars, pp. 265-269. — *L'industrie du sucre d'érable à la Baie-du-Febvre, ib.,* t. II, 1903-1904, *passim.*

Körting, G., *Der Formenbau des französischen Verbums.* Paderborn, 1893.

— *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch.* Paderborn, 1. Auflage 1891; 2. Auflage 1901; 3. Auflage 1907.

Lacasse, Z., *Quelques mots sauvages,* in *BPFC.,* V, octobre 1906, pp. 65-66.

Laflamme, C., *Les noms populaires de quelques plantes canadiennes,* in *BPFC.,* V, janvier 1907, pp. 175-177.

Langelier, J. C., *Esquisse de la Gaspésie.* 2e édition. Québec, 1884.

Larive et Fleury (Petit), *Dictionnaire français encyclopédique.* Paris, 1901.

Legendre, N., *La langue que nous parlons,* in *Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société royale du Canada,* 1887, t. VI, section I, pp. 129-41. Montréal, 1888.

— *La langue française au Canada.* Québec, 1890.

Le Remacle, L., *Dictionnaire wallon-français.* 2e édition. Liège, Leipzig. (without date).

Lesaint, M. A., *Traité complet de la prononciation française dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle.* 3e édition. Halle, 1890.

Lescarbot, M., *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France.* Paris, 1612.

Lévrier, G., *Dictionnaire étymologique du patois poitevin.* Niort, 1867.

Littré, E., *Dictionnaire de la langue française.* (4 vol., Paris, 1889; supplément qui porte la date 1886.)

Livet, Ch. L., *La grammaire française et les grammairiens au XVIe siècle.* Paris, 1859.

Logeman, W. S., *Remarks on Paul Passy's French phonetics,* in *Phonetische Studien,* I. Band. 1888, pp. 170-171.

Logie, T., *Phonology of the patois of Cachy (Somme),* in *Publications of the Modern language association of America,* vol. VII, 1892.

Lusignan, A., *Fautes à corriger, une chaque jour.* Québec, 1890.

Manseau, J. A., *Dictionnaire des locutions vicieuses du Canada avec leur correction, suivi d'un dictionnaire canadien.* 1e livraison, lettre A. Québec, 1881. (This is the only part that has appeared in print.)

Marceau, E., *Notre prononciation,* in *Nouvelles soirées canadiennes,* tome I, 1882, pp. 243-248.

Matzke, J. E., *Mouilliertes l,* in *Publications of the Modern language association of America,* vol. V, 1890, pp. 52-108.

Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société royale du Canada. Montréal, depuis 1883. See Fréchette, Legendre.

Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris. Paris, depuis 1868. See Meyer.

Métivier, G., *Dictionnaire franco-normand.* Londres et Edimbourg, 1870.

Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes.* Traduction française par Eugène Rabiet. 4e éd. Paris, 1890-1906.

Meyer, Paul, *Phonétique française. an* et *en toniques,* in *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris,* t. I, pp. 244, 276.

Michaelis-Passy, *Dictionnaire phonétique de la langue française.* Hannover and Berlin, 1897.

Mignard, Prosper, *Histoire de l'idiome bourguignon et de sa littérature propre ou philologie comparée de cet idiome.* Dijon, 1856.

Modern language notes. Baltimore, since 1886. See Chamberlain, Geddes, Rambeau.

Moisy, H., *Dictionnaire du patois normand.* Caen, 1887.

Molière, *Œuvres.* (Any edition will answer the purpose of reference. That of Louandre, Paris, 1876, has been used.)

Montesson, Royer de, *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine.* Paris, 1858.

Müller, Théodor, *La chanson de Roland.* 2. Auflage. Göttingen, 1878.

Murray, J. A. H., *New English dictionary.* Oxford, 1888-1908.

Neueren Sprachen. Marburg in Hessen, seit 1893. See Geddes.

Nisard, Ch., *Étude sur le langage populaire ou patois de Paris et de sa banlieue.* Paris, 1872.

Orain, A., *Glossaire patois du département d'Ille et Vilaine.* Paris, 1886.

Palsgrave, J., *L'esclaircissement de la langue francoyse.* Londres, 1530. (Reprinted by Génin in the *Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France,* 1852, in-4°.)

Paradis, P. J., *Notre langage commercial,* in *BPFC.,* V, février 1907, pp. 201-210.

Paris, G., *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland.* 3e éd. 1891; 4e éd. 1893; 7e éd. 1903, Paris.

— *Phonétique française; o fermé,* in *Romania,* X, 1881, pp. 36-62.

— *Romania, passim*; see Index.

— et L. Pannier, *La vie de saint Alexis.* Paris, 1887.

Parkman, F., *The pioneers of France in the new world.* Boston, 1865.

Passy, P., *Étude sur les changements phonétiques et leurs caractères généraux.* Paris, 1890.

Passy, P., *Kurze Darstellung des französischen Lautsystems*, in *Phonetische Studien*, 1. Band, 1888, pp. 18-40, 115-130, 246-256.

— *Reply to W. S. Logeman's remarks on Paul Passy's phonetics. Ibidem*, pp. 171-2.

— *Les sons du français.* 2e éd. 1889; 3e éd. 1892; 6e éd. 1906, Paris.

Perrault, J. F., *Questions et réponses sur le droit criminel.* Québec, chez C. Lefrançois, 1814.

Philipon, E., *Le patois de Saint-Genis-les-Ollières*, in *Revue des patois*, t. II, 1888, p. 31, § 33.

Phonetische Studien. Marburg in Hessen, 1888-1893. See Araujo, Logeman, Passy.

Poirier, P., *La langue acadienne*, in *Soirées canadiennes*, t. III, p. 63.

Potier, le père, *Façons de parler des Canadiens au XVIIIe siècle*, in *BPFC*, III, 1904-1905, *passim.*

Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto. Founded in 1849. *Canadian journal*, vol. 1, new series, 1856. There are several series. See Squair.

Publications of the Modern language association of America. Baltimore. Since 1888, known as *Publications*; before that time and from 1884, when vol. I appeared, called *Transactions.* See Fortier, Logie, Matzke, Sheldon.

Puichaud, C., *Dictionnaire du patois du Bas-Gâtinais*, in *Revue de philologie française et provençale*, t. VII, 1893, pp. 19-53; 101-137; 171-190.

Rambeau, A., *Phonetics and the reform method*, I, pp. 161-166; II, pp. 193-199; III. *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Französisch*, pp. 242-243, in *Modern language notes*, vol. VIII, 1893.

Rameau de Saint-Père, *La France aux colonies.* Paris, 1859.

— *Une colonie féodale en Amérique* (2 vol.). Paris et Montréal, 1889.

Reliques scientifiques. 2 vol. Paris, 1890. (A collection of A. Darmesteter's articles.)

Réveillaud, E., *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens français de la découverte jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris, 1884. Appendice pp. 521-42: *La langue et la littérature française au Canada.*

Revue de philologie française et provençale. (Ancienne *Revue des patois.*) Paris, depuis 1890. L. Clédat, éditeur. See Puichaud.

Revue des patois. Paris, 1887-1890. De 1890 à 1897 connu sous le nom de *Revue de philologie française et provençale*; de 1897 à 1908 *Revue de philologie française et de littérature.* L. Clédat, éditeur. See Philipon.

Richard, Edward, *Acadia. Missing links of a lost chapter in American history.* 2 vol. New York and Montreal, 1895.

Rinfret, Raoul, *Dictionnaire de nos fautes contre la langue française.* Montréal, 1896.

Rivard, A., *L'agglutination de l'article*, in *BPFC*, II, mars 1904, pp. 203-206. — *Les dialectes français dans le parler franco-canadien, ib.*, V, septembre 1906, pp. 41-51. — *La francisation des mots anglais dans le franco-canadien, ib.*, V, mars 1907, pp. 252-264. — *L'hiatus dans notre langage populaire, ib.*, I, janvier 1903, pp. 81-85.

— *Manuel de la parole.* Quebec, 1901.

Romania. Paris, depuis 1872. See Darmesteter, Paris, Joret.

Roquefort, J. B. B., *Glossaire de la langue romane.* Paris, 1808.

Sand, George, *La petite Fadette.* Holt's edition. New York, 1865.

Schwan, E., *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen.* 2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1893; 6. Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Dr. Dietrich Behrens, 1903.

Sheldon, E. S., *Some specimens of a Canadian French dialect spoken in Maine.* Deprinted from *Transactions and proceedings of the Modern language association of America,* vol. III, 1887, pp. 210-18.

Sievers, E., *Grundzüge der Phonetik.* 3. Auflage. Leipzig, 1885.

Soames, Laura, *An introduction to phonetics* (English, French and German). London, 1891.

Soirées canadiennes, 5 vol., 1861-1865. *Nouvelles soirées canadiennes,* 7 vol., Québec, 1882-1888. See Gerbié, Marceau, Poirier.

Spiers and Surenne, *French and English pronouncing dictionary.* New York, 1885.

Squair, J., *A contribution to the study of the Franco-Canadian dialect,* in *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute,* vol. VI, section 3, 1888, pp. 161-168. Also separately printed. Toronto, 1888.

Suchier, H., *Altfranzösische Grammatik.* Halle, 1893.

— *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache und ihre Mundarten,* in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie,* Bd. I, 1888, S. 561-668.

— *Le Français et le Provençal,* traduction française de l'article de Suchier, par P. Monet. Paris, 1891.

Sulte, B., *La langue française au Canada.* Conférence le 8 juillet 1878, à Worcester, Mass., devant les membres de l'association Montcalm. (See Introduction, p. 1, foot-note 8.)

Sweet, Henry, *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch.* Oxford und Leipzig, 1891.

— *A primer of phonetics.* Oxford, 1890.

Sweetzer, M. F., *The maritime provinces.* Boston. (Revised yearly and on the same plan as the Baedeker guide books.)

Talbert, F., *De la prononciation de la lettre u au XVI^e siècle.* Paris, 1876.

— *Du dialecte blaisois et de sa conformité avec l'ancienne langue et l'ancienne prononciation française.* Paris, 1874.

Tardivel, J. P., *L'anglicisme: voilà l'ennemi.* Québec, 1880.

Thurot, Ch., *De la prononciation française depuis le commencement du XVI^e siècle, d'après les témoignages des grammairiens.* 2 vol. Paris, t. I, 1881; t. II, 1883.

Tobler, A., *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit.* Leipzig, 1883. Also translated into French by K. Breul and L. Sudre with preface by G. Paris: *Le vers français ancien et moderne.* Paris, 1885.

Toynbee, P., *Specimens of old French* (IX-XVth centuries). Oxford, England, 1892.

Transactions of the Modern language association of America. Baltimore, 1884-1888. See *Publications.*

Vietor, W., *Elemente der Phonetik und Orthoepie des Deutschen, Englischen und Französischen.* Heilbronn, 1887.

Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie. Halle, seit 1876. Herausgegeben von G. Gröber. *f* in *swεf,* etc., II. Band, 1878, p. 459; X. Band, 1886, p. 300; *itel,* XIII. Band, 1889, p. 411.

Note. In connection with the subject of the French language in Canada and that of phonetic transcription the following references, tho not cited in the Study, are of sufficient importance to warrant their mention.

Agnel, E., *De l'influence du langage populaire sur la forme de certains mots de la langue française.* Paris, 1870.

Chamberlain, A. F., *Dialect research in Canada*, in *Dialect notes*. Part II, pp. 43-56. Boston, 1890.

Fortier, A., *The Acadians of Louisiana*, in *Publications of the M. L. A.*, vol. VI, 1891, pp. 64-94.

Geddes, J. jr., *L'importance de l'unité phonétique*, in *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, t. XXI, pp. 285-292, 4e trimestre 1907; also in *Congrès international des Américanistes, XVe session, tenue à Québec en 1906*, t. II, pp. 265-271. Québec, 1907.

Passy, P., *Le français parlé*. 5e éd. Leipzig, 1897.

Rivard et Geddes, *Bibliographie du parler français au Canada. Catalogue analytique des ouvrages traitant de la langue française au Canada*. Québec et Paris, (Honoré Champion) 1906.

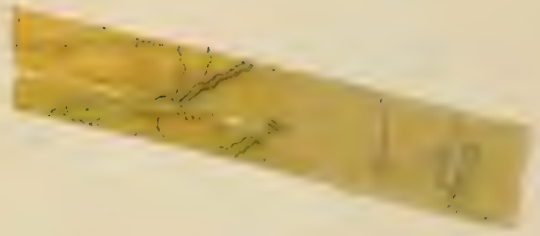
Abbreviations.

Acad.	=	Acadian
Arab.	=	Arabic
Bret.	=	Bretagne
Can.	=	Canadian
Ch.	=	Champagne
Ctr. of Fr.	=	Center of France
D.	=	Diez, Wörterbuch
E.	=	English
Fr.	=	French
G.	=	German
Gr.	=	Greek
Ital.	=	Italian
K.,K_2,K_3	=	Körting, Wörterbuch, 1., 2., 3. Auflage
L. or Lat.	=	Latin
L. L.	=	Low Latin
Lorr.	=	Lorraine
Ndl.	=	Netherland
Nor.	=	Norman
OFr.	=	Old French
OhG.	=	Old high German
Pic.	=	Picard
Poit.	=	Poitou
Sp.	=	Spanish
Sp. cases	=	Special cases
Stge.	=	Saintonge
Wal.	=	Wallachian
XVI	=	XVIth century French (probably not in Godefroy)



MAP
TO ACCOMPANY
STUDY OF AN ACADIAN FRENCH DIALECT
SPOKEN ON THE NORTH SHORE OF THE
BAIE DES CHALEURS







I. Introduction.

At the beginning of the XVIIth century, in what is now known as the Dominon of Canada, two principal centres of colonization were established by the French; one, Port Royal (1605) on the peninsula of Acadia,[1] now called Nova Scotia; the other, Quebec (1608) on the left bank of the St Lawrence in Canada proper. These two colonies so far apart hardly communicated at all, and if they did, by sea.[2] Different in the elements which composed them, in their way of living, and in their development, they grew up separately and have given rise to two classes of inhabitants known respectively as the Acadians and the Canadians.

The Acadians are principally found on Cape Breton[3] island where their largest colony is,[4] on Prince Edward's island, Nova Scotia, their original home, and in general on all the islands about the bays and on the coast of the gulf of St Lawrence.[5] They can hardly be said to have been distinctly different from the Canadians as regards the French provinces from whence they took their origin.[6] Indeed, Champlain, a Catholic gentleman of Saintonge, the founder of Quebec, took part in the Port Royal expedition[7] of 1604 together with De Monts also from Saintonge, Poutrincourt, belonging to an old Picard family, and Pontgravé, a merchant of St Malo. In citing the French provinces which have peopled Lower Canada, Canadian writers[8] give in the list

[1] The name first appears in the grant to De Monts: "Commission du Roy au sieur de Monts pour l'habitation es terres de la Cadie, Canada et autres endroits en la Nouvelle France", Lescarbot, tome II, pp. 432, 433 *et seq.* Acadia is a form of *Acadie*, an Indian word signifying the *place* or the *region*, *Maritime Provinces*, p. 76, note. For a different etymology, from Indian *Aquoddianke* or *Aquoddie*, meaning the fish called *pollock*, see Parkman, *Pioneers of France*, p. 220, note 2. As regards the date, cf. Richard, *Acadia*, t. I, p. 26.

[2] *La France aux colonies*, Rameau, part I, pp. 36-7.

[3] *Une colonie féodale*, Rameau, tome II, p. 249.

[4] See the Map.

[5] *Une colonie féodale*, tome II, p. 249.

[6] I have been unable to find any direct proof historically going to substantiate Professor Elliott's statement (*Am. Journal of Philology*, vol. VII, p. 143, note) that the origin of the Acadian group of dialects was the *langue d'oc* idioms—and the phonology of the Acadian dialects I have examined indicates most emphatically no such origin. Cf. also Pascal Poirier's statement: "L'idiome que parlent les Acadiens est une des branches les plus fécondes et les mieux conservées de la langue d'oïl", *Soirées canadiennes*, tome III, p. 63 *et seq.*

[7] Hildreth, vol. I, p. 92.

[8] B. Sulte's *La langue française*, a lecture delivered in Worcester, Mass., the 8th of July, 1878, and printed in full in a Worcester newspaper. The author kindly loaned the writer the text. See pp. 9, 10, of the new edition of this study, in pamphlet form: *La langue française en Canada*, Lévis, 1898. L. Frechette, in *Mémoires de la Societé Royale, Sainte Anne d'Auray et ses environs*, tome VI, pp. 77-8.

Bretagne and the neighborhood of Paris. It is also known that these same places furnished contingents for Acadia.[1] But the primitive Acadian settlers belonged to an entirely different class of society from those of the Canadian immigrants, who, in most instances, were peaceful persons, chosen because of their fitness for agricultural pursuits, and who came over in bands during a period of one hundred years.[2] The early settlers of Port Royal, on the contrary, were a most promiscuous gathering. There were gentlemen of nobility like Champlain, De Monts, and Poutrincourt; men of education like Marc Lescarbot; there were Catholic priests and Huguenot ministers who hated each other. The rest were workmen, fishermen, mechanics, and adventurers, all of whom were paid, and many forced into the expedition.[3] Unlike the Canadians, who during a period of eighty years [1630-1710] received from the mother country five thousand seven hundred immigrants, the Acadians in that period did not receive four hundred.[4] Indeed, from the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, all relations between the mother country and Acadia ceased,[5] so that this isolated region furnishes an example of colonial development which is unique; and it must be borne in mind, in order fully to understand the nature of Acadian French, that the colonization of Acadia was completed while the French language was developing more rapidly than it has since; and that the colonists, who after, just as before the conquest of their country by the English, had hardly any means of instruction and have always lived isolated, have been obliged, necessarily, to preserve the old French of their fathers.[6]

The growth of Acadia was not only much slower than that of Canada, but the colonists were threatened with extinction several times, owing to the frequent wars between Great Britain and France.[7] Constantly driven from their homes, their lives were necessarily nomadic. Naturally, in a colony composed of so few, marriages between the settlers and the Indians were more frequent than among the Canadians; and thus left entirely to themselves, the population of all Acadia, one hundred years after the settlement of Port Royal, only numbered about fifteen hundred,[8] while that of Canada numbered over sixteen thousand five hundred.[9]

Undoubtedly there were sporadic attempts at settlement, more or less successful, about the adjacent coasts during the entire period of colonization. Indeed, as early as 1639, the French had stations in the vicinity of the Baie des Chaleurs;[10] by 1672, there were others along the banks of the Miramichi and the coast; the fate of all of these was intimately connected with that of their brethern in the original colony.

The boundary of Acadia never remained definitely settled and was one of the causes of the war between the French and English in 1755.[11] That the Acadians

[1] *Pioneers*, p. 236.
[2] *La France aux colonies*, part I, p. 24.
[3] *Pioneers*, p. 221; pp. 228-9; p. 236.
[4] *Une colonie féodale*, tome I, p. 280.
[5] *La France aux colonies*, part I, pp. 36-7.
[6] *Un pèlerinage au pays d'Evangeline*, l'abbé Casgrain, pp. 407-12.
[7] Notably in 1613.
[8] *La France aux colonies*, part I, p. 35.
[9] Part II, p. 53. *Recensement du Canada de 1871*, t. IV, p. 32.
[10] F. Gerbié, *Les Acadiens*, in *Soirées canadiennes*, tome III, p. 92 *et seq.*
[11] Hildreth, vol. II, p. 458; Parkman, *Pioneers*, p. 220, note.

were in league with the French appears to have been more suspected than proven. The jealousy of the English, however, fearful of a revolt on the part of the Acadians, led them to commit an act towards them which has been universally condemned in history—the wholesale expatriation of the Acadians, in September 1755. An immortal interest has been imparted to this sad event by Longfellow's beautiful poem of Evangeline.

Some of the remnants of these poor Acadians, literally driven to the four quarters of the wind, sought refuge on the islands and about the bays and coves of the gulf of St Lawrence; and thus it was that the small stations already established about the Baie des Chaleurs received recruits, and new towns along the shore sprang up.[1]

The Acadians still cling tenaciously to their language and old ways of life. They seldom marry outside of their own town, so that almost every one in the place is related, in some degree, to every one else. The families are large, less than ten children being the exception. On the north shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, among the Acadian towns, there are no newspapers printed;[2] there are no banks, for money is so scarce that traffic is done largely by bartering. There are no railroads, the mail coming one hundred and seventy miles overland by carrier. The people generally are occupied as of old, in hunting, fishing, and farming. Everything is of the most primitive description. At times, one might well fancy oneself in Normandy, on market day, for instance, when all the peasants are in the street, and when the school children meet the stranger, the girls courtesying demurely, and the boys taking off their caps.[3]

The population is entirely Catholic, and, as in nearly all the towns of the province of Quebec, the church is by far the most imposing structure that meets the sight. The parish priest is earnestly interested in his parishioners and wields an influence far from insignificant. Instruction is beginning to improve and to show its results upon the young generation; nevertheless, educational advantages have not as yet been such as to influence in a marked degree the popular dialect. However, railroads are being projected and even begun;[4] more or less of that American enterprise just across the bay is creeping slowly into these towns, and even so near at hand as the year 1910, there can be hardly any doubt that the philologist who desires to investigate the native dialect, will find most of the comforts afforded by the steamboat, railway, and hotel, but far greater obstacles to linguistic research than at present.

A word in regard to Tracadiegash,[5] of which the modern name is Carleton, where these observations were taken; and it is here fitting to acknowledge the valuable aid given throughout the investigation by Mlle Elmina Allard, the school mistress in that town. In regard to her native place she says:[6]

---

[1] See the Map.

[2] There are, however, Acadian settlements far more prosperous, where newspapers, banks, etc. are to be found, as at Shediak, N. B.; Bathurst, N. B.; Digby, N. S.

[3] For a description of the people and customs, see an illustrated article in the *Century magazine*, March, 1884, by S. C. W. Benjamin.

[4] E. g. Baie des Chaleurs R. R.

[5] *Tulluk-cadie* (Tracadie) meaning "dwelling-place", *Maritime Provinces*, p. 76, note.

[6] For a more detailed account of Carleton, as well as of *la Gaspésie* in general, see: *Esquisse sur la Gaspésie*, by J. C. Langelier (Québec, 1884); p. 28 *et seq.*

"Carleton a été fondé un peu avant la dispersion des Acadiens, à peu près vers 1740. La population est acadienne et franco-canadienne, tous catholiques excepté une famille, Charles Stuart. Le mont Tracadigetche, d'où le nom de l'ancienne ville, a une hauteur de dix-huit cent trente pieds. L'accès de la montagne est très-facile. La pointe de terre qui se voit à l'ouest de la ville se nomme Maguasha, terme sauvage signifiant: longtemps rouge. Le nom Carleton a été donné à notre paroisse par le gouverneur anglais du Canada, Carleton, lorsqu'il l'érigea en township. Ce gouverneur a régné de 1766 à 1796; c'est durant cette période qu'il a donné le nom de Carleton. Le nom Maria, de la paroisse voisine, est aussi un *don* de ce même gouverneur, du nom de sa femme Maria.

"Bonaventure fut d'abord une seigneurie, concédée à un seigneur nommé Bonaventure. Son nom s'étendit à toute la paroisse. La population du comté de Bonaventure, d'après le recensement de 1901 est de 24495; celle de Carleton est d'un peu plus de mille personnes."

The pronunciation of the vowels and consonants of the dialect spoken in the little town will now be taken up. The aim has always been to record faithfully the *sounds* heard in the popular speech,—as far as possible, of those persons who have had nothing whatever to do with letters.

II. Phonology.

A. Vowels.

Brief Index of Sound Notation.[1]

a	Fr. ***pas***	*ɪ*	E. ***pin***	*t*	Fr. ***tas***
ɔ	E. ***law***	*k*	Fr. ***car***	*u*	Fr. ***tout***
a	Fr. ***rat***	*c*	Fr. ***quête*** (rustic)	*ʊ*	E. ***pull***
ã	Fr. ***an, en***	*l*	Fr. ***long***	*y*	Fr. ***lune***
ā	nasal of ***a***	*m*	Fr. ***mot***	*v*	Fr. ***vent***
æ	E. ***hat***	*n*	Fr. ***ni***	*w*	Fr. ***oui***
ɛ̃	Fr. ***in***	*ɲ*	Fr. ***enseignement***	*j*	Fr. ***yeux***
b	Fr. ***bout***	*o*	Fr. ***pot***	*z*	Fr. ***zèle***
d	Fr. ***dent***	*ɔ*	Fr. ***tort***	*ʒ*	Fr. ***joue***
e	Fr. ***dé***	*ʌ*	E. ***dull***	*wɔ*	E. ***war***
ɛ	Fr. ***tête***	*ɔ̃*	Fr. ***on***	*wa*	Fr. ***noix***
ẽ	Nasal of Fr. ***é***	*ø*	Fr. ***peu***	*ɰa*	Fr. (*je*) ***bois***
ə	Fr. ***de***	*ɤ*	Ger. ***Hütte***	*ɰe*	Fr. *ou* + *é*
f	Fr. ***faux***	*œ*	Fr. ***peur.***	*ɰɛ*	Fr. *ou* + *è*
g	Fr. ***gros***	*œ̃*	Fr. ***un***	*ɰi*	Fr. *ou* + *i*
ɟ	Fr. ***gai*** (rustic)	*p*	Fr. ***pas***	*ɥi*	Fr. *u* + *i*
h	Fr. ***honte***	*r* (ling.)	Fr. ***rond***	*ː* after a vowel = long	
x	Sp. ***jefe***	*s*	Fr. ***si***	*·* „ „ „ = half as long as *ː*	
i	Fr. ***ni***	*ʃ*	Fr. ***champ***		

[1] The order of the sounds here given is nearly identical with that followed by Sweet in the Glossar to the *Elementarbuch*, p. 133 of the third edition: it is adhered to thruout the lists. It is, also, quite like the order in the Michaelis-Passy *Dictionnaire*, p. 319.

Tabular view of the dialect vowels.

Arranged according to Sweet's system.[1]

| | | |

General Observations.

1. The sound notation here used is nearly identical with that of the International Phonetic Association.[1] It has seemed advisable to adopt this system for several reasons: 1°. Because of the ease with which it can be read, due, in part, to the absence of diacritics. 2°. Because it has become the most widely known of many systems. 3°. In order to encourage generally its use as a medium for noting sounds. 4°. In order to aid in securing more widely uniformity in indicating pronunciation. The symbol ᴗ indicates the sound described in an article by Passy in *Phonetische Studien*;[2] the symbol *x* represents the sound described by F. Araujo in the same publication.[3] The sounds were taken down phonetically, and the endeavor was made to note with the greatest accuracy possible. For convenience of reference, the vowels and consonants are here given in tabulated form, each of them receiving due attention separately.

2. Compared with Sweet's table of French sounds, it will be seen at a glance that the dialect table contains more sounds, having twenty three (not counting ə which occurs only in unaccented syllables) to fifteen in the *Primer*. 1°. The most striking difference, and one too that characterizes all Canadian as well as Acadian French that I have observed, is the low back narrow round ᴗ sound which does not exist in standard French, and upon which Passy comments,[4] saying that a slight rounding of the *a* in Fr. *pas* transforms this sound into ᴗ, which often takes place in the country and, indeed, in the suburbs of Paris. 2°. æ can be heard in many words,[5] tho I have not recorded it so often as it perhaps should be,[6] judging the doubtful cases *a* rather than æ. 3°. There can be heard the nasal of *e*[7] in such words as *plẽ:d* = Fr. plaindre, *tẽ:d* = Fr. teindre. 4°. ɪ[8] can be heard in such words as *isɪt* = Fr. ici, *wɛzɪn* = Fr. voisine. 5°. A more closed sound than even that in Fr. *peu* can be heard in such words as *falɐ:ɐ* = Fr. chaleur, *bɔnɐ:ɐ* = Fr. bonheur. 6°. A mid back narrow vowel as in E. *but* is heard in words like *fʌl* = Fr. folle, *kʌl* = Fr. col.[9] 7°. Just as ɪ and ʌ can be heard, so, too, ʊ is regularly used in many words, for example, *bʊʃ* = Fr. bouche.

3. Comparing now the table of consonants with that given by Passy, the differences will not be found so striking as those just noted in the preceding vowel comparison. 1°. The most striking is probably the sound *x* occurring in such words

---

[1] *Aim and principles of the I. P. A.*, 1904, p. 7. A comprehensive statement of the advantages of the system here used will be found in the writer's article: *A universal alphabet, Die neueren Sprachen*, October, 1905; pp. 349-364.

[2] I. Band, 1887-88, *Kurze Darstellung des französischen Lautsystems*, p. 25, *à*; cf. also, *Les sons*, fifth edition, p. 84, *Remarque*.

[3] III. Band, 1890, pp. 339-40, *Recherches sur la phonétique espagnole*.

[4] I. Band, *Phonetische Studien*, pp. 171-2, "Miszellen".

[5] Cf. list (1) of Professor Squair's *A contribution*, etc.

[6] Cf. Professor Sheldon's remark in regard to this sound on p. 2 of his *Specimens*.

[7] Cf. Professor Sheldon's *tʃẽz* = Fr. quinze, p. 2 of *Specimens*.

[8] Cf. Professor Chamberlain's remark on the Granby *i*, *Modern Language Notes*, Jan. 1893, column 33.

[9] Cf. Passy, *Etude*, p. 253, note (3) *ʒœli* for Fr. joli.

as *fo·xe* = Fr. faucher, *mā·xe* = Fr. manger. 2°. The uvular *r* is not heard. 3°. I have made no account of any glottal catch, or of a breathed *y* (Passy's *j̊*) or of breathed *w* (Passy's *ẘ*). 4°. The bilabial fricatives voiced and unvoiced as in Fr. *buis* and *puis*, need not always be classed as such, but may be considered merely among the vowels, the consonantal rustle being so feeble. 5°. The dialect ignores breathed nasal, lateral or rolled consonants, where heard in standard French, though as a rule unheard in popular French also: e. g. *ta·b* — Fr. table; *kat* — Fr. quatre: *rymatis* — Fr. rhumatisme. 6°. A somewhat palatalized *k* and *g* (*c* and *ǰ*) can be heard before front vowels in certain cases. This is characteristic of some rural districts in France.[1]

4. The dialect vowels will now be treated separately and compared with their French equivalents. This has seemed particularly well worth doing, contrary to the usual method of treating a like subject,[2] because of its close similarity to popular French.[3] Etymologies will be given, especially where the origin of the dialect word varies from, or presents features of interest with, that of the French equivalent.

The usual order in discussing the vowels has been followed, such as Schwan gives in treating the old French sounds,[4]—vowels, diphthongs, and nasal vowels.

§ I. *a* as in French *pas*. This is the most difficult of all the vowels to note. Dialect ɔ is the vowel which regularly corresponds to the Fr. *a* in *pas*; and *a* is the vowel which corresponds, or rather is identical with Passy's *a* in Fr. *rat*. When then does *a* in Fr. *pas* occur in the dialect? I think it can be heard surely in one pronunciation of the words in list 6. In a great many cases, I have been in doubt whether the vowel was that of *a* in Fr. *pas* or *a* in Fr. *rat*, but the longer I worked on the subject, the more it seemed to me that ɔ and *a* were the two popular dialect *a* sounds and that the *a* in Fr. *pas* only happens to occur occasionally instead of ɔ or *a*, and, so to speak, as one variety of either ɔ or *a*.[5] How difficult it is to distinguish between the *a* in Fr. *pas* and that in Fr. *rat*, in many words may be inferred from the pronunciation given in the *Dictionnaire général de la langue française* by MM. Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas (Paris, 1899-1901) where all words in *-ation* are indicated as having the variety of *a* in Fr. *rat*, (*la, lame, acte*, are the key words given for this vowel), p. XXVI, and where the *a* in *condamner* is marked as having likewise this same quality. As is well known, this is contrary to what previous

[1] Cf. *Aim and principles of the I. P. A.*, p. 8.

[2] *Romania*, t. X, p. 603, line 7.

[3] That the source of the dialect is popular old French of about the XVIth century must be clear to any one attempting to explain the changes, —particularly the consonantal changes. These are not to be explained by going back to the Latin forms of the words, but to the French forms themselves, which the dialect has either preserved or changed in accordance with phonetic principles, which, in most cases, are obvious, and which it is the aim of this *Study* to show.

[4] Schwan-Behrens, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, p. 116 (6th edition, Leipzig, 1903).

[5] See Beyer, *Phonetik*, §§ 37-38, and *Phonetische Studien*, I. Band, p. 26. What Professor Sheldon remarks of the vowel "*a* as in English *father*", seems to me no less applicable to this Acadian dialect when he says: "The sound seems generally to lean towards *a* rather than towards ɔ" etc., *Specimens*, p. 2.

authorities indicate. Beyer's comment just referred to in foot-note 5 on the preceding page, will go far towards explaining this. I have made no list of words containing *a* as in *pas*, merely recording it as in list 6, when feeling quite sure of its occurrence. This seems to me exceptional rather than regular in the dialect and attributable to special conditions, like all other exceptions.

§ II. ◡[1] from L. *a* in position, but occurring in very many learned words; invariably representing a Fr. final *a* (or followed by a silent consonant) whether that *a* be the *a* in Fr. *ras* or in Fr. *rat*.[2] Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 8, says: "Le son *a* de la dernière syllabe d'un mot représenté dans notre orthographe par le caractère *a* seul ou suivi d'un *s* ou d'un *t* est prononcé long par les paysans des environs de Paris; ainsi ils disent: *il irâ* pour *il ira, contrâ* pour *contrat, plâ* pour *plat, brâ* pour *bras,* un *râ* pour un *rat*."

List 1.

1	*ap◡*	appas
2	*apɔstɔl◡*	apostolat
3	*aʃ◡*	achat
4	*avɔk◡*	avocat
5	*ãˑbar◡* < in + L. barra root barr- (obscure) (K. 1062; K.$_2$ 1245)	embarras
6	*ɛ̃ˑtɛrn◡*	internat
7	*b◡*	bas
8	*br◡* OF. braz (K. 1311)	bras
9	*deb◡* vb. subst. from L. de + batuere, OF. debatre (K. 1083)	débat
10	*deg◡* noun from L. de + vastare (K. 8589)	dégât
11	*delik◡*	délicat
12	*eb◡*	ébat
13	*ekl◡* < *ascla (D. 709, K. 864; K.$_2$ 8802)	éclat
14	*ɛstɔm◡* < Gr. στόμαχος	estomac
15	*ɛstɛrn◡*	externat
16	*f◡*	fat
17	*frak◡* < perhaps from L. infra + cassare formed from Fr. fracasser (K. 3429)	fracas
18	*grab◡* < originally Gr. origin (K. 3727)	grabat
19	*gr◡*	gras
20	*gryʒ◡*[3] < formed from Fr. gruger (D. 606)	grugeur
21	*kanad◡* < Indian, see Parkman, *Pioneers,* I, p. 184	Canada
22	*kanv◡* < L. canabacum from Gr. (K. 1583)	canevas
23	*karn◡*	cadenas
24	*kãˑdid◡*	candidat
25	*klim◡*	climat
26	*kɔ̃ˑb◡*	combat
27	*kɔ̃ˑp◡*	compas
28	*l◡*	là
29	*mãd◡*	mandat
30	*ɔdɔr◡*	odorat
31	*p◡*	pas
32	*pɔp◡, pp◡* < L. papa, pappa (K. 5867)	papa
33	*pɔ̃ˑtifik◡*	pontificat

[1] See Phonology, § 2, 1°.

[2] *Phonetische Studien,* I. Band, p. 26.

[3] Jaubert gives *grugeux*.

34	*prel⌣*	prélat
35	*r⌣* < rasum, see D. *rez* 669 (K. 6682)	ras
36	*r⌣* < OhG. rato (D. 264)	rat
37	*s⌣* < L. ecce + hac (K. 2756)	ça
38	*sab⌣* (K. 7053)	sabbat
39	*sele⌣*	scélérat
40	*sen⌣*	sénat
41	*sɐrtifik⌣*	certificat
42	*səl⌣*[1] < L. ecce + hoc + illac (K. 2761)	cela
43	*sɔld⌣*	soldat
44	*sortir⌣*[2]	sortira
45	*ʃ⌣*	chat
46	*ʃɔkɔl⌣* Mexican (K. 1847)	chocolat
47	*tab⌣* Indian (K. 7993)	tabac
48	*t⌣* < Germanic tas (K. 8061)	tas
49	*vargl⌣*[3] < L. vitrum (K. 8787) + glaciem (K. 3677)	verglas
50	*v⌣* (analogy to *at*) (Schwan, § 434)	va

1. There are almost no exceptions to dialect ⌣ representing the Fr. final sounds as stated above,[4] § II. Just as will be shown in lists 10 and 11, the dialect *a* representing Fr. *è*, was not the original sound from the Latin *e* in position, but simply a more open[5] pronunciation of the original *è*, so here while Latin *a* in position gave *a*,[6] a more open or rather rounded position produced, as Passy says,[7] this ⌣ so common in the provinces—as the dialect dictionaries attest. Now this ⌣ represents regularly Fr. *a* in *ras*, wherever this Fr. quality of *a* as in *ras* occurs, that is whether final or not—but the *a* in Fr. *rat* is not regularly represented by ⌣ except when final. Is there then a difference in quality between the Fr. final *a* as in *rat*, and the *a*, which occurs when not final as in Fr. *cage*? In speaking of Latin *a*, Meyer-Lübke[8] says: "l'*a* dans les monosyllabes est plus grave, plus vélaire que dans les polysyllabes"; see, too, his examples of the effect of this in the Romance languages.[9] The distinction between Fr. *a* in *pas* and *a* in *rat* is clearly stated by Beyer and Passy.[10] Beyer himself,[11] however, says that the modern tendency in French seems to be to bring *a* and *a* together.[12] If it may be assumed, that this is the case with the French *a* in final syllables, it is not then surprising to find the dialect making

[1] *səl⌣* or *sl⌣* is not distinctly popular; *s⌣* = Fr. ça is.

[2] So too all like verb endings.

[3] Cf. no. 93, list 11.

[4] I even suspect the few that I have recorded like *la* = Fr. la, *ma* = Fr. ma, *ta* = Fr. ta, *sa* = Fr. sa, to have been pronounced with an *a* still farther back than at present—the *a* being due to educational influence.

[5] In regard to the terms "open" and "closed" see under § III, p. 15, note 2.

[6] See in regard to the pronunciation of this *a*, Paris, *Extraits*, (7th edition) p. 3, § 6.

[7] Besides the reference already given to this important sound (cf. p. 7, note 4) Passy indicates its formation in *Les sons*, 5th edition, p. 84, remarque,—and again gives it attention in his *Etude*, p. 136, § 303: "L'arrondissement extra-normal", etc.

[8] *Grammaire*, tome I, p. 205, § 221 (Rabiet's *Traduction française*).

[9] "Dans le normand moderne *pas* devient également *po*" etc., § 221.

[10] *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 90, § 27.

[11] *Phonetik*, p. 30.

[12] Cf. "Es geschieht bisweilen, dass wörter zwischen *a* und *ɑ*, zwischen *o* und *ɔ*, zwischen *œ* und *ö* schwanken." *Phonetische Studien*, I. Bd., p. 26.

no distinction between them, but treating them all as tho. they were like the *a* in *pas*, i. e. regularly ◡.[1]

List 2. Examples of ◡, from L. *a* in position, under the accent followed by a consonant other than *r*, representing regularly Fr. *a* in *pas*.

1	*ātˑ◡ːj* < L. in + taleam (K. 8018)	entaille
2	*ātrˑ◡ːj* < *interalia (K. 4376; D. 571)	entrailles
3	*bˑ◡ːj* < bacula, dimin. of E. bac (K. 970; D. 515)	baille
4	*batˑ◡ːj*[2] < *battalia (K. 1081)	bataille
5	*blˑ◡ːm* < of Gr. origin, but here from Fr. blâmer (K. 1245)	blâme
6	*brynˑ◡ːt* < E. brun + -astrum (K. 1366)	brunâtre
7	*debˑ◡ːk* (see baculum, learned) (K. 982)	debâcle
8	*dizgrˑ◡ːz* < L. dis + gratia = Fr. grâce (K. 3754)	disgrâce
9	*fɛrˑ◡ːj* < *ferralia (K. 3200)	ferraille
10	*fiãˑsˑ◡ːj* < *fidantialia or rather formed from Fr. fiancer (K. 3227)	fiancailles
11	*fɔlˑ◡ːt* < from Fr. fol + ending (K. 3376)	folâtre
12	*frˑ◡ːz* < originally Gr. *φράσις*	phrase
13	*kanˑ◡ːj* < *canalia (K. 1555)	canaille
14	*mˑ◡ːj*[2] *maːj*[3] < L. macula (K. 4971)	maille
15	*mãˑxˑ◡ːj*[2] formed from Fr. manger, OF. manuer (D. 202; K. 5048)	mangeaille
16	*pˑ◡ːj*[2] *paːj*[3] < L. palea (K. 5829)	paille
17	*sˑ◡ːb* < L. sabulum (K. 7058)	sable
18	*tˑ◡ːj* < L. talea (K. 8018)	taille
19	*tənˑ◡ːj* < tenacula (K. 8093)	tenailles
20	*tɔrˑ◡ːj* < Fr. taure + aille (K. 8067)	tauraille
21	*vˑ◡ːz* < L. vasum (learned) (K. 8583)	vase
22	*vɔlˑ◡ːj*[2] < L. volatilia (K. 8806)	volaille

2. The difficulty in accounting for the pronunciation ◡, *a*, or *a* in a dialect word lies mostly in knowing what the pronunciation of the French equivalent vowel is in the same word. Take for instance nos. 12, 17 and 21. Littré indicates the *a* quality, to use his keyword, to be that in *avoir*, i. e. the second quality of *a* as in Fr. *rat*. The words then do not properly belong in the list and are irregular. Cauvet, on the other hand, calls the *a* in *phrase* and words like it (*vase*) *grave*, i. e. the *a* in

[1] It does not seem to me, after careful reflection, that the question of *quantity* enters here at all.

[2] Prof. Squair in his *Contribution* indicates a like pronunciation for the last syllable of these words.

[3] *maːj* = Fr. maille, and *paːj* = Fr. paille is the pronunciation of old people, *mˑ◡ːj* and *pˑ◡ːj* of the young.

Passy's *pas* (p. 23, 3°, *Prononciation française*). Lesaint in his *Prononciation* makes practically the same statement, p. 415, no. 56. Lesaint pronounces the *a* in Fr. *sable* as *grave*. Naturally, according to one or the other authority, the dialect vowel can be accounted for. Again the dialect has ◡ in *b◡:z* = Fr. base, *ɛskl◡:v* = Fr. esclave, *f◡:b* = Fr. fable, *mir◡:k* = Fr. miracle, *ɔr◡:k* = Fr. oracle, and *s◡:b* = Fr. sable. Judging from Hamilton and Legros' *Dictionnaire*, which indicates Passy's *a* in *part* (2d quality) for the vowel in these words (as does Littré, too, for all, except *base*), they could not be put in the list above. Lesaint, however, (4th part, beginning p. 407) indicates the *a* in these words to be that in Passy's *pas*, excepting *esclave*. Spiers and Surenne indicate: *mirakl*,[1] but *órákl*, and so on, the more authorities one consults, the more puzzled one becomes. There is plainly confusion between quality and quantity in Lesaint. Professor Squair in his list (1) records *æ* in Fr. *esclave*. The Michaelis-Passy *Dictionnaire* records *ɛsklæ:v* — *ɛsklɑ:v*. I believe, that Passy's remark in *Phonetische Studien*, a part of which is quoted in the note 12 on p. 10, will furnish a key to the explanation of all apparent exceptions.

List 3. ◡ = *a* in Fr. *pas*, from L. unaccented *a*, retained as in French, in unaccented syllables before any consonant, except *r*. Here, too, occurring in many learned words, as in *◡sjɔ̃* = learned for popular *◡sjɛ̃* = Fr. -ation.

1	*-◡sjɛ̃*	-ation	15	*ekr◡ze*	écraser
2	*◡jɔ̃* < OG. hadilo (K. 3843)	haillon	16	*g◡ne* cf. OhG. weidenen, OFr. gaagnier (K.8845)	gagner
3	*ɑ̃fl◡me*	enflammer	17	*g◡te* < L. vastare (K. 8589)	gâter
4	*ɑ̃p◡je*	empailler	18	*g◡zɛt* < perhaps from gaza, an Italian corn (D. 159)	gazette
5	*ɑ̃t◡se* < in + OFrank tas + are (K. 8061)	entasser	19	*m◡fe*	mâcher
6	*b◡ti:r* < root bast + ire (K. 1076)	bâtir	20	*m◡fwɛ:r*	mâchoire
7	*b◡tis* see no. 6	bâtisse	21	*p◡li:r*	pâlir
8	*b◡tɔ̃* see no. 6	bâton	22	*p◡lœ:r*	pâleur
9	*b◡je* cf. D. 34 badare, D. 37 baja, D. 355 bajare (K. 987)	baîller	23	*p◡rɛ̃*	parrain
10	*b◡jmɛ̃* see no. 9	baîllement	24	*p◡se*	passer
11	*bl◡me* < originally Gr.	blâmer	25	*p◡ti:r*	pâtir
12	*br◡j◡:r* ≷ Celtic root brag (K. 1314)	braillard	26	*p◡tisri*	pâtisserie
13	*br◡je* see no. 12	brailler	27	*p◡tyra:ʒ*	pâturage
14	*d◡ne*	damner	28	*ram◡se*	ramasser
			29	*r◡pe*	râper
			30	*r◡to*	râteau

[1] Cf. Legendre's observation on this word in the article: *La langue que nous parlons* (*Mémoires et Comptes-Rendus de la Société Royale du Canada*, 1887), tome VI, Montréal, 1888, p. 132.

31	*rɔje*	railler	35	*tɔte*	tâter
32	*fɔtɛn*	used for Fr. châtain	36	*tɔjɛr*	tailleur
33	*fɔto*	château	37	*tirɔje*	tirailler
34	*fɔtlɛn*	châtelaine	38	*tirɔjmẽ*	tiraillement

3. In regard to open[1] *a* in standard French, Miss Soames says:[2] "It does not occur very frequently . . . It is easily recognized when written *â*" etc. The above words seem to vouch for the truth of this latter statement, for all the authorities consulted agree, that the quality of the *a* in the above words is the open quality or *a* in Passy's *pas*. Hence there is no exception in the dialect. I never found but one in making several long lists of words in Carleton as well as elsewhere: *batimẽ* is the pronunciation of Fr. bâtiment. I noted it carefully about Quebec, at the Falls of Montmorency, in Carleton and at Cheticamp, C. B. Professor Squair, however, records a form with ɔ, no. 8 of his list (2) in *A contribution* etc.

List 4. ɔ = *a* in Fr. *pas* or *part*, from L. accented *a* in position, in accented syllables before *r* final. In nos. 4, 5, 7, 12, 14 and 15, the *a* is from *a* in the Germanic suffix *-hard*.

1	*amɔr* cf. Ndl. marren, also Arab. marr (K. 5137; D. 15)	amarre	9	*epɔr*	épars
2	*avɔr*	avare	10	*kɔr*	quart
3	*ɔr*	art	11	*ljɔr* probably connected with Celtic root lig (K. 4795; D. 626)	liard
4	*babijɔr* see D.47 root bara	babillard	12	*pãdɔr*	pendart
5	*bavɔr* see no. 4 and K. 964	bavard	13	*pɔr*	part
6	*bɔr* < L. barra (unknown origin) (K. 1062)	barre	14	*pijɔr*	pillard
7	*bruijɔr* < G. root bru (K. 1361)	brouillard	15	*pɔɲɔr*	poignard
8	*ekɔr*	écart	16	*rɔr*	rare
			17	*rãpɔr*	rempart
			18	*fɔr*	char

4. Again the only difficulty in accounting for ɔ in the above words is a knowledge of its exact quality in standard French. In all but no. 6 (*bɔr*) Littré indicates the quality to be that of *a* in Passy's *part* (the 2d *a*), and the authorities agree pretty well in noting the *a* in these words as the second quality of *a* (Fr. *rat*). Beyer and Passy also write the Fr. words *part* and *rare* in the *Gesprochene Französisch*[3] with the second quality of *a*. Nevertheless, Passy himself, in both editions (2d and

[1] In regard to the terms "open" and "closed" see under § III, p. 15, note 2.

[2] *Introduction to phonetics*, p. 126.

[3] See the very useful phonetically written vocabulary.

3d)[1] of *Les sons,* writes *ra:r* or *ra:r,* which seem to indicate no one clearly cut pronunciation for the termination *-ar* at least in this word. In short, it appears that the *a* in words like the above, where it is followed by *r* final, does vary some what from the *a* in Fr. *cage,* and too in the direction of openness. The dialect, at all events, indicates that fact; and whatever may be the facts as regards French, the dialect invariably has *-ᴗ:r* corresponding to Fr. *a* of either quality plus final *r,* in accented final syllables. *kardrr* or *kardrr* = Fr. quart d'heure[2] is no exception, the *kar* or *kar* not being accented as in *ørekᴗ:r* = Fr. heure et quart.

List 5. ᴗ = *a* in Fr. *pas* or *part,* from a L. unaccented *a,* retained as in French, in unaccented syllables followed by *r* + vowel or consonant.

1	*bᴗre* see no. 6, list 4 (K. 1062)	barrer	6	*mᴗrdi* (K. 5143)	mardi
2	*kᴗbre* (D. 537)	cabrer	7	*fᴗry* (K. 1694)	charrue
3	*kᴗre* (K. 6522)	carrer	8	*fᴗrwɛ:je* OF. charrier, see no. 9	charroyer
4	*kᴗro* (K. 6523)	carreau	9	*fᴗrjo* < L. carrum (K. 1696)	chariot
5	*kᴗrɔt* < L. carota	carotte			

5. Littré indicates the vowel in question, in the above Fr. words, to be that of *a* in Fr. *part,* excepting *barrer* and *carreau,* which have the *a* in Fr. *pas.* That the vowel is not that in Fr. *part* exactly, is pretty clearly brought out by Passy in *Les sons,*[3] citing two of these very words, *carreau* and *mardi.* The sound, he says, is intermediate between *a* and *a.* It must be evident, from what has been shown before, that the dialect expresses any deviation from Passy's *a* in the direction of his *a* by ᴗ, just as tho the Fr. sound actually was *a.*

List 6.[4] ᴗ is also heard as final in the diphthong *wᴗ,* L. *ĕ, ĭ* or *ŭ* + palatal, in a few monosyllables, where Fr. has the sound *wa* (*a* in *pas*).

1	*bwᴗ* < L. buxum (K. 1440, 1294)	bois(subst.)	4	*nwᴗ*	noix
2	*fwᴗ*	foi	5	*pwᴗ*	poids
3	*mwᴗ*	mois	6	*pwᴗ*	pois
			7	*trwᴗ*	trois

The above pronunciation is that commonly in use among the youth. Old people pronounce these same words with the vowel *a* or *a.* In *f krwa* = Fr. je

[1] 2d edition, p. 59, § 109, 1°; 3d edition, p. 62, § 113, 1°.

[2] Cf. remark by E. Marceau in an article entitled *Notre Prononciation, Soirées canadiennes,* tome I, pp. 243-248.

[3] 2d edition, p. 45, 13°; 3d edition, p. 84, 13°.

[4] Cf. these words with the same in Professor Squair's list (16); also Talbert for a like pronunciation: pp. 107-8. On nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5, Passy has some remarks of interest in *Phonetische Studien,* I. Bd., pp. 171 and 172. Thurot also cites Palsgrave indicating for some of these words an *oa* pronunciation for XVIth century Parisian French (tome I, p. 356 and note 1). Cf. below § XIV, *Diphthongs.*

crois, *ʃ krwɔ* is often heard as well; see under *Verbs* § LVII. 2°. Nisard, for popular rural French of XVIth century about Paris, gives the spellings *tras, troas, trouas*; *Langage populaire de Paris,* p. 173.

6. By way of comparison, a list of words, which I collected at the Falls of Montmorency, nine miles from Quebec, is here given, containing the accented vowel ɔ not final = *a* in Fr. *pas*. The quantity of the vowel in these words is so long, that I thought I had discovered a diphthong, and noted it as such (ɔ*ɤ*). The last syllable of the word for Richard: *riʃɔɤɤ* sounded to me just like the English word *shower*. Not being sure of the diphthong, I note the sound as usual. This well indicates the exact pronunciation of these same words in Carleton, though there is no diphthong heard in them there, and the quantity is not so long as that heard at the Falls.[1] (From L. *a* in position.)

List 7.

1	*ɔ:r*	hart	14	*muʃɔ:r*	mouchard
2	*ɛ̃fɔ:m*	infâme	15	*nazɔ:r*	nasard
3	*frɔ:z*	phrase	16	*pɔ:l*	pâle
4	*gɔ:ʃ* (D. 591; K. 8868)	gâche	17	*pɔ:k* (D. 237; K. 5917)	pâques
5	*grɔ:s*	grâce	18	*plɔ:t*	plâtre
6	*ʒɔ:k*	Jacques	19	*rɔ:r*	rare
7	*kɔ:b*	câble	20	*reklɔ:m*	réclame
8	*kanɔ:r* < NG. cane + ardem (D.539; K.1565)	canard	21	*rəlɔ:ʃ* see no. 11	relâche
9	*klɔ:s*	classe	22	*rɑ̃.pɔ:r*	rempart
10	*lɔ:r*	lard	23	*riʃɔ:r*	Richard
11	*lɔ:ʃ* < OhG. *lask, OF. lasche (K. 4687)	lâche	24	*tɔ:r*	tard
12	*mɔ:l*	mâle	25	*tɔ:s* < OhG. tasca (K. 8062)	tasse
13	*myzɔ:r*	musard	26	*tɔ:ʃ*	tâche
			27	*trɛnɔ:r, trɛ̃nɔ:r*	trainard

Note. Nos. 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22 and 27 are probably not popular. I heard a young girl reading a story at the Falls, and thus noted them. They were afterwards pronounced to me as indicated by the school-teacher in Carleton.

§ III. *a*[2] = Passy's *a* in *rat* or *part,* from L. *a* in position, occurring also in many words formed by learned suffixes.

[1] Cf. Professor Squair's list (3) and his NB. "There is a tendency to drawl the *a* or *â* of many of these words, so that it comes to have almost the sound of *ou* in English *house*".

[2] In speaking of ɔ as "open" and *a* as "closed" (the real distinction being merely that for ɔ the lips are slightly rounded and the tongue drawn back, while for *a* the tongue is advanced, the corners of the lips being kept slightly apart, Passy, *Les sons,* 3d edition, pp. 79, 80; cf. also Vietor's distinction between the two French *a*s, *Elemente der Phonetik,* § 47, p. 63) it will, of course, be observed at once that this usage is quite counter to that of the French philologists of to-day, for example, as explained in the new *Dictionnaire général de la langue française* by

List 8.[1] Examples of *a* under the accent.

1	*-a:b* < L. -abilem	-able	21	*ba:g* root bag- (K. 991)	bague
2	e. g. *kɔ̃.vəna:b*	convenable	22	*bal* root bal (Gr. *βάλλειν*) (K. 1013)	balle
3	*kupa:b*	coupable	23	*bat*	battre
4	*prɔba:b*	probable	24	*dam*	dame
5	*-a:d* (foreign origin, L. -atam)	-ade	25	*efas* Fr. face (K. 2780)	efface
6	e. g. *briga:d*	brigade	26	*fas*	face
7	*kamara:d*	camarade	27	*glas*	glace
8	*sala:d*	salade	28	*kan*	canne
9	*-ak* < aculum (learned)	-acre	29	*kap*	cap
10	e. g. *masak* from Fr. massacrer (K. 5171)	massacre	30	*ka:g*	cage
11	*ɔpstak*	obstacle	31	*mal*	malle
12	*spɛktak*	spectacle	32	*nap*	nappe
13	*-al* < L. -al (learned)	-al	33	*pap*	pape
14	e. g. *pɔstal*	postale	34	*pat*	patte
15	*rwɛjal*	royal	35	*plas*	place
16	*sã.tral*	central	36	*ras*	race
17	*-a:g*[2] < L. -aticum	-age	37	*ra:g*	rage
18	e. g. *frrma:g, fɔrma:g*	fromage	38	*sak*	sac
19	*kura:g*	courage	39	*sal* < OhG. salo (K. 7102)	sal
20	*wɛja:g*	voyage	40	*ta:b*	table
			41	*trap*	trappe

1. One will therefore expect where standard French has *a* in *rat, part,* to find the same quality of vowel in the like words in the dialect;[3] and this, too, is the rule for dialect *a* save in the cases already discussed in § II, lists 4, 5 and 6.[4]

2. An indefinitely long list of examples of unaccented *a* = Fr. *a* in *rat, part,* from L. *a* in unaccented syllables, might easily be made. A few examples are given.

Darmesteter, Hatzfeld, and Thomas: "La voyelle *A*. *A* est fermé ou ouvert. *A* ouvert est long dans *rade* et bref dans *rate*. Dans *pâte,* l'*a* est fermé et long". As far as I have been able to observe, this characterization is here for the first time laid down; cf. also the observation on *ʒavɛ* = Canadian *ʒava* under § LIII, 1°, 3.

[1] Cf. for general similarity with Professor Squair's list (1).

[2] Professor Chamberlain notes *ravage, savage* "Fr. *a* = *â*, sound of *aw* in English *law* or very close to that sound" for the *Granby* dialect; *M. L. Notes,* Jan. 1893, p. 31.

[3] Cf. Legendre, *La langue française au Canada,* Edition of 1890, Québec, p. 42, "*A* bref se prononce", etc.

[4] This *a*, it seems to me, is the sound heard at the Falls of Montmorency in the popular speech in words whose ending corresponds to that of Fr. *-ai* and *-ais*. For example *vra* = Fr. vrai; *ã·gla* = Fr. anglais; *frã·sa* = Fr. français; cf. Professor Squair's list (5). I believe this pronunciation is distinctively a Canadian feature and one of the characteristics distinguishing Acadian from Canadian. Favre, in his *Glossaire du Poitou,* indicates about such a pronunciation for impf. endings, p. LXII, *avas* = Fr. avais. Cf. also Professor Rivard's criticism of Professor Squair's *Contribution* in the *Bulletin du parler français au Canada,* t. I, pp. 112-115; and see his explanation: *pɛ̀:r* = *pa'ɛ̀:r,* etc. t. II, pp. 68-70.

List 9.

1	*akoːr*	accord
2	*akte*	acter[1] jouer un rôle
3	*alɛ*	alun
4	*apsɛ̃ːs*	absence
5	*arjeːr*	arrière
6	*arive*	arrivé
7	*armwɛːr*	armoire
8	*arʒɛ̃, ærʒɛ*	argent
9	*aspaːrʒ*[2]	asperge
10	*aːval*	aval
11	*aʒɛ̃*	agent
12	*bajɛt*	baguette
13	*daboːr* < de + a + bord (K. 1287)	d'abord
14	*fatikje*	fatigué
15	*ganif*[3] < Old Frankish knif (K. 4559)	canif
16	*kafe* < Arab. quahvah (K. 6510)	café
17	*kanadᵕ* Indian, see no. 21, list 1	Canada
18	*magazɛ̃* < Arab. al-machsan (K. 440)	magazin
19	*manjeːr*	manière
20	*marje*	marié
21	*pᵕsaːʒe*	passager
22	*pave*	pavé
23	*sapɛ̃, sapɛ̃*	sapin
24	*satɛ̃, satɛ̃*	satin
25	*fakɛ̃*	chacun
26	*travɛrs*	traverse
27	*vapɛːr*	vapeur

3. *a*[4] = Passy's *a* in *part,* in accented syllables, corresponding to Fr. *e* before *r* + pronounced consonant.

M. Legendre, in speaking of the Canadian vowel in such words as in the following list, says[5] that it is that of *a* in Fr. *machine*, that is, I take it, Passy's *a* in *rat* or *part.* Prof. Squair, speaking of this same vowel in the corresponding words in the dialect of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, says[6] it is "like *a* in English *father*". The vowel of the Acadian words in the following list to my ear does not differ from that heard in the identical words either about Quebec or at Ste. Anne de Beaupré, in both of which localities I have noted it. I observe Passy writes French dialect forms[7] for Fr. *serpe* and *herbe* with the variety of *a* in *rat* or *part.* How difficult it is to be sure of what the vowel is, I have mentioned in speaking of *a* as in Fr. *pas* (p. 8, § I); and the following list for a long time I allowed to remain on my Ms. with the vowel as in French *pas.* I feel quite certain, however, that it is rather the vowel in Passy's *part,* and I have changed the whole list accordingly.

Sources: L. *ĕ* in position; L. *ĭ* in position; L. *-arium* in 12; Teut. *e* in 15; L. *a* or *ē* in 21; L. *ē* in 22; L. *ĭ* in 30; Teut. *a* in 31.

[1] Cf. Dunn for the sense in French *jouer un rôle* and see on this word the *Bulletin,* t. I, p. 91.

[2] See p. 18, foot-note 2.

[3] Professor Chamberlain records a like sound for *g* and *i* in *Granby. M. L. N.,* Jan. 1893, p. 33-34.

[4] Cf. this list with list 31.

[5] *La langue française,* pp. 44-5 (Québec, 1890).

[6] *A contribution to the study of the Franco-Canadian dialect,* list (11), or p. 164 of *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute,* 1888.

[7] *Etude,* p. 177, § 419.

List 10.

1	*alart*[1]	alerte
2	*arb*	herbe
3	*ars*	herse
4	*asparʒ*[2] < Gr. ἀσπάραγος (K. 810)	asperge
5	*avars*	averse
6	*ɛstarn*	externe
7	*farm*	ferme
8	*kazarn*	caserne
9	*kɔmars*	commerce
10	*kuvart*	couverte
11	*lātarn*	lanterne
12	*leʒart*[3] < *leviarum	légère
13	*marl*	merle
14	*narf*	nerf
15	*ɔbaːrʒ* < OhG. heriberga (K. 3881)	auberge
16	*parl*	perle
17	*parf*	perche
18	*part*	perte
19	*prɔvarb*	proverbe
20	*sart*	certes
21	*sarʒ* < L. *sarica, sērica (K. 7402)	serge
22	*sjarʒ* < L. cēreum, cerium (D. 548)	cierge
23	*sitarn*	citerne
24	*tarm*	terme
25	*uvart*	ouverte
26	*varb*	verbe
27	*vars*	verse
28	*vart*	verte
29	*varʒ*	verge
30	*vjarʒ* < OFr. virge for verge, L. vĭrginem (D. 699; K. 8749)	vierge
31	*ʒarb* < OhG. garba, OFr. garbe (K. 3606)	gerbe

4. Latin *e* in position gave originally *è* in old French. This *è* became, just when, it is difficult to say, but during the Middle Ages,[4] more open. H. Estienne (1582) attributed to the people of Paris the pronunciation *Piarre* for *Pierre,*[5] and Thurot says the permutation between *a* and *e* took place especially before *r* doubled or followed by another consonant.[6] It is owing to the influence of the consonant *r* upon the preceding vowel, and Passy explains thus: "La même influence—franchement labiovélaire pour *l,*[7] plus souvent vélaire ou parfois simplement ouvrante pour *r,* se retrouve dans diverses langues, notamment en anglais: *children* se prononce *tʃildrən* ou même *tšuldrən*; *sterre* a donné *star* . . . Dans beaucoup de nos patois le groupe *er* suivi d'une consonne devient (*ar*) : (*sarp*), (*arb*), pour *serpe, herbe,* etc.".[8]

Sources: L. unaccented *e* or *ĭ* in position. Variations are noted in the list.

[1] Not only do lists 10 and 11 represent the XVIth and XVIIth century pronunciation of these words (Thurot I, pp. 3, 4, *et seq.*), and even earlier, but this is popular French of some rural districts around Paris—"la règle se manifeste, impérieuse et sans exception, toutes les fois que l'*e* est suivi d'un *r*", Nisard, *Language populaire de Paris,* p. 136.

[2] The regular form in standard French would, of course, be *asparge,*—so this word illustrates the contrary permutation also in vogue at the same time: Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, *XVIe siècle en France,* p. 202.

[3] This form may be due to the analogy of feminine ending *-art* as in words in the same list like *kuvart, uvart, vart.*

[4] *Patois de Saint Genis les Ollières,* E. Philipon, in Clédat's *Revue des patois,* 1888, p. 31, § 33.

[5] Tome I, pp. 3. 4.

[6] Idem, p. 4.

[7] Cf. the Carleton *al* = Fr. *elle.*

[8] *Etude sur les changements phonétiques,* p. 177, § 419.

List 11.[1] *a* as in Fr. *part* (unaccented).

1	*advarsite*	adversité
2	*ara:b* < L. *ăcĕr* + pop. ending (K. 100; D.5)	érable[2]
3	*arba:ʒ*	herbage
4	*argo*[3] (obscure) (K. 2837; D. 509)	ergot
5	*arʏ(r)*, *arø*	erreur
6	*arse*	herser
7	*aparsəwɛ:r*	apercevoir
8	*avartismɛ̃*[4]	avertissement
9	*ã'farʒe* OF. enfergier, cf. D. 685	enfarger
10	*ã'ʒarba:ʒ* cf. no. 31 list 10	engerbage
11	*ã'ʒarbe* cf. no. 31 list 10	engerber
12	*ɛ̃'farnal*	infernal
13	*barʒe*	berger
14	*darnjɛ:r* OF. deerrain, derrain (K. 2504)	dernière
15	*desarvi:r*	desservir
16	*detarmine*	déterminer
17	*dezarte*	déserter
18	*dezartø*	déserteur
19	*disarne*	discerner
20	*divarsite*	diversité
21	*enarve*	énerver
22	*enarʒi*	énergie
23	*etarnɛl*[5]	éternel
24	*etarnite*[5]	éternité
25	*etarnɥe*	éternuer
26	*ezarbe*[6]	(sarcler)
27	*farmje*	fermier
28	*gurarnã:t*	gouvernante
29	*guvarne*	gouverner
30	*guvarnəmɛ̃*[4]	gouvernement
31	*guvarnʏ(r)*, *guvarnø*	gouverneur
32	*klarʒe*	clergé
33	*kɔmarsɛ̃*[4]	commerçant
34	*kɔ̃'sarvatʏr*	conservateur
35	*kɔ̃'sarve*	conservé
36	*kɔ̃'varsjã*	conversion
37	*libarte*	liberté
38	*marsənɛ:r*	mercenaire
39	*marsi*	merci
40	*marsje*	Mercier
41	*marino*[3]	merino
42	*marve:j*	merveille
43	*narvø*	nerveux
44	*ɔpsarve*	observé
45	*pardri*	perdrix
46	*pardy*	perdu
47	*parfid*	perfide
48	*parmɛt*	permettre
49	*parɔkjɛ* dimin of Petrus (K. 5869; D. 234, 237)	perroquet
50	*parpetɥe*	perpetué
51	*parseverã:s*	persévérance
52	*parsi* < Gr. πετροσέλινον	persil
53	*parsjɛn*[7] historical origin	persienne

[1] Cf. list 31 nos. 9 and 10 *barso* and *barʒri* existing by the side of *børso* and *børʒri*.

[2] The French form differs from the others in the list in having *un é fermé*.

[3] *o* (without accent) as in Fr. *mol* is more nearly correct than *o* (as in Fr. *môle*) or *ɔ* as in Fr. *mort*. I have used but two signs *o* and *ɔ* to avoid complexity.

[4] *mɛ̃* in the dialect regularly corresponds to Fr. *-ment*; see § XIII, footnote. Cf. also the pronunciation of these words with Prof. Squair's no. (17): "*an* and *en* in *avant*, *argent*, *vent* are often pronounced like *in* in Fr. *vin*"—or on p. 166 of *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, 1888.

[5] Can be heard pronounced also as in standard French; due most likely to educational influence; see Introduction, p. 3.

[6] A dialect word found in Jaubert: *esharber*. Cf. George Sand ... *semeurs*, *herseurs*, *héserbeurs* et *moissonneurs*, *La petite Fadette*, p. 38, Holt's edition, with Prof. Bôcher's notes.

[7] About Quebec the *ɛ* is somewhat nasalized; so, too, in words with endings corresponding to Fr. *-aine*, *-aime*, *-ène*, *-ème*, *-enne*, *-emme*; the *ɛ*,

54	*parsiste*	persisté
55	*parsistã:s*	persistance
56	*parsɔn*	personne
57	*parsɔna:ʒ*	personnage
58	*parsɔnal*	personnel
59	*parswade*	persuader
60	*part*	perte
61	*partinas*	pertinace
62	*parvarsjɔ̃*	perversion
63	*parvarti:r*[1]	pervertir
64	*prezarve*	préserver
65	*prɔvarb*	proverbe
66	*rəmarsje*	remercier
67	*rəmarsimɛ̃*[2]	remerciement
68	*rəʃarʃe*	recherché
69	*sarmɛ̃*[2] < L. sacramentum, OFr. sacrement (K. 7066)	serment
70	*sarmɔ̃*	sermon
71	*sarmɔne*	sermonner
72	*sarpɛ̃*[2]	serpent
73	*sart*	certes
74	*sartɛ̃*	certain
75	*sarvɛ̃*	servant
76	*sarvja:b*	serviable
77	*sarvjɛt*	serviette
78	*sarvi:r*	servir
79	*sarvɪs*	service
80	*sarvitø*	serviteur
81	*sarvityd*	servitude
82	*sarʒɛ̃*[2]	sergent
83	*ʃarfø:j*[3]	cerfeuil
84	*ʃarʃe*	chercher
85	*tarase*	terrasser
86	*tari:b, tarɪb*	terrible
87	*tarni:r*	ternir
88	*ynivarsɛl*	universel
89	*ynivarsite*	université
90	*vard◡:t*	verdâtre
91	*vardi:r*[4]	verdir
92	*vardy:r*[4]	verdure
93	*vargl◡*	verglas
94	*varme:j*	vermeille
95	*varni:r*	vernir
96	*vartigo*[1]	vertigo
97	*varty*[1]	vertu
98	*varʒe*	verger
99	*ʒarmɛ̃*[2] (K. 7627)	germain
100	*ʒarze*[5] *zarze*[6] etym. (?)	jersiais

3. Special cases. *a* exists in a few dialect words where in the same words in standard French there is no vowel whatever.

List 12.

1	*agrɛ̃*	(mauvais) grains
2	*alymɛl*[7] diminutive of lamina (K. 4647; D. 187)	(lame)
3	*amyz◡:r*	musard
4	*ap◡ti:r*	pâtir
5	*arəvjɛ̃*	revient
6	*arəmi:z*	remise
7	*asawɛ:r*[8]	savoir
8	*atrap*	trappe
9	*au, ao*	août
10	*avɪs*	vis
11	*aridɛl*	ridelle

if short, is half nasalized; if long, wholly, as in *blasfɛ̃:m* = Fr. blasphème. Moreover, the Canadian sound is rather *ɛ̃* than *ɛ̃*. Cf. p. 29, note 2.

[1] The Quebec form has a sound nearly like *t* + *s*; *parvartsi:r*.

[2] See p. 19, foot-note 4.

[3] For *ʃ* = Fr. *s*, see list 49.

[4] The Quebec form has a sound nearly like *d* + *z*; *t* and *d* in Canadian French, before *i* and *u*, are pronounced with the tongue between the teeth; *vardzi:r*.

[5] J. F. Gingras in his *Manuel des expressions vicieuses* writes *zarsais*. Cf. § XXIV, 4, foot-note.

[6] Quebec: *ʒarzɛ*.

[7] See *Bulletin*, t. II, p. 205: *Alumelle.—La lemelle*, etc.

[8] The expression *faire asavoir* is not only XVIth century usage but is popular rural French

No. 1. Manseau[1] defines: "Mauvais grains, déchets, rebuts du bon grain.—Pas français". Jônain[2] gives this word and also the verb *agrener,* which suggests at once the explanation: influence of the verb on the noun. The *a* of the Saintonge verb is probably the preposition Fr. *à,* which has become attached. No. 2. Same origin as *amlɛt* = Fr. omelette, OFr. alemele from *la lemele,* the *a* in the dialect word being the *a* of the article Fr. *la.* Littré gives Fr. *alumelle* but says "vieux". No. 3. Influence of the verb *amyze* = Fr. amuser. No. 4. Merely *a* = Fr. preposition *à* prefixed. No. 5. Cf. the Canadian expression:[3] *si sɔ t arvjẽ ãkɔːr* = Fr. si ça te revient encore, probably *arive* = Fr. arriver is in the speaker's mind and thus shows its influence. No. 6 *arimaʒ* = Fr. arrimage, or *arime* = Fr. arrimer, to put away may be in mind, a *remise* being where a carriage is put away. Passy, however, says that the *a* in the same popular Fr. word is merely the *a* of the article *la*[4] and gives examples *un ègre, l'armise, l'alson* for *un nègre, la remise, la leçon.* No. 7 and 8 are like no. 4, cases of Fr. *à* becoming prefixed; or in 8 rather influence of Fr. *attraper.* No. 9. Classical Latin *augustum* gave LL. *agusto,* OFr. *aost,* the two vowels being pronounced separately in XVIth century popular French,[5] and the dialect retains this pronunciation; common also in the dialects of France.[6] No. 10. This word being continually used in the expression *turnavɪs* (*turnəvɪs*) = Fr. tournevis, a reinforcement of the transitory sound *ə* has taken place resulting in the dialect *turnavis* and *avis.* Cf. Fr. *canif* from knif, Passy, *Étude,* § 521. No. 11 *aridɛl,* agglutination with the article.

4. *a* = Fr. *è* in the following words: 1 *a, al* < L. illam (K. 4078) = Fr. elle; 2 *asɛj* < L. exagium (K. 2868) = Fr. essai; 3 *flat* = Fr. flette; 4 *flam* = Fr. flegme; 5 *frazi* < fractillum? (cf. Littré) = Fr. fraisil; 6 *graːv* < L. grava (K. 3758) = Fr. grève; 7 *kuan* < L. *cŭtĭnĭă (K.$_2$ 2722) = Fr. couenne; 8 *nani* OFr. nenil < nōn ĭl(le) (K. 5639) = Fr. nenni; 9 *rekwiam* < L. requiem = Fr. requiem; 10 *rua, roa* < L. rota + *-ittum = Fr. rouet. The etymologies show the dialect sources of the *a* to be those of the corresponding Fr. *è.*

No. 1 *al* in the dialect is both nominative and object case; *a* only nom. (before consonant); *ɛl* = Fr. elle, however, is the more common form in the objective case and emphatic.[7] This *al* is very common indeed in many French dialects.[8] Thurot[9] speaks of it as a popular pronunciation, which did not become the normal one, evidently regarding it as one of those permutations between *a* and *e* so common in XVIth century French,[10] one phase of which has already been discussed in lists 10

about Paris,—Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris,* p. 107. I find *assavoir* even in XIVth century French: Froissart, *Chronicle,* book I, of § 28 in Paget Toynbee's *Specimens of Old French,* p. 294, line 1.

[1] *Dictionnaire des locutions vicieuses du Canada.*

[2] *Dictionnaire saintongeais.*

[3] See Manseau, p. 79.

[4] *Etude,* p. 127, § 278, and note 2.

[5] Thurot, tome I, p. 505.

[6] See Jônain, Jaubert, and l'abbé Corblet (Patois picard).

[7] *ɛl* = Fr. elle seems to me due to educational influence; cf. Pronouns, § XLVI.

[8] See the dialect dictionaries.

[9] Tome I, p. 20.

[10] Jaubert under *A* says: "*a* remplace *e* dans une foule de mots, la plupart du vieux français".

and 11. The *l* in this particular case, as well as in many other French words in *al* in XVIth century French,[1] seems to have had an influence similar to that of *r* on the preceding vowel,[2] and this dialect, like other French dialects, in this particular case retains the forms *a* and *al*, which did not become normal.

No. 2 *asɛj*. Jaubert gives the form *assai*, this again being most likely due to one of the permutations just mentioned.

No. 3 *flat* in the sense of a *flat boat*, I took to be due to English influence. I afterwards saw Littré's remark quoting Jal, who gives E. *flat* as the origin of the word.

No. 4 *flam*, a learned word; the *l* tends to open the vowel, just as *r* does in no. 5; but there is likely confusion with *flam* in *ãflame* = Fr. enflammer.

No. 5 *frazi*, given both by Jaubert and Jônain as a Berry pronunciation. It is apparently another of the many permutations, which the dialect retains.

No. 6 *gravv*, also in Jaubert and Jônain *grave*. An additional reason in this particular case may be the influence of Fr. *gravier*.

No. 7 *kuan* and no. 8 *nani*, common popular as well as dialect French pronunciations. The change here turns apparently on something different from the preceding cases. The nasalization of Fr. *a* and *e* before a nasal is very old,[3] and when the vowel was separated from final *e* by *m* or *n*, or both *m* and *n*, or either doubled, it was just as nasal as ever. It was about the XVIth century that this nasalization became lost, the oral vowel becoming open. For example, *femme*, to use Paris' notation, was in old times pronounced *fēme*, then *fãme* and finally *fàme*. To-day the words *hennir*, *solennel*, *femme*, *indemnité*, and the dialect as well as modern French words *kuan* and *nani* testify to this development.

No. 9 *rekɥiam*, a learned word, possibly influenced by the commoner ending *-am* in the formula, where it is most used: "Requiem aeternam, dona eis, Domine".

No. 10 *rua*, *roa* = Fr. rouet. Due in all probability to Canadian influence or some dialect of Canadian, where Fr. *et*, *ais* is represented by *a* (cf. list 48, no. 14).

5. *a* = *e* in Fr. *de*: *fani* (K. 3189 from fēnare + ending) = Fr. fenil. Probably influence of Fr. *faner* "to make hay". Both forms are given in Jaubert with a difference in sense. Thurot's[4] quotations show, that both were in use in the XVIth century.

Remark 1. In Quebec, I noted 1 *akyle*[5] = Fr. éculer; 2 *kramɔn* (*Cremonem) = Fr. Crémone, and 3 *trazor* (K. 8167) = Fr. trésor.

No. 1 *akyle*, permutation[6] again which, as it occurs so often particularly where the consonant is *r* or *l* usually following the vowel, might very well occur in other cases analogically where the consonant as in this case is different. ad + cūlum (K. 2327). Also may be said to be taken from old French.

No. 2 *kramɔn*. Just as *r* has the effect indicated in lists 10 and 11 when after the vowel, so the same effect is apparent tho not in such a marked degree when before it.

No. 3 *trazor*, the statement in regard to *kramɔn* applies here also.

[1] See the list in Thurot, tome I, p. 20, § 2.
[2] Cf. Passy, *Étude*, § 419.
[3] *o fermé*, G. Paris, *Romania*, X, p. 53.
[4] Tome II, pp. 456-7.
[5] Jônain writes *açhuler*.
[6] Thurot, t. I, p. 29 gives it as one of these cases.

The following were first noted in Quebec; nos. 1, 3 and 4 were verified for Carleton afterwards.

6. *a* = Fr. open *o* in 1 *amlɛt* (see list 12, no. 2) = Fr. omelette, also Carleton usage; 2 *mavɛz* (see K. for proposed G. *balvasi 1026; male vatium 5014) = Fr. mauvaise; 3 *arije* (from Fr. oreille K. 919) = Fr. oreiller, also Carleton; 4 *kakɔ̃:b* < cucŭmeum (K. 2308) = Fr. concombre, also Carleton pronunciation.

Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are cases of unrounding, the vowels, as regards position, very nearly corresponding, *a* being mid back wide outer,[1] and *ɔ* mid back wide rounded. In 4, there is, in addition, denasalization. For no. 1 *amlɛt*, see Thurot, t. I, pp. 32-35: permutation de *o* et *a*; p. 34: "on dit à Paris *amelette*". Nisard for popular rural French around Paris spells *amelette*.[2]

Remark 2. The correspondence noted in nos. 1, 2, and 3 above is more common in Quebec, where the following were noted: 1 *arɛj* (K. 919) = Fr. oreille; 2 *arɛje* (deriv. of 1) = Fr. oreiller; 3 *apɔ̃* < *ŭnionem for ūnio- (K. 8500) = Fr. oignon; 4 *arāʒ* < sanskr. nâgasanga (K. 5530) = Fr. orange; 5 *krake* see croc (K. 2277) = Fr. croquer (as well as Fr. craquer); 6 *framaʒ* = Fr. fromage; 7 *mavɛz* (see no. 2 above under 6.) = Fr. mauvaise; 8 *pane* < pŭgnum (K. 6444) = Fr. poignet.

As these forms do not belong to the dialect discussed, I do not feel called upon to explain them. It may be worth while however to say that Diez's remark in the *Vorrede* of his *Wörterbuch* in regard to the "begünstigung des *a* in erster unbetonter silbe" may possibly suggest an explanation. It will be noticed that all the syllables where the *a* occurs in the words under 6 are unaccented.

7. *a* = Fr. *ou* in *lavɛje* = Fr. louvoyer.[3] Cf. K. 4875 Ndl. loef. A nautical term, pronounced quickly. This change in an unaccented syllable is not wholly unlike the cases just discussed, but I see no satisfactory explanation.

Note. For *bartɛl* = Fr. bretelle, which I noted in Quebec, cf. Remark 2, under 6. above for the *a*; cf. also § XXIII, 8, Remark.

§ III A. *æ* = Fr. *a* in *rat* does not occur regularly in the dialect any more than *a* = Fr. *a* in *pas* does (see p. 8, § I). I have regarded it merely as a variety of *a*, which may occur in words having regularly *a*; for example, *fapo* = Fr. chapeau, may sometimes be pronounced *fæpo*; it seems to me sporadic or individual, meriting just this mention.[4]

§ IV. *e* as in Fr. *dé*, L. *a* not in position, not before a nasal or palatal; or from L. *a* before mute + liquid.

1. In the dialect, *e* has followed closely the course of Fr. *é*. During the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, the open *e* displaced closed *e* in a great many cases and under a variety of circumstances in standard French.[5] The dialect too shows

[1] Sweet, *Primer*, p. 84.

[2] *Langage populaire*, p. 159.

[3] See Thurot, t. I, p. 385, in regard to the pronunciation of this word.

[4] Prof. Squair, however, in his *A contribution* etc. gives 102 examples of it in list 1. It is just as between *a* in *pas* and *a* in *part*, in a great many words, most puzzling to feel positive in regard to what to record, *a* or *æ*. For the Acadian words, to my ear, the sound leans rather towards *a* than *æ*.

[5] Thurot, I, p. 48.

the same change, so that just as in modern French, *e* is heard only exceptionally in closed syllables.[1] The pronunciation of *e* has varied very much as Thurot shows,[2] the distinctions being of a delicate nature and easy to be confounded by the ear. Examples of exact correspondence in accented syllables are: 1 *abe*[3] < L. abbatem (K. 11) = Fr. abbé; 2 *ase* < L. ad + satis (K. 223) = Fr. assez; 3 *done*[4] < L. donare = Fr. donné; 4 *gre* < L. gratum (K. 3757) = Fr. gré; 5 *kle* < L. clavem (K. 1943) = Fr. clef; 6 *ne*[5] < L. natum (K. 5544) = Fr. né.

2. Examples in unaccented syllables of *e* = Fr. *é*, same origin as Fr. *é*, that is mostly *ē* and *e*, *e* of Latin *ex* and occurring in many learned words: 1 *beni:r* < benedicere (K. 1117) = Fr. bénir; 2 *devɔre* < OFr. devourer (K. 2546) = Fr. dévorer; 3 *dezi:re* < desiderare (K. 2522) = Fr. désirer; 4 *ɔbei:r* < obedire (K. 5690) = Fr. obéir.

List 13.

e[6] = Fr. *è* in accented syllables. Old retentions. Sources: In nos. 1. 2. 4. 5. 8 and 10 L. *a* before a mute and a liquid. See the sources given with the other cases.

1	*fre:r*	frère	8	*me:r*[8]	mère
2	*kɔ̃fre:r*	confrère	9	**ne:ʒ*[7] nĭveum (K. 5621)	neige
3	*kɔle:ʒ* L. collegium	collège	10	*pe:r*[8]	père
4	*kɔme:r*	commère	11	**sakrile:ʒ*[7] L. sacrilegium	sacrilège
5	*kɔ̃pe:r*	conpère	12	**sje:ʒ*[7] noun from sedi-care (K. 7344)	siège
6	**lje:ʒ*[7] levium (K. 4776)	liège			
7	*me* Majum (K. 4995)	mai			

3. My own observation while in Canada led me to believe that this feature (dialect *e* where French has the open *e*) was far more common in the country region about Quebec than in Acadian districts.[9] Thurot quotes many authorities showing the pronunciation here indicated to be popular XVIth century French and with the exception of *lje:ʒ*[10] and *sje:ʒ*,[10] all these words (barring the three compounds) are given with authority indicating the *e* pronunciation.[11] The starred words are of interest, having the two pronunciations *e* and *ɛ*, because they show the same conflict going on as has taken place in France.[12]

[1] Passy, *Les sons*, 5th edition, p. 61. § 110 and note (1).

[2] Tome I, p. 38 *et seq.*

[3] So with all L. endings in *-atem*.

[4] So with all L. endings in *-are*.

[5] So with all L. endings in *-atum*.

[6] Agnel indicates for popular rural pronunciation of final *ere*, *ère* giving *pér*, *mer* etc.: *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 12.

[7] This pronunciation is that of young people, while that with *ɛ*, which is quite as common, is that of old people. Cf. *mɛ:j* and *pɛ:j* in list 2.

[8] See Jaubert for *père peire*, *mère meire*.

[9] Professor Squair's lists (6) and (12) go far to support the truth of this observation.

[10] See however for words ending in *-ege*, tome I, p. 67.

[11] See the *Index* to Thurot.

[12] Passy, *Les sons*, 2d edition, p. 53, note (1) and the foot-note to the 5th edition, p. 61.

List 14. *e* = Fr. *è*, OFr. diphthong *ié*,[1] followed by a pronounced *r* in the final syllable, L. *ĕ*, mostly, however, from L. *a* in the suffix *-arium* = OFr. *-ier*; see the list.

1	*arje:r* ad rĕtro (K. 231)	arrière	15	*kutyrje:r*	couturière
2	*bane:r*[2]	bannière	16	*lizje:r*	lisière
3	*bɔrje:r*	barrière	17	*lymje:r*	lumière
4	*bje:r* (Germanic) (K. 1168)	bière	18	*menaze:r*	ménagère
5	*bulā:ze:r*	boulangère	19	*prije:r*	prière
6	*etaze:r*	étagère	20	*pusje:r*	poussière
7	*etrā:ze:r*	étrangère	21	*pwɛvrje:r*[4]	poivrière
8	*fuze:r*	fougère	22	*sosje:r*	saucière
9	*glasje:r*	glacière	23	*sɔrsje:r*	sorcière
10	*grosje:r*	grossière	24	*supje:r*	soupière
11	*gutje:r*[3]	gouttière	25	*fomje:r*	chaumière
12	*klɛrje:r*	clairière	26	*tarje:r* (m.)	tarière
13	*kremaje:r*	crémaillère	27	*trezɔrje:r*	trésorière
14	*krupje:r*	croupière			

4. While the XVIth century grammarians recognized three *e*s, (*é*, *è* and the so-called mute *e*, which is not mute) it was only towards the end of the century that the acute and the grave accents began to be used with some regularity to denote quality.[5] Usage in regard to which words should have the acute and which the grave accent, particularly in words ending in Fr. *-ere*, was far from universal;[6] as illustrating this, it is noteworthy that the dictionary of the Academy of 1740, which first used accents, after the word *misére* no longer writes words in *-ére* with the acute accent but only with the grave, while before *misére*, it is the exception to find words ending in Fr. *-ere* with the grave.[7] Evidently opinion in regard to accenting these words changed while the dictionary was being prepared. In 1762, the academy wrote all words in *-ere* with the grave. The final consonant exercised an influence on the *e* immediately preceding it.[8] This development of opening the preceding vowel has already been shown in a striking manner by lists 10 and 11 in the dialect. The *r*[9] of infinitives during the XVIth century was sounded, the pronunciation of the syllable remaining as originally in old French *iér* or *ér*,[10] but at the end of the century this opening influence is noted,[11] and when the *r* became silent, as it was gradually becoming at this time, making the *e* final, the *e* was pronounced as to-day.[12]

[1] Paris, *Chanson de Roland*, 7th edition, § 20.

[2] For dialect *µ* = Fr. *ni*, see list 64.

[3] Cf. p. 20 notes 1 and 4; a similar pronunciation of *t* and *d*, in Quebec French occurs also before *j* and *ɥ*: *gutsje:r*; *redzɥi:r* = Fr. réduire.

[4] Quebec: *pwɛvərje:r*.

[5] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVI^e siècle en France*, p. 200, § 24.

[6] Thurot, I, p. 72.

[7] Idem, p. 74; cf. also Livet's observation quoting *matiére* with reference to this Fr. *ere* ending, p. 7.

[8] Thurot, I, p. 48.

[9] Cf., too, with reference to *é* or *è* + *r*, Tobler's interesting observations, p. 118: *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit.*

[10] Thurot, I, p. 55.

[11] Idem, p. 58.

[12] Cf. § XXXIV, 5, remarks on final *r*.

As regards the diphthong *ie*, it was, generally speaking, pronounced with a closed *e*. Nevertheless, the open *e* could already be heard in such endings as *-iel, -hier, -ienne, -ierre*; during the next century the *e* of the diphthong *ie* followed the destiny of accented *e*: it became open in all the words where the following consonant was pronounced. It remained, however, during a long period, closed in the words ending in *-iege* and in *-iere*, where it followed the analogy of words in *-ere* and in *-ege*.[1] It becomes evident, then, that the pronunciation *é* noted in the dialect in lists 13 and 14 is simply a retention of the former old French pronunciation.

e — Fr. *è*, written *ai*, in unaccented syllables. This Fr. *ai* pronounced to-day *è* may be either etymological, coming from L. *a* + palatal, or purely orthographic, when it may represent *è, ê, ei* or perhaps some other value of Fr. *e*.

List 15.

1	*afe·bli:r* (ad + flēbilem + ir) (K. 3321)	affaiblir	8	*e·ne* < L. antea natum, OFr. ains né (K. 601)	ainé
2	*e·de*	aidé	9	*enɛs* see no. 8	ainesse
3	*egrɛt* < OhG. heigir (K. 3920)	aigrette	10	*fe·blɛs* < flēbilem	faiblesse
4	*egɥi:j*	aiguille	11	*feneã* (K. 5573)	faineant
5	*egɥi:jõ*	aiguillon	12	*le·dr:r* < OG. laið (K. 4635)	laideur
6	*egɥi:ze*	aiguiser	13	*letri*	laiterie
7	*eme* < amare, OFr. amer (K. 526)	aimer	14	*metrɛs*	maîtresse
			15	*rezɔne*	raisonner

5. The *e* coming from *ai* followed in general the analogy of the *e* that did not have that origin, the tendency being to pronounce it open, closed, or so-called mute in the same conditions.[2] With *ai*, just as with *e*, both unaccented, usage was less decided than when both bore the accent. There was a tendency at least from the end of the XVIIth century to pronounce initial *ai* like closed *e*.[3] Thurot says of *e* atonic, not feminine, (i. e. *é* which is met with only in initial or medial syllables) that its quality is not as perceptible as that of accented *e*.[4] It is then not to be wondered at that considerable indecision with regard to it took place, both in speaking and writing. Because of the pronunciation of *ai* as *è*, *è* became written for it and conversely. Sometimes, however, *ai* represented *e*, and conversely *e* was sometimes used for *ai*.[5] The general rules for whether *e* was open or closed in unaccented syllables in XVIIth century French Thurot gives;[6] no. 5 is that *e* at the beginning of a word, whether preceded or not by *h*, is closed, when followed by a single consonant or by two, of which the first is a mute and the second *l* or *r*. This rule

[1] Thurot, I, p. 471.
[2] Thurot, I, p. 308.
[3] Idem, p. 309.
[4] Tome I, p. 87.
[5] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVIe siècle*, p. 201.
[6] Tome I, pp. 88-9.

would account for the *e* in nos. 2, 3, 7, 8 and 9 of the above list even tho express authority for such pronunciation of those individual words were not given.[1] Nos. 1 and 10 follow very likely, analogically, the pronunciation *fe:ble* (Thurot, I, p. 406). Thurot gives authorities for the closed *e* in nos. 4, 5 and 6; and for this pronunciation of *ai* in *raison*, on the analogy of which *rezɔne* might be accounted for. There then remain of the words in the list but nos. 11, 12, 13 and 14 to be accounted for, which one may not unnaturally suppose to be due to analogy of *e* in the unaccented syllable of words like no. 10, *fe'blɛs*; nevertheless, I find no direct proof in XVIth and XVIIth century French that the pronunciation of the vowel was other than *ɛ*. The pronunciation then of the unaccented *e* in the above words points to a XVIth century like pronunciation, which itself was a change from the original OFr. pronunciation, which must have been *ɛ*, as the etymologies of the words where *e* comes from L. *a* + palatal clearly indicate. Other influences then led to the pronunciation noted of *e*, which was not destined to become the normal pronunciation but of which the above words in the dialect are traces.

6. Special cases.

1	*abrrʒe*	abrégé	8	*prrʒydɪs* (learned)	préjudice
2	*egrɑ̃.dir*	agrandir	9	*retrrsir* < OFr. estrecier (K. 7812)	rétrécir
3	*eʒɑ̃.be*	enjamber	10	*sejɔ̃*	sillon
4	*kri* (OFr. querre, L. quaerere)	quérir	11	*ʃap* < OhG. scharpe (K. 7228)	écharpe
5	*medi*	midi	12	*ʒarze, zarze* (for *z*, see § XXIV, 4)	jersiais
6	*mekrrdi, mœrkœrdi* (§ XXXIII, 8, remark)	mercredi			
7	*penɛri* < panaricium (K. 5850)	panaris			

α. *e* = *a* (Fr. *a* in *rat*). 2 *egrɑ̃dir* = Fr. agrandir. Simply confusion of prefix, some world like Fr. *élargir* being in mind. 7 *penɛri* = Fr. panaris. The substitution of *a* for *e*, particularly before *r* has been noted in lists 10 and 11 as well as before other consonants (§ III, 4). The substitution of *e* for *a* tho not nearly as common as the reverse, was by no means infrequent as the numerous examples given by Thurot[2] show. As illustrating this usage, a parallel case to this one may be easily found: "On dit bien mal à propos (à Paris) *peinier* pour *panier*".

β. *e* = *ɑ̃* (Fr. *an, en*). 3 *eʒɑ̃.be* = Fr. enjamber; confusion of prefix; with dialect words like *ezarbe*[3] for Fr. sarcler.

γ. *e* = *ɛ* (Fr. *e* before *r*; written sometimes *-ai*). 6 *mekɑrdi*[4] = Fr. mercredi; when the first *r* drops out by dissimilation, the word is treated as regards syllabication

[1] See the Index to Thurot for page, etc.
[2] Tome I, pp. 3-32. Idem, I, p. 26.
[3] Cf. list 11, no. 26.
[4] Cf. Thurot, *mécredi*, II, p. 279; also Quebec *mɛkœdzi*; cf. p. 25, note 3.

like all other words, the *e* appearing in the open first syllable as *e*. 12 *zarze* = Fr. jersiais;[1] influence of E. Jersey. Cf. IV. *Phraseology*, § LXIII, no. 192 and § XXIV, 4.

ẽ. *e* > *i*. 5 *medi* > Fr. midi; an easy change in an unaccented syllable, the positions mid front narrow and high front narrow being so close. Unaccented vowels, according to Passy,[2] tend to a medium degree of openness. 10 *sejõ* > Fr. sillon; "au seizième siècle, on disait *seillon* et *sillon*".[3] The remark in the preceding case applies here as well.

ɛ. Fr. *é* is unrepresented in dialect 4 *kri*[4] = Fr. quérir. A contraction occasioned by rapidity of speech aided perhaps by the vocalic nature of *r*. Cf. *krɛlle*[5] for Fr. querelle, which though easier is similar to the loss of *e* in the unaccented syllable. 11 *ʃap* > Fr. écharpe; due to weakness of the initial accent stress compared with that on the final syllable.[6]

ɛ̃. Fr. *é* does not apparently appear in the following three dialect words: 1 *abrɪʒe* > Fr. abréger; 8 *prɪʒydɪs* > Fr. préjudice; 9 *retɪrsiːr* > Fr. rétrécir. These words take after a numerous class like *brrtɛl* = Fr. bretelle.[7]

§ V. *ɛ* > Fr. *e* in Passy's *net*,[8] (written in various ways in French, as for example *e* before *r, ll, l*; *ai*; *ei*; *e*; *ê*). From L. *ĕ*, (*ae*) in position; *e*, (*oe*), *ĭ* in position;—from the sources of Fr. *ai*;—occurring mostly in accented syllables in the dialect—of course, too, in learned words as in French.

List 16.[9] Accented *ɛ*.

1	*bədɛn*	etymology not clear (K. 2725) bedaine
2	*bɛf*[10]	Celtic root bacc (K. 973) bêche
3	*brɛf*[10]	OhG. brëcha (K. 1323) brêche
4	*defɛt*[10]	défaite
5	*distrɛt*[10]	distraite
6	*duzɛn*	douzaine
7	*ɛd*	aide
8	*ɛg*	aigle
9	*ɛstrɛm*	extrême
10	*ɛl*	aile
11	*ɛspɛs*[11]	*speciam for species (K. 7655) espèce
12	*fidɛl*	*fidalem, OFr. feeil (K. 3228) fidèle
13	*fiɛv*	fièvre

[1] Cf. Gingras, *zarsais*, p. 75.

[2] *Etude*, p. 138.

[3] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, p. 202, note 1. Thurot gives both forms, I, p. 349. Jônain, Jaubert: *seillon*.

[4] *allez q'ri*, Thurot, I, p. 154.

[5] Idem. This form *kri* (noted in different ways) is the one generally given in the dialect dictionaries.

[6] Cf. *tse pa* = Fr. je ne sais pas, and the examples on p. 123 of Passy's *Etude* for something similar in principle, at least.

[7] See list 58.

[8] *Les sons*, 5th edition, p. 85. 6°. The school dictionaries give *nè* as indicating the pronunciation of the masculine form of feminine *nette*. Littré, however, remarks the commonness of the pronunciation with *t* which Passy indicates.

[9] See Paris, *Extraits*, p. 7, § 17.

[10] These words seem even shorter than the others in the list. The vowel in each case is before an unvoiced consonant; cf. E. *hat* and *had*, and see p. 5, Grandgent, *German and English sounds*, comparing with Passy, *Les sons*, 3d edition, p. 62, § 113, 3°.

[11] See page 29, foot-note 2.

14	*fisɛl*	ficelle
15	*flɛf*[1] Ndl. flets (bow) (K. 333. 7081)	flèche
16	*fɔ̃·tɛn*	fontaine
17	*grɛn*	graine
18	*kalɛf*[1] Czech kolesa (K. 4562)	calèche
19	*kapitɛn*	capitaine
20	*karɑ̃·tɛn*	quarantaine
21	*karɛs*[1]	caresse
22	*kɛ̃·zɛn*	quinzaine
23	*krɛm* Gr. *χρίσμα* (K. 1857)	crême
24	*krɛt*[1]	crête
25	*krylɛl* *crudalem for crudelem (K. 2286)	cruel
26	*lɛt* OhG. (leid) laið (K. 4635)	laide
27	*lɛn*	laine
28	*mɛs*[2]	messe
29	*migrɛn*	migraine
30	*mizɛn*	mizaine
31	*parfɛt*[1]	parfaite
32	*pɛn*	peine
33	*rɛg*	règle
34	*rətrɛt*[1]	retraite
35	*satisfɛt*[1]	satisfaite
36	*selɛb*	célèbre
37	*syprɛm*	suprême
38	*trɛt*[1]	traite
39	*trɛf*	trèfle
40	*sɑ̃·tɛn*	centaine
41	*ʃɔtɛn*	for Fr. châtain[3]

2. The only example of this very short open *e* that I noted in unaccented syllables is *rɛdir* = Fr. raidir. This word, however, was also pronounced *redir*, analogy most likely of words like Fr. *réduire*. Perhaps one reason for not noting more may be that unaccented short open *e* and unaccented closed *e* are by no means easy to tell apart in many cases.[4] Quebec pronunciation of ɛ in the words in list 16 is identical except no. 7 which is *e:d* or *ɛ:d*; and no. 24 is often pronounced *krɛ:t*. However the ɛ in the words preceding a nasal consonant, tho short, becomes half nasalized.

List 17.

ɛ = Fr. *e* in *père*, same origin as the ɛ in the preceding list. The vowel is longer and more open than that in the preceding list. Sweet, speaking of the French mid front wide, says:[5] In some pronunciations this vowel appears to be lowered (mid front narrow) or even full (low front narrow).

1	*ɑ̃.pɛ:f*	empêche
2	*bɔtɛ:m*	baptême
3	*bɛ:t*	bête
4	*blasfɛ:m*[6]	blasphème
5	*blɛ:m* ONorse? blâme (K. 1236)	blême

[1] See p. 28, footnote 10.

[2] *espɛs* and *mɛs* in the pronunciation of young people; cf. list 17, nos. 7 and 22. The Quebec pronunciation of nos. 6, 9, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 32, 37, 40, 41 is noted on p. 19, note 7. Moreover, in and around Quebec, a labialized ɛ can be heard in nos. 3, 9, 13, 23, 36, 37, 39; thus: *brœf* instead of *brɛf*, etc.

[3] Cf. list 3, no. 32.

[4] Passy, *Les sons*, 3rd edition, p. 84, § 155, 14°: ë "ce son remplace souvent (e) et (ɛ) dans la syllable qui précède l'accent" etc. . . . "Du reste il se rapproche tantôt plus de (e) tantôt plus de (ɛ)".

[5] Primer, § 242.

[6] See p. 19, note 7 for no. 4; and also for nos. 2, 5, 14, 21, 30.

6	*depɛːf*	dépêche
7	*ɛspɛːs*[1]	espèce
8	*ɛːt*	être
9	*evɛːk*	évêque
10	*frɛːz*	fraise
11	*glɛːz*	glaise
12	*grɛːl*	grêle
13	*grɛːs*	graisse
14	*karɛːm*	carême
15	*kɔ̃ kjɛːt*	conquête
16	*krɛːp*	crêpe
17	*cɛːs*	caisse
18	*cɛːt*	quête
19	*mɛːg*	maigre
20	*mɛːl*	mêle
21	*mɛːm*	même
22	*mɛːs*[1]	messe
23	*ɔnɛːt*	honnête
24	*pɛːf*	pêche
25	*prɛːt*	prêtre
26	*fɛːz*	chaise
27	*tɛːt*	tête
28	*vinɛːg*	vinaigre
29	*jɛːp*	guêpe
30	*ʒɛːn* Hebrew originally (K. 3632)	gêne

List 18.

ɛ = Fr. *e* in *père*, in unaccented syllables. Sources: L. *ē, ĕ, ĭ* and the sources of Fr. *ai* especially in the termination *-ationem* = Fr. *-aison*.

1	*ɑ̃ːtɛːte*	entête
2	*bɛːle*	bêler
3	*bɛːfe*	bêcher
4	*bɛːtiːz*	bêtise
5	*bɛːze* basiare (K. 1069)	baiser
6	*deplɛːziːr*	déplaisir
7	*epɛːsiːr*	épaissir
8	*eʃofɛːzɔ̃*	echauffaison
9	*kargɛːzɔ̃*	cargaison
10	*kɔ̃binɛːzɔ̃*	combinaison
11	*malɛːze*	malaisé
12	*mɛːgriːr*	maigrir
13	*mɛːtriːz*	maîtrise
14	*mɛ̃ːzɔ̃*	maison
15	*pɛːziːb*	paisible
16	*prɛːfe*	prêcher
17	*rafrɛːfiːr* G. frisk, OFr. freis (K. 3419, 3441, 3465)	rafraîchir
18	*rɛːzɔ̃*	raison
19	*sɛːziːr* OhG. saʒyan (K. 632)	saisir
20	*sɛːzisaːb* see no. 19	saisissable
21	*sɛːzɔ̃* sationem (K. 7176; see also 7143 and 7751)	saison

3. The reason for giving lists 16, 17 and 18 is to show how closely standard French and the dialect agree. In regard to the vowel ɛ. Passy says that in distinction from the other vowels, ɛ is often short or long before the same consonant, the quantity alone serving to differentiate the words, cf. *renne* (*rɛn*) and *reine* (*reːn*).[2] Thurot, speaking of *e* and ɛ atones, says: "Dans les mots de la langue vulgaire, le domaine de l'*e* fermé ou ouvert est séparé de celui de l'*e* féminin par une ligne de démarcation qui n'a pas beaucoup changé depuis le XVI[e] siècle". Then, in laying down his rules (t. I, p. 89, 4°), for when *e* is open, closed, or the indefinite so-called mute sound, he

[1] *ɛspɛːs* and *mɛːs* is the pronunciation of old people; cf. list 16, nos. 11 and 28; also the pronunciations *bwa* and *bwɔ* (list 6); *nɛːʒ* and *neːʒ* (list 13, no. 9); *paːj* and *pɔːj* (list 2, nos. 14 and 16).

[2] *Les sons*, 5th edition, p. 85, 6°.

states that *e* is "toujours ouvert devant l'*r* double ou suivie d'une autre consonne, et d'ordinaire devant les doubles consonnes, *ss, tt, ff, ll.*"

Lists 16 and 17 being practically the same, save the quantity distinction just pointed out, the etymologies of the greater part of the words point to the old open *e* sound;—that is from L. *a* + a palatal; also from L. *a* before nasals, not followed by a consonant (both being usually expressed in modern Fr. by *ai*). The Fr. *ai* in list 18 like the accented Fr. *ai* in the preceding lists comes from a L. *a* before palatals, so that the pronunciation both in French and in the dialect presents as a rule only regular features.

4. The words *frɛ* = Fr. frais, *lɛ* = Fr. laid, and *palɛ* = Fr. palais had an *e* of very open quality, due likely to Canadian influence, cf. p. 16, foot-note 4 and see also M. Legendre's statement in regard to the Canadian pronunciation of "*è* ouvert et les sons congénères, *et, est, aie, ait, ais* etc.", p. 44. *La langue française.* The Acadian *rʊa* = Fr. rouet is due, I think, to this Canadian influence.

5. Special cases.

1	*arɛra:ʒ*[1] < ad + rĕtro + aticum (K. 3880)	arrérages	5	*penɛri* < panaricium (K. 5850)	panaris
2	*bɔrnɛ:f* OFr. bernac, Celt. origin (LL. bernaceam) (H. D. T.)	bernache	6	*fɛrite* < caritatem (K. 1666)	charité
3	*ɛrɑ̃* Germanic häring (K. 3882)	hareng	7	*tɛri:r* OFrank. þarrjan (K. 8160)	tarir
4	*klɛrte* (cler: OFr. for mod. clair)	clarté	8	*wɛt* *ovatum (ŏvis) (K. 5802)	ouate
			9	*zɛro* < Arab. çifr (K. 1876)	zéro

No. 1 *ɛ* = *é* in *arɛra:ʒ* = Fr. arrérages. Such a pronunciation of the Fr. *e* might easily occur in an unaccented syllable, especially before *r*. Thurot (I, p. 123) cites *arrerage* and *arrérage.* I noted also *arera:ʒ* like the modern Fr. form, *arrérages.*

No. 2 *ɛ* = *a* or Passy's *a* in *rat.* *bɔrnɛ:f* = Fr. bernache. The permutation of Fr. *a* and *e* has already been remarked on p. 21, foot-notes 9, 10. Thurot, I, p. 15, cites a case from Palsgrave resembling this which seems to indicate a pronunciation quite like that of the dialect: *barnaige* for modern Fr. *baronnage.* Such analogies so common may have influenced.

No. 3 *ɛrɑ̃* = Fr. hareng. This permutation is like that so often cited in works on XVIth century French: *mery* and *Peris* for Fr. *mari* and *Paris,*[2] so numerous traces of which are to be found in XVIth century French.[3] Moisy writes *héreng.*

No. 4 *klɛrte* = Fr. clarté, might easily be associated with the OFr. primitive *cler* and influenced by it. The *a* in Fr. *clair*, crept in later through the would-be etymo-

[1] For the XIIIth century form *arjera:ʒ* see *Bulletin*, t. II, p. 154.

[2] Thurot, I, p. 3; Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, p. 201 and note 3.

[3] Cf. the permutation of *o* and *ou* in § IX, 5; special cases, nos. 5, 7, 8 and 9.

logists:[1] "*clerté* ou *clarté*" etc., Thurot, I, p. 336. Nisard in his *Étude sur la language populaire* etc. spells *clairté*.[2]

No. 5 *penɛri* = Fr. panaris; again probably, as in most of these cases, due to the *a* and *e* confusion or permutation so common. Cf. the cases cited by Thurot. I, pp. 23-4: *tanasie, tanesie, tanésie, tanaisie*; *Andelousie* etc.

No. 6 *ʃɛrite* = Fr. charité. Cf. the observations on *klɛrte*. The Fr. *chère* as well as the doublet of Fr. *charité, cherté*[3] may easily have influenced. Jônain gives *chérité* as the Berry word.

No. 7 *tɛrir* = Fr. tarir, due to the same kind of influence seen in most of these cases and so frequent before *r*, permutation as pointed out in 3 *ɛrɑ̃*; both forms in use in XVIth century French, *tarir, terir* (Thurot, I, p. 10).

No. 8 *wɛt* = Fr. ouate. According to Körting (5802) borrowed from Italian; and the vowel sound in French after *ou* or *w* being almost always *ɛ*, this word was so pronounced analogically. Judging from Thurot's examples *oüette, oüate, ouette*, etc.[4] the dialect form here given: *wɛt* was very popular in XVIth century French.

No. 9 *zɛro*. This slightly more open pronunciation is very likely due to the *r*.

pjɛno for Fr. piano, I noted in Quebec; the change is parallel to those just explained: cf. *peinier* and *panier* (Thurot, I, p. 26).

Remark. For cases of dialect *ɛ* = *a* in the diphthong *wɛ* = Fr. *oi* (*awɛn* = Fr. avoine etc.) see § XVI and cf. list 45.

§ VI. *ə* = Fr. *e* in *je, me, te.* The principal sources are L. *ē, ĕ* and *a*; though other sources are L. *ĭ, ŏ* and *ŭ* as the etymologies below show. I do not think that *ə* from Latin *a* is popular, a possible *ʒəval* may be heard, but far more often *ʒval, ʃmɛ̃* (Fr. chemin). This latter usage is popular in the rural districts around Paris. Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 9.

It hardly differs from dialect *ø* but is distinguished from it mainly because while *ø* may occur as accented *ə* never does. It is precisely the *ə* described by Passy.[5]

List 19.[6]

1	*də* < L. dē (K. 2401)	de
2	*dəbut* < L. dē + ONFrank bōtan (K. 1296)	debout
3	*dəvny* < dē + venire (K. 2545)	devenu
4	*dəwɛ:r* < debere (K. 2405)	devoir
5	*kə* < quam (K. 6541)	que
6	*kə ʒ e:jə* (quam ego habeam)	que j'aie
7	*kɔ̃'səwɛ:r* < concĭpere (K. 2066)	concevoir
8	*lə* < LL. ĕllŏ (Schwan § 400)	le
9	*mə* < mę (Schwan § 395)	me

[1] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, p. 196, § 17.

[2] And so does Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 98.

[3] Thurot, I, p. 11, *charté, cherté* etc.

[4] Thurot, I, p. 22.

[5] *Les sons*, 5th edition, p. 88, 15°.

[6] For the tongue position of this *ə*, see the tabular view of the vowels, p. 6; Miss Soames in her *Introduction to phonetics*, p. 131, note, says: "Fr. Beyer says that it is closer than *eu* in *peur*, but not so close as *eu* in *peu* and this appears to me to be correct".

10	*nə* < non (Schwan § 65,2)	ne
11	*rəne* < rĕ + negare	renier
12	*rəpā·ti·r* < rĕ + poenitere (K. 6834)	repentir
13	*rəpo·ze* < rĕ + pausare (K. 5960)	reposer
14	*rəprɔʃ* < rĕ + probicare (K. 6840)	reproche
15	*rətirā·s*[1] < rē + tirer + antiam	retirance
16	*sə* < se (Schwan § 395)	se
17	*səku·r* < succurrere, OFr. succurrir	secours
18	*səl◡* < ecce + hoc + illac (K. 2761)	cela
19	*səmā·s* derivation from L. sēminare (K. 7364)	semences
20	*tə* < te (Schwan § 395)	te
21	*ʒə* < LL. éo (Schwan § 395)	je

1. Special cases.

1	*limərɔ* < numerum (K. 5675)	numéro
2	*məmā* (ma, child's cry) (K. 5032)	maman
3	*mənwɛ·r* (see no. 3 below)	limonière
4	*səkup* sŭbtŭs + cŭppa, sous + coupe (K. 7897. 2344)	soucoupe
5	*təʒur* *tottum + diurnum (K. 8268. 2641)	toujours

No. 1 *ə* = *é* in *limərɔ* = Fr. numéro. Where there are three syllables in a word, the penult may be the weakest stressed. The dialect, aiming at simplicity, is very apt to reduce the word to two syllables. In this case, this has not been done, but a step in this direction has been taken. About Quebec, on the contrary, *limarɔ* can be heard.

No. 2 *ə* = *a* in *məmā* = Fr. maman. Cf. Passy's *məmã*;[2] also: "Nous voyons, en effet, que toutes nos voyelles non accentuées, surtout les voyelles moyennes, ont une tendance à se changer en (*ə*)".[3] Probably owing to the weakness of the unaccented syllable compared with the accented one.

No. 3. Probably not connected with Fr. *limonière*, but as suggested to me by Professor Rivard of Laval University: "Étymologiquement un instrument qui sert à *mener*, à tirer un véhicule; *mener* (*mənɛ*) + suffix *-oire* (*wɛ·r*). Il ne faut pas oublier que chez nous *mener* se prend souvent dans un sens qui explique *menoire*. On dit, par exemple, 'Le cheval nous a menés vite; ce cheval mène vite'; d'où l'on aura fait *menoir* = *mənwɛ·r*."

No. 4 *ə* = Fr. *ou* in *səkup* = soucoupe. This may be dissimilation. It is the reverse of the popular pronunciation of Fr. aujourd'hui · *ɔʒərdɥi*, which Passy says seems to be "assimilation harmonique";[4] cf. no. 8, *Special cases*, § IX.

No. 5 *təʒur* = Fr. toujours is like the preceding case. Lack of stress in the unaccented syllable seems the most probable explanation for 4 and 5.

[1] Quebec *rtsirā·s*, the "*e* mute" being completely elided. This is also generally the case in nos. 13, 14, 18, 19; much more so than, for instance, in no. 11.

[2] *Etude*, p. 183, § 436.

[3] *Les sons*, 2d edition, p. 46, § 82; 6th edition, p. 91, § 168.

[4] *Etude*, § 447, and cf. foot-note 2.

§ VII. 1. *i* = *i* in Fr. *ni* in accented syllables. Principal sources: L. *ī* whether in position or not (villa, vil = Fr. ville). Other sources are given in the list.

List 20.

1	*bɑtiːz*[1]	bêtise	7	*piːr* < pějorem (K. 6000)	pire
2	*di*	dit	8	*tariːb*,[1] *tarıb*	terrible
3	*ɲɑːzri*	niaiserie	9	*tiːʒ*[1]	tige
4	*pɔ̆liːr*	pâlir	10	*trɑ̃ːkiːj*[2]	tranquille
5	*peri* < L. -iculum (K. 6057)	péril	11	*vi*	vie
6	*pɛziːb*[1]	paisible	12	*wɛri* (viarium?) (K. 8680)	voirie

2. *i* = *i* in Fr. *ni* in unaccented syllables. Principal sources: L. unaccented *i* as in French.

List 21.

1	*arive*	arriver	6	*pijɔ̆ːr*	pillard
2	*fidɛl*	fidèle	7	*tirɔ̆ːje*	tirailler
3	*fisɛl*	ficelle	8	*vjarʒ*	vierge
4	*imɛ̃ːs*	immense	9	*vinɛːg*	vinaigre
5	*libarte*	liberté			

§ VIII. *ɪ* as in E. *pin* in final accented syllables can be heard in final syllables before any consonant save *r* or *y*, see foot-note 1. Same original L. source as for *i* = *i* in Fr. *ni*, see list 20.

List 22.[3]

1	*artɪs*	artiste	9	*isɪt*	ici
2	*avɪs*	vis	10	*kaptɪf*	captif
3	*bɔ̆ːtɪs*	bâtisse	11	*masɪf*	massif
4	*bɔ̆ːtɪs*[4]	Baptiste	12	*naɪf*	naïf
5	*dɑ̃ːtɪs*	dentiste	13	*parfɪd*	perfide
6	*fartɪl*	fertile	14	*pɔtrɪn*	poitrine
7	*ganɪf*	canif	15	*retɪf*	rétif
8	*igwɪn*	égohine or égoïne	16	*sakrɪfɪs*	sacrifice
			17	*sarvɪs*	service

[1] Possibly *ɪ* should be written; for this is, as a general rule, the sound heard in final syllables before a consonant except *r* and *y*. I think the quality of *i* (as in Fr. *ni*) varies in final syllables all the way from *i* in Fr. *ni* to *ɪ* (E. *pin*); see list 22.

[2] Quebec *trɑ̃ːcil*.

[3] Professor Chamberlain has noted this sound; cf. foot-note 8 on p. 7.

[4] Quebec *batɪs*.

18	*tardɪf*	tardif	21	*wɔ̃gɪn*	E. wagon
19	*qɪt*	huit	22	*wɛzɪn*	voisine
20	*varmɪn*	vermine	23	*ʒezqɪt*	Jésuite

This sound *ɪ* is quite common in many French speaking localities in Canada. In lists 20 and 21, we have examples of the high front narrow vowel, and in list 22 of the high front wide. It requires but a very slight relaxation of the speech organs to bring about this sound change.

Of *ɪ* in unaccented syllables, I have but one example: *pɔ̃tɪsri* — Fr. pâtisserie. Analogy of words like *artɪs, bɔ̃tɪs* has probably here influenced.

Special cases. As the dialect vowel is here due to modern influences, explained below, the etymologies of the words themselves seem in this connection to have hardly sufficient importance to warrant insertion, as they are of course purely Fr. etymologies. This remark is true for most of the Special case lists.

1	*apiti*[1]	appétit	9	*ɔrɪje*[3]	araignée
2	*armitik*	arithmétique	10	*prrizi*	pleurésie
3	*balje*[1]	balayer	11	*sjo*	seau
4	*igɪn*	égohine	12	*sisɪl*	Cécile
5	*kijɪr*	cueillir	13	*yʒini*	Eugénie
6	*krijatyr*[1]	créature	14	*ʒarze*[4]	Jersiais
7	*krijɔ̃*[2] [1]	crayon	15	*ʒilik*	angélique
8	*limərɔ*	numéro	16	*ʒizje*[5]	gésier

Dialect *i* in nos. 1, 2, 5, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 16 is due to the influence of the *i* in the accented syllable.

In nos. 2, 14, and 15, compared with the French, a syllable is missing. The dialect ever aims for simplicity as illustrated in the pronunciation of Christian proper-names, where it is rare, that a four or three syllable French name is represented in the dialect by more than a two syllable equivalent. This principle is carried out in these three words.

No. 3 *balje* is spelled by Jônain *balier*; Thurot cites several authorities showing the word to be popular XVIth century French pronunciation: *balier*.[6] Apparently the *j* has attracted the preceding vowel to its own high position, thus causing the change.

Note. For *pi* = Fr. puis, and *dəpi* = Fr. depuis, see § XIII, Special cases.

[1] Cf. Jônain's spellings: *app'tit, créiature, balier, créon*; Nisard, for rural French about Paris. spells *criature*, p. 147, *Langage populaire de Paris*. *Balier* is in the Dictionary of Trévoux (1740), and is there said to be more usual than *balayer*.

[2] De la Touche (1696) says: "Quelques personnes prononcent *créion*." Thurot, I, p. 396.

[3] Richelet (1680) says: "Quelques-uns disent *arignee*, mais mal." Thurot, I, p. 17.

[4] I think the pronunciation of this word due to E. influence; cf. on p. 27 § IV, 6, *γ*, *e* = *ɛ*.

[5] Jônain spells *ghisier*.

[6] Tome I, pp. 384-5.

No. 6 *krijatyːr*. The insertion of a consonant between two vowels in two consecutive syllables is most natural, the *i* then blending or consonifying with the *j*, in this case.[1] Just as *krɥjɛl*, which Passy quotes for Fr. cruel, can be heard, so *krijatyːr*, is a like formation. Then this *j*, just as in the preceding case, influences to bring about the dialect pronunciation.

No. 7 *krijɔ̃*. The same explanation just applied to *krijatyːr* is also applicable in this case.

No. 8 *limoro*. Passy's remarks upon "voyelles anormales" becoming "normales"[2] applies in this example: "C'est surtout par le changement des lèvres que s'opère la normalisation." His remarks on the German vowels, *schön*, for example, being pronounced *fen*, I have repeatedly found to be true for the uneducated in Trieste German. He says in French this same tendency to normalize the "voyelles anormales" is very marked among children and uneducated persons. Passy considers the front rounded, and the back unrounded vowels as "anormales".

No. 9 *ɔrɲe*. The nasal palatal *ɲ* has produced the same effect here on the preceding vowel as *j* has in nos. 3, 6, and 7.

For *grɲe* = Fr. grenier, see § XXXIII, list 59, foot-note to 7, *gœrɲe*.

No. 12 *sjo* = Fr. seau, a dialect form found in Moisy: *sciau*; in Corblet: *sceau*; and in Jaubert: *siau*; Thurot, I, p. 512 says "l'e s'est fait longtemps sentir dans *seau*"; Jônain gives the Berri *siau*, but has probably taken it from Jaubert. Nisard writes *sio* for popular rural French about Paris[3] and Agnel writes *ɕiau*;[4] OF. seel, *sitellum (K. 7501).

§ IX. *o* = Fr. *o* in *pot* (accented). As a rule, the dialect has *o* where it occurs in the corresponding Fr. word.[5]

1. Sources: L. *-ellum*, or *a* + *l* + consonant; *ō* or *ŏ* before nasals; Teutonic *o* (nos. 3, 11); L. *au*; L. *aqu* in no. 9; L. *o* in position; L. *u* in position (no. 8); L. *ō* in nos. 14 and 15.

List 23.

1	*bo*	beau
2	*diploːm*	diplôme
3	*droːl* root droll (K. 2701)	drôle
4	*fo*	faux
5	*koːn*	cône
6	*koːt*	côte
7	*koːz*	cause
8	*mo* < *muttum, cf. Romania X, p. 58, 3⁰ (K. 5518)	mot
9	*o* (K. 678)	eau
10	*o*	os
11	*po* (K. 6309)	pot
12	*poːv*	pauvre
13	*rido*	rideau
14	*roːd*	rôde

[1] Passy, *Etude*, § 529.

[2] *Ibidem*, § 299, § 300.

[3] *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 171.

[4] *Langage rustique des environs de Paris*, p. 13.

[5] Where any given sound occurs in a French word may easily be found by consulting Lesaint.

15	*ro:z*	rose	17	*so*	saut
16	*sypo:z* see pausare (K. 5960)	suppose	18	*ʃ̆to*	château

Fr. *paume* is pronounced *pam*, probably due to the influence of such words as in list 27 a.

List 24. Examples of *o* in unaccented syllables. From L. unaccented *o* in 1 and 2; L. *al* in 3, 6 and 7; Germ. *al* in 4; L. *au* in 5 and 9.

1	*devosiã* (K. 2548)	dévotion	5	*ko·ze* (K. 1753)	causer
2	*emosiã* (K. 5435)	émotion	6	*o·si* (K. 398)	aussi
3	*fofe, foxe* (K. 3113)	faucher	7	*o·tã* (K. 400)	autant
4	*fo·tr:j* OhG. faltstuol (K. 3126)	fauteuil	8	*o·te* (K. 3911)	ôter
			9	*to·ro* (K. 8067)	taureau

2. *o* = Fr. *ò* in *tort*. Occurring in accented syllables. From L. *o* in position formed by *r* + consonant. For other sources see the list itself. Agnel says: "La prononciation des monosyllabes ou de la syllabe finale des mots terminés en *or, ors, ort* ou *ore,* est toujours longue dans le langage rustique;" *Langage des environs de Paris,* p. 16. Among the examples cited by Agnel are nos. 5, 15 and 16 in the following list, which he notes thus: ***dehôrs, transpôrt, trésôr.***

List 25.

1	*ako:r*	accord	10	*mo:r*	mors
2	*alo:r* < ad illam hōram (K. 185)	alors	11	*mo:r*	mort
			12	*rəbo:r* (K. 1287)	rebord
3	*bo:r* OhG. bort (K. 1287)	bord	13	*rəmo:r*	remords
4	*dabo:r* (K. 1287)	dabord	14	*so:r*	sort
5	*dəo:r*[1] < fŏras (K. 3384)	dehors	15	*trãspo:r*	transport
6	*efo:r*	effort	16	*trezo:r* < thesaurum (K. 8167)	trésor
7	*ko:r*	cor			
8	*ko:r*	corps	17	*tribo:r*	tribord
9	*kəridɔ:r* (Ital. corridore)	corridor			

3. The following cases of *o* = Fr. *ò* in *tort* were noted at Bonaventure (see the Map). Principal sources just as above. *ò* in position formed by *r* + consonant. See the list itself for variations.

1	*(i)do:r*	il dort	3	*fo:r*	fort
2	*ɛso:r* from *exauro (aura) (K. 2878)	essor	4	*(i)mo:r*	il mord
			5	*no:r*	nord

[1] About Quebec *deo:r* can be heard.

6	*o:r*	foras	hors	10	*rəpo:r*	report
7	*o:r*	horam	or	11	*(i)so:r*	il sort
8	*po:r*		porc	12	*to:r*	tort
9	*po:r*		port			

4. M. G. Paris' rules in regard to accented *o* and *o*[1] were modified in the XVIth century by the influence of the following consonant.[2] The *o* was pronounced long and closed before a mute *e*: *côte*; before *s* mute or final: *gros*; before *s* (= *z*): *rose, rosier*; before *r* doubled: *abhorre, abhorrer*; before *s* doubled of Latin origin: *fosse, fossé*; and in derivatives of nouns in *os*: *désosse, endosse.*[3] There was considerable indecision in regard to usage of *ou* or *o* in unaccented syllables: *volonté* and *voulonte*; *coronne* and *couronne,*[4] but comparatively little in the accented syllables. The dialect, too, bears a few more traces of this XVIth century trait than does modern French.[5] The pronunciation noted in list 25 is apparently a modern development about which I have been unable to find anything at all except the statement in Jaubert, under *o,* which says that in Deols (commune auprès de Châteauroux) "l'*o* devient le plus souvent long: *corps, dîhors, remords, retors, tors, je dôrs,* prononciation qui s'est conservée au Canada." It is true of the vowel *o* in French, and the course of English *o* is parallel with it,[6] that it has been passing from the open state to the closed, the tendency being for a vowel in a closed syllable to become open and for one in an open syllable to become closed; cf. remarks on *e* under § IV, p. 23 and also foot-note 1 on p. 24.[7] Indeed, as testimony of this, the etymologies of the majority of the words in the last four lists point, in the first place, to an *o* of open quality as the source.

5. Special cases of dialect *o* corresponding to other vowels than Fr. *o* in *pot* or *o* in *mort.* As the change in the dialect vowel is a modern one in most of the cases, the etymologies are not written out, the vowel being accounted for below.

1	*byto* (G. butr) (K. 1434)	butoir	6	*koti*[9]	coutil
2	*ekyro*[8] (K. 7314)	écureuil	7	*obli* (K. 5695)	oubli
3	*flo* OF. flael (K. 3300)	fléau	8	*o'zordųi,*[10] *oxordųi* (K. 3974, 2641)	aujourd'hui
4	*folwɛ:r* (K. 3118)	falloir	9	*pomɔ̃* (K. 6456)	poumon
5	*forbi:r* G. furbjan (K. 3519)	fourbir	10	*volwɛ:r* (K. 8559)	valoir

[1] *Alexis,* pp. 58-72; *Extraits,* pp. 8-9.

[2] Thurot, I, p. 245.

[3] *Ibidem,* p. 244.

[4] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, p. 203.

[5] I have recorded more traces of this feature in the dialect of Cheticamp, C. B.; cf. also below, Special cases, nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

[6] Cf. OE. *rɔ-be, cɔ-te, nɔ-ble,* and see Passy, *Étude,* § 295.

[7] Cf. Fr. *peu* and Fr. *peur*; *j'ai* and *ai-je.*

[8] Quebec *ecyro.* Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 have ɔ rather than *o* in the Canadian-French about Quebec.

[9] Littré says *couette* thru *keute*; cf. Godefroy under *coulte.*

[10] Émile Agnel in his *Observations sur la prononciation et le langage rustiques des environs de Paris* spells: *aujord'hui.*

No. 1 *byto* — Fr. butoir. A change of termination on the analogy of words ending in *o* like *kuto* = Fr. couteau; in this case, probably direct influence of Fr. bluteau; "*blutoir* se dit aussi pour *bluteau*" Littré.

No. 2 *ekyro* = Fr. écureuil: *sciurus* = οὐϊοὐρος; *sciurus*, then **scuirus*, **scurius*: *scuriŏlus* (*escurols*) *escureuil*; while *scuriellus* gives *scureau* or *scuro*, that is, the dialect form *ekyro*. Thurot[1] cites authors, who write *escureul, escuireau, escureu.* Jaubert writes *écurieux.*

No. 3 *flo* = Fr. fléau. A common XVIth century as well as modern dialect pronunciation; merely contraction. De la Touche (1696) says:[2] "on prononçait autrefois *fléau,* mais il y a longtemps qu'on ne fait plus sentir l'*e*." Jaubert writes *flau,* and Jônain *flau.* Cf. p. 35, Special cases, no. 11 *sjo.*

No. 4 *folwɛ:r* = Fr. falloir; no. 10 *volwɛ:r* = Fr. valoir, both due to the same cause; no. 4 to the influence of the accented form in the present tense *i fo* = Fr. il faut; no. 10 to the influence of *i vo* = Fr. il vaut.

Nos. 5, 7, 8 and 9 are dialect pronunciations: Jaubert writes *forbir, obli*[3] and *aujord'hui*; Jônain writes *pomon.* This pronunciation is a relic of the very common XVIth century permutation of *o* and *ou.* "Le nombre de mots où l'usage a hesité entre l'*o* et l'*ou* immédiatement devant la tonique est très considerable" . . .[4] Thurot among such examples gives *aujourd'hui*; tome I, p. 261. "L'usage a hesité entre *ol, ou, ô* devant une consonne;"[5] *pomon* is one of the examples given, tome II, p. 260. This trait is a characteristic of centre of France dialect.[6] Passy says of Fr. *aujourd'hui* that it is pronounced commonly (*ɔʒɔrdɥi*), sometimes *uzurdɥi*, there seeming to be, in the first case, progressive harmonic assimilation, in the second regressive.[7]

No. 6 *koti* = Fr. coutil. The spellings *coiti, coutil, couti, coêti, couestil, coitis* and *coutis* are found in Thurot.[8] I suspect analogy to similarly pronounced first syllables; nothing at all certain suggests itself.

Note. It may be of interest to note *fo·se* = Fr. fossé, this closed pronunciation of *o* in both, the dialect and French, probably going back, at least, to XVIth century French, if not earlier: cf. Littré's remarks on this *o* under *fossé* and see also *fosse. kɔlwe* I noted in Quebec for Fr. clouer; the *l* causes a transitory sound to be heard before it, which becomes reenforced finally into ɔ. *troto* = Fr. tréteau, also in Quebec, due to influence of the accented syllable upon the unaccented. Thurot, I, p. 103, gives *treteau.*

§ X. 1. ɔ = Fr. *o* in *tort,* occurring where open *o* in French is heard (excepting the cases mentioned in 2 and 3 under IX). Principal sources L. *ŏ* and L. *ŏ* in position. See the other sources in the list.

[1] Tome II, p. 145.

[2] Thurot, I, p. 512.

[3] Cf. *o* forms given by Delbouille, Lévrier, Jônain.

[4] Thurot, I, p. 252; cf. also foot-note 5 on p. 38; the permutation of *e* for *a* has been noted on p. 31, see Special cases, nos. 3, 4 and 6.

[5] *Ibidem,* tome II, p. 258.

[6] Jaubert, p. 468, note under *o*: "*o* remplace *ou* (et vice versâ) dans un très grand nombre de mots de notre idiome." Cf. also Pascal Poirier's remarks in regard to *ou* for *o* in *Soirées canadiennes, La langue acadiɐnne,* p. 63 *et seq.*

[7] *Etude,* § 447.

[8] Tome I, p. 371.

List 26. Examples of accented ɔ.

1	*fɔrs*	force	7	*pɔʃ* G. *poko (K. 6248)	poche
2	*frɔt* frĭctare (K. 3454)	frotte[1]	8	*rɔb* OhG. rouba (K. 7003)	robe
3	*kɔk*	coq	9	*sɔrt*	sorte
4	*mɔd* (K.$_2$ 6245)	mode	10	*trɔ* G. porh (K. 8171)	trop
5	*mɔrd*	mordre	11	*vɔt*	votre
6	*pɔst*	poste			

List 27. Examples of unaccented ɔ. Principal sources: L. ŏ and L. ŏ in position. See the list itself for other sources.

1	*fɔrɛ*[2]	forêt	8	*mɔrɛ* < mālе + vătum (K. 5014)	mauvais
2	*kɔmẽ*[3]	comment	9	*nɔme* < nōminatum (K. 5636)	nommer
3	*kɔmɔ:d*	commode	10	*ɔkype*	occuper
4	*kɔʃɔ̃*	cochon	11	*pɔsi:b*	possible
5	*kɔtɔ̃* Arabic al qu'ton (K. 469)	coton	12	*prɔʃẽ* see *propianus (K. 613 Nachtrag)	prochain
6	*mɔlɛs*	mollesse			
7	*mɔrso*	morceau			

Note. Dialect ɔ sometimes corresponds to a Fr. *wa* sound, or to a written *oi*, in certain words where the popular French pronunciation of this written *oi* in these words is like that of the dialect ɔ.

Examples:

1	*ã·kɔɲy:r* see cŭnĕum, OF. coing (K. 2336)	encognure, encoignure	3	*pɔɲe*[4] (K. 6444)	poignée
2	*pɔɲɔ:r* see pūgnum (K. 6444)	poignard	4	*pɔɲe*[4] (K. 6444)	poignet
			5	*pɔtrin* *pĕctorina (K. 5980)	poitrine

It is noteworthy that the first four of these words have in the Saintonge dialect *u* (as in Fr. *sou*), where familiar French and the Carleton dialect have ɔ. This *u* pronunciation (as in Fr. *sou*) for ɔ (or the written *oi*) I have recorded in these four words in the dialect of Cheticamp, C. B. As to Fr. *-oign*, Thurot says:[5] "Au XVI siècle, l'o paraît avoir été prononcé en général avec cette modification nasale qu'on figurait par *on* et par *ou*." Duez, 1639: "*oi* se prononce comme un *o* devant *gn*: *poignard, oignon, roignon*"[6] etc.

sɔɲe = Fr. soigner (Cheticamp, C. B. *suɲe*) is influenced by such words as nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4. Cf. § XV, foot-note to list 39, 5 *sweɲe*; also § LV, 3. Special cases, list 72, no. 7 *sɔɲe*.

For *ɲɔ̃* = Fr. *oignon* and Quebec *aɲɔ̃*, see Remark 2, p. 23.

In regard to the above words in the Note, Agnel says: "Les habitants de nos campagnes retranchent de la prononciation la voyelle *i* dans les mots suivants et disent habituellement": then follows a list of 100 words, among them *potrine* and *soigné*: adding a note, he continues: "Au XVI[e] siècle, la plupart des mots ci-dessus rapportés étaient, ainsi qu'ils le sont encore de nos jours, orthographiés

[1] The Fr. *o* is due to analogy of the Fr. *crotter*.

[2] Canadian *fɔra*: cf. Legendre, *La langue française au Canada*, (Quebec, 1890) p. 44 (bottom).

[3] Professor Rivard says: "En français-canadien, tantôt *kɔmẽ*, tantôt *kɔmã*. Mais le premier me paraît être plutôt *kɔmã* ou *kɔmã*" Letter of August 8th 1906 to the writer.

[4] Quebec *pɔɲɛ*; cf. p. 46 foot-note 1.

[5] Tome II, p. 525.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 528.

oi et *ui*, mais, comme l'attestent divers écrivains de cette époque, ces mots se prononcaient en élidant la voyelle *i*."

2. Just as a more relaxed *i* sound (*ɪ*) has been noted in treating of *i* (p. 34, list 22), and parallel also with the more relaxed *u* treated under *ʊ* (§ XII A), so here, too, is heard something very analogous. The difference, however, does not appear to be that of narrow and wide, as in the two cases of *ɪ* and *ʊ* just mentioned. The vowel heard is probably a mixed vowel, the *o* in French *comment*. While the vowel *ɔ* in list 26 seems to be identical with that described by Sweet as the mid-back-wide-round,[1] this vowel (*ʌ*), which sounds so much like that heard in English *cull* (Sweet's mid-back-narrow[2]) as easily to be taken for it, appears to be formed differently, being the rounded *ɔ* advanced to the mixed position. Cf. the distinction made by Passy between *a* and *ɔ+* (*Les sons*, 6th edition, § 161, Remarque).

ʌ interchanges with *ɔ*, just as *i* with *ɪ*, and either can be heard in the same word, this depending on the particular dialect of the individual speaker. From my examples, it appears as most common before *l*, *m*, and *n*, tho I have noted words given in list 26, for example: *pɔst*, with *ʌ*, thus: *pʌst*.

§ X A. *ʌ* = *o* in Fr. *col*, in accented syllables. Sources: L. *ŏ* in position; L. *ŏ*; L. *o* before *m* or *n*; L. *ŭ* in 10; L. *au* in 11.

List 27 a.[3]

1	*bʌl* (f.) LL. bolum (from Gr.) (H., D., T.)	bol	8	*nikʌl*	Nicole
2	*bʌn*	bonne	9	*miɲʌn*	mignonne
3	*brikʌl* unknown origin H., D., T.	bricole	10	*otʌn* (f.)	automne
4	*dʌn*[4]	donne	11	*pʌl*	Paul
5	*fʌl*	folle	12	*pʌm*	pomme
6	*kʌl*	col	13	*sʌl*	sol
7	*mʌl*	mol(le)	14	*tʌn*	tonne
			15	*vʌl*	vol

§ XI. 1. *ø*. This is the dialect sound which represents ordinarily not only the closed *eu* in Fr. *peu*, but the open variety of *eu* in Fr. *seul, meuble*, and like words.[5] Possibly a more open sound—probably due to educational influence—may

[1] *Primer*, § 246, 247.

[2] *Ibidem*, § 191.

[3] I was templed, at first, to record *œ*; indeed, Passy writes *ʒœli* as a particular pronunciation of the Fr. *joli* by certain persons (*Étude*, p. 189, § 448). See also his interesting note (3), p. 253, where he records the pronunciation *pɔ̃m* = Fr. *pomme* and *bɔ̃n* = Fr. *bonne*, which sound *ɔ̃* is, I think, precisely what I have tried to indicate by *ʌ*.

[4] *dʌn* is rare, however, compared with *dɔn*; see Morphology, § LV.

[5] Jaubert in a note under *eu* has the following: "Dans quelques cantons de l'est, *eu* dans *peuple, meuble*, etc., se prononce long et fermé comme dans *Euménide* (Acad.); il en est de même dans *œuvre*."

sometimes be heard. Nevertheless, even then, such a sound to my ear is not as open as standard French *eu* in *seul* and *meuble*. In ordinary French, as can be seen by reading the extracts at the end of Passy's *Les sons du français*, the closed *eu* (*ø*) occurs far more frequently than the open *eu* (*œ*). The popularity of *ø*[1] in the dialect is well brought out by the words in the following list.

List 28. *ø* = *eu*, as in Fr. *peu*, and corresponding to the more open sound in Fr. *peur*. Sources: L. *ŏ* and L. *ō*, and see the list for other sources.

1	*avø:g*	aveugle	7	*ø:r*	heure
2	*bø:r* *būtĭrŭm, OF. bur(r)e (from Gr.) (K. 1433)	beurre[2]	8	*pøp*	peuple
3	*lø:r, lø*	leur	9	*pø:r*	peur
4	*mø:b*	meuble	10	*søl*	seul
5	*mø:l*	meule	11	*sø:r*	sœur
6	*nøf*	neuf	12	*vø:v* < vĭduam (K. 8702)	veuve
			13	*ʒøn* < jŭvenem (K. 4509)	jeune

2. *ø* = Fr. *eu* in *peu*, that is, the same as the French sound, but possibly more closed. There is no doubt about distinctions being discerned in relative closeness of these like sounds. They are so delicate, however, as to render accuracy of notation hardly as satisfactory as one could wish. The various sources of these words are given with the words themselves.

List 29.

1	*bø* < bŏvem (K. 1292)	bœuf	6	*pø* < paucum, OF. pau (K. 5955)	peu
2	*blø* < G. blau (K. 1249)	bleu	7	*pø* < *pŏtet, OF. puet (Schwan § 440. 2°)	peux
3	*fø* < fŏcum (K. 3358)	feu	8	*vø* < LL. vǫ́ljo (Schwan § 492)	veux
4	*ø* < ĭllos (K. 4078)	eux			
5	*øf* < *ŏvum for ōvum (K. 5808)	œuf			

3. *ɤ* = Fr. *eu* in *peur* is heard, just preceding *r*, in a number of final syllables. As just shown in lists 28 and 29, *ø* is the dialect sound representing Fr. *eu* in both *peu* and *peur*. Possibly in nos. 2, 3, 7, 9 and 11 of list 28, educational influence may be making itself more strongly felt in bringing the vowel nearer to the French equivalent than is the case with the similar words in list 30. Just as the dialect, as has been shown (p. 7, 2), has a more relaxed *ɤ*, corresponding to *u*, and *ɪ*, corresponding to *i*, so similarly an open *ɤ*, corresponding to closed *y* (see p. 52, 5), can be heard in the following words.[3]

[1] Cf. Adjutor Rivard, *Manuel de la parole*, p. 84, § 162.

[2] "*beurre* est une forme dialectale", H. D. T., *Traité*, p. 122.

[3] From a review of Thurot's statements in regard to *eu*, I am unable to arrive at a definite conclusion in regard to the quality of *eu* (Tome I, pp. 442-470). The sound permuted with that of

List 30. Sources: L. *ō* save in no. 1.

1	*bɔnr:r* < LL. *ăgūrium, OF. aür (K. 325)	bonheur	5	*sarvitr:r*	serviteur
2	*dusr:r*	douceur	6	*falr:r*	chaleur
3	*mɔkjr:r*	moqueur	7	*valr:r*	valeur
4	*rir:r*	rieur	8	*rapr:r*	vapeur
			9	*vijr:r*	vigeur

4. Dialect *r* in the above cases, representing Fr. *eu*, is similar to what is frequently observed in rural districts in France: *y* Fr. *eu*, in unaccented syllables, in such words as *Eugène, Europe*.

5. *r* in unaccented syllables, is difficult to detect: *y*, the corresponding closed vowel, sometimes occurs there as just above remarked in 4. Examples of *r* in unaccented syllables are: *prrø*, from dialect *pœ:r* (cf. Fr. *peur* and *peureux*), *prple* Fr. peupler, *vrva:ʒ* = Fr. veuvage, *ʒrnɛs* = Fr. jeunesse; *prrizi* = Fr. pleurésie.

Note. The history of the sound *ø* = Fr. *eu* presents numerous complications.[1] Classical Latin *ŏ*, *ŭ*, having become low Latin closed *ó*, preserved this sound in accented syllables until the time, not exactly determined, when this *ó* separated into two different sounds *ou* and *eu*. The *ou* cases are so few, that they may be considered exceptions.[2] Indeed, they are explained by Gaston Paris in his well known article on *o fermé*.[3] *ŏ* became successively *uo* (Xth century), *ue* (XIth-XIIth centuries), *oe* (XIIth-XIIIth centuries), *eu* (XIVth-XIXth centuries). Thus *ŏ*, *ŭ* and *ó* have by different roads reached the modern French *eu* stage.

6. *ø* = Fr. *e* before *r* + pronounced consonant,[4] occurring in unaccented syllables. Main sources of these words: L. *ĭ* in position and L. *ĕ* in position—the other sources are given in the list.

List 31.[5]

1	*aførmi:r*	affermir	4	*børly* < *bĭs + lūca (K. 1205)	berlue
2	*ãførme*	enfermer	5	*børnɔ:r*	Bernard
3	*børlin* G. berlin (K. 1134)	berline			

Fr. *u* more than with other vowels like Fr. *ou* and *o*. This might tend to cause it to be pronounced rather more closed than open. Talbert, in *Dialecte blaisois*, p. 227, in speaking of a like closed *eu* to that in the Carleton dialect *ø* or perhaps *r*, says that between the time of the pronunciation of *-eur* as *-eux* and the *-eur* of modern French, there existed an *-eur* of a more closed quality; and to day when the peasants sound the *r* in this combination *-eur*, it is about thus that it is pronounced and never as open as modern Fr. *-eur*. While I see no reason whatever to doubt M. Talbert's statement in regard to the pronunciation of this sound in the dialect of Blois, yet his statement in regard to a more closed variety of *eu* between the time of the pronunciation of *-eur* as *-eux* and modern Fr. *-eur* seems to me to need verifying, particularly after one reads his misstatements in regard to the vowel *u* (*U au XVI siècle*, Paris, Thorin, 1876) to which M. Darmesteter replied, showing the incorrectness in the essay and bringing out well, the clear-cut distinctions between *u* and *eu* even from early times: *Reliques scientifiques*, p. 144, or *Romania*, V, pp. 394-404.

[1] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVI^e siècle en France*, p. 207.

[2] Bourciez, *Phonétique française*, § 52, Remarque II.

[3] *Romania*, X, p. 36.

[4] Cf. lists 10 and 11, p. 18-20.

[5] The Quebec form for the words in list 31 has *a* before *r*, excepting possibly *afɔrmi:r* and *bɔrnik*.

6	*bərnɛf*[1]	barnache, bernache	10	*bərʒri*[2]	bergerie
7	*bərnik* LL. *bernīculum* cf. E. bernicle	bernique	11	*fərme*	fermer
8	*bərse* see barc(h)iare [brac(h)io] (K. 1310 and cf. 1127)	bercer	12	*pərse*	percer
9	*bərso*[2] see *barciellum (K. 1310)	berceau	13	*rəfərme*	refermer
			14	*rɑ̃vərse*[2]	renverser
			15	*travərsɑ̃*	traversin
			16	*travərse*	traverser
			17	*travərsje*	traversier

7. The only case I have noted of *ə* = Fr. *e* before *r* + pronounced consonant, under the accent is *travərs*, which can well be due to the influence of forms 15, 16 and 17.

8. As has been shown in lists 10 and 11, Fr. *e* before *r* + pronounced consonant is regularly represented in the dialect by *a*. There are, however, cases particularly where the vowel being unaccented, like the above, takes on merely the character of a transitory sound so frequent between a consonant and *r* in French dialects.[3] I find the root forms of all the above words except *bərlɔ̃* and *bərnɛf* in Jônain's *Saintonge dictionary*, the pronunciation of the words being indicated by an apostrophe between the consonant and the *r* thus: *f'r*, *b'r*, *p'r* and *t'r*. Some of the Carleton words have two forms in use side by side: *barso* and *barʒri* exist by the side of nos. 9 and 10.[4] Something similar, if not exactly parallel, from Jônain's dictionary is Berri "*barbis* et souvent *b'rbis*". As by actual comparison, the dialect words where *a* = Fr. *e* + *r* + a pronounced consonant, outnumber the above more than 7 to 1, the above may be regarded as exceptions not difficult to understand: for slight rounding produces the change, which it will be observed in list 31 occurs merely in the unaccented syllable. Passy describes such change as "affaiblissement" and says: "presque toujours les voyelles affaiblies se rapprochent des positions mixtes ou intermédiaires."[5]

9. Special cases. *bəlɯɛ*, *bəlɯ* = Fr. bluet, a glide introduced before the *l*, see § XXXII; *madərje* = Fr. madrier, *popəlje* = Fr. peuplier will be treated under transitory sounds, under the consonant *r*, where this dialect trait is most common, or under *l*, where it is also not infrequent; see § XXXIII, 6 and 8.

No. 1 *fəse* = Fr. fesser, due to just what has been described above by Passy as "affaiblissement" in an unaccented syllable; (probably *fissum from findere, K. 3268); see example § LV.

No. 2 *fɛ̃rə* = Fr. chevreuil, OF. chevrel (K. 1622). The Fr. form *chevreuil* is analogical; cf. Fr. *fauteuil*, Schwan § 72. 2), Anm. 2, as a form **capriōlum* would

[1] Celtic origin, H., D., T. Littré gives LL. bernaca. Cf. E. barnacle.

[2] See p. 43, foot-note 5.

[3] Cf. the dialect dictionaries, particularly Jônain, under *bre*, *dre*, *cre*, *fre*, *gre*, *pre*, *tre*, and see also the lists here given under the consonant *r*. Cf. also Legendre, *La langue francaise*, p. 48 (edition of 1890).

[4] See p. 11, foot-note 3.

[5] *Etude*, § 313.

give (like *filiolum* = *filleul*) *chevreul*. Lauvue (1696) says: "*cheureuil* peut aussi faire *cheureus*."[1]

No. 3 *fo* = Fr. chez, i. e. mid-front-narrow-round for mid-front-narrow—merely a case of rounding owing to exaggerated lip movement; cf. § XIII, 4, Special cases, no. 7, *sy* = Fr. chez.

No. 4 *køk* = Fr. quelque, a case of rounding.

No. 5 *sørwa* = Fr. sud-west, see § XXXIV, 8. Special cases, no. 7.

No. 6 *bote* = Fr. beauté. The attraction of mid-back-narrow-round *o* to the front position may be due to weakness of the accent stress: see the example § LXIII, no. 54.

Note. *epɐl⌣siɛ̃* = Fr. épellation is merely a case of rounding, easy in an unaccented syllable before *l*.

No. 7 *døne* = Fr. donner (see, however, p. 41, foot-note 4, and § LV). *dune* is the Cheticamp form and also the one given by Jaubert. It seems to me both *døne* and *dɐne* are due to a weakening in the unaccented syllable which then becomes the normal in the accented forms. The difference between *dɐn* and *don*, tho apparent in formation, is slight to the ear.

No. 8 *tɑ̃·be*[2] = Fr. tomber. Jaubert writes both *tumber* and *timber*: I thought I heard *tɛ̃·be*, and am by no means sure I did not; *tɑ̃·be*, however, is commoner. As Thurot gives many authorities, spelling *tomber* and *tumber* (the *u* before a nasal at this period taking the Fr. *eu* sound[3]), I think the dialect form is a retention of that pronunciation; and, as in the case of *døne* = Fr. donner, may be due to a weakening of stress in the unaccented syllable. Nisard spells for rural French about Paris, *tumber*: p. 160, *Language populaire de Paris*.

§ XII. 1. *u* = Fr. *ou* in *tout*, occurring (with the exception of where the dialect sound is *r* as in list 36 b) in the dialect words corresponding to those in French where *ou*, as in Fr. *tout*, is the sound heard.

List 32. *u* under the accent. The various sources are given with the words.

1	*fu:r* fŭrnum (K. 3530)	four		*trăbicare, Prov. traucar (K. 8278)	trou
2	*ku* cŏl(a)p(h)um (K. 2000)	coup	7	*tu:r* tornum (K. 8247)	tour
3	*ku:r* cōrtem (K. 1998)	cour	8	*ʒu* găvăta (K. 3548)	joue
4	*ku:r* currit (K. 2354)	court	9	*ʒu:r, xu:r* diŭrnum (K. 2641)	jour
5	*ru* rŏtam, OF. roe (K. 6990)	roue			
6	*tru* from a form like				

[1] Thurot, II, p. 82. See also the *Bulletin*, t. III, p. 227: "Dans certains régions franco-canadiennes, *chevreux* est le pluriel de *chevreuil*." Cf. for various meanings of the word the *Index alphabétique des mots étudiés* at the end of t. III.

[2] About Quebec the forms commonly heard are *tɑ̃·be* and *tɔ̃·be*. Possibly: *tɑ̃·be* > *tɛ̃·be* > *tɔ̃·be*.

[3] Tome II, p. 543. To state more explicitly: Under *un*, p. 542, Thurot says: "Il est fort difficile de déterminer si dans cette nasale on faisait entendre, avant 1650, un *u* ou un *eu*. Les témoinages qui attestent la prononciation par *eu* sont de la seconde moitié du XVII siècle. Les témoinages antérieurs conduiraient à penser qu' on faisait entendre plutôt un *u*."

List 33. Unaccented.

1	*bukje*[1] buxus (+ ending) (K. 1440)	bouquet	5	*kurɛ̄* cŭrrere (+ ending) (K. 2354)	courant
2	*dusmɛ̄* dulcem (+ ending) (K. 2722)	doucement	6	*kuvri:r* cŏ(o)perire (K. 2163)	couvrir
3	*furni:r* G. frumjan (K. 3483)	fournir	7	*puwɛ:r* *pŏtēre (K. 6293)	pouvoir
4	*kura:ʒ* cŏrāticum (K. 2171)	courage	8	*ruʒi* rŭbeum (+ ending) (K. 7006)	rougi
			9	*ʒwe* jŏcare (K. 4465)	jouer

2. *u* (accented) = Fr. *o*, either of the open variety, as in modern French *fort*, or closed as in *pot*.

List 34.

1	*eklu* ex + clausum (K. 1936)	éclos	3	*u* ŏssum (K. 5791)	os
2	*eklu:r* ex + claudere (K. 1936)	éclore			

The similarities, or identity, in most cases rather, of the dialect phonology with that of French, might naturally lead one to look for the sound *u* = Fr. open or closed *o*, in unaccented rather than accented syllables, the former being in their nature less stable. In fact, that is where the majority of such cases occur. While I noted but the three above examples of *u*, occurring under the accent in the dialect, corresponding to French open or closed *o*, I noted sixteen examples of dialect *u*, in the unaccented syllable, corresponding to French open or closed *o*. All of these examples seem to belong among those classed under the head of Special cases, and therefore each word will be considered separately.

Nos. 1 *eklu* and 2 *eklu:r*. See Thurot, I, p. 540 for XVIth century present tense forms. *clouons* from OF. *clore, clorre* = L. *claudere* is regular. Unaccented[2] open *o* (= L. *au* before a vowel) becomes *o* in OF., which, like other cases of unaccented *o*, gives *ou* in modern French. Regular inflexion would be *il(s) clɔ(ent), nous clouons, vous clouez. eklur*, then, is on the analogy of other forms with *u*, as is also *eklu*. This latter form is in Jaubert, who says under *éclore*: "Fait au participe *eclous*."

No. 3. *u* (*us* can be heard). This is probably a dialect form as I find *oû* given by Jônain = Berri word for Fr. *os*. There follows this example: "Jhean de grous *oûs*", homme fort. Jaubert gives *ous*.

3. *u* in unaccented syllables = Fr. *o* either open, as in Fr. *fort*, or closed as in Fr. *pot*. The etymologies are given with the words.

[1] Quebec *bucɛ*; cf. p. 40, foot-note 4.

[2] Cf. Paris, *Extraits*, § 22, p. 9.

List 35.

1	*aruze* ăr + rōsare (cf. K. 6979) (K. 769)	arroser
2	*aruzwɛːr* a + rōs (+ ending) (K. 6979)	arrosoir
3	*buˈku* bellum cŏl(a)p(h)um (K. 1114)	beaucoup
4	*igwɪn, iguin, igɥn*	égohine, égoine
5	*kurve* *cŏrrŏgatăm (K. 2207)	corvée
6	*kurwa* con + rēdum (K. 6733)	corroi
7	*mudiːr* măledīcere (K. 5006)	maudire
8	*ruˈti* see no. 9 (K. 6697)	rôti
9	*rutiːr* G. raustjan (K. 6697)	rôtir
10	*subœrkje* sŭbtus + bĕccum (K. 7900)	sobriquet
11	*susɪs* salsus (+ ending) (K. 4437, 7106)	saucisse
12	*tˈtune* derivative from *taxitare (K. 8071)	tatonner
13	*truɲɔ̃* *trunchionem (from trŭncum) (K. 8401)	trognon
14	*ublize* ŏbligatum	obligé
15	*umːr* G. hummer (K. 4053)	homard
16	*uˈte* *haustare (K. 3911)	ôter

Remark. For the *u* (= Fr. *ou*) in *bəluɛ* or *bəlwɛ* (see p. 44, 9), I have no good explanation. I have also recorded *bəlyɛ, bəlɥɛ*.

4. As already stated on p. 38, 4, the number of words where XVIth century usage hesitated between *o* and *ou* immediately before the accent was very considerable.[1] The numerous examples cited by Thurot furnish proof of this. For nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 13 and 14 in the above list, Thurot's quotes authorities going directly to show the same pronunciation in XVIth century French as the dialect of Carleton has now. That other French dialects have retained traces of this pronunciation, as well as the Acadian dialect, may be seen by the fact that Jônain indicates for the Saintonge French the same pronunciation for the vowel as in the above list for nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, 13 and 16. The cases will be treated separately like the above under 2 list 34.

No. 1 *aruze* and 2 *aruzwɛːr*. The words are forms made from L. *rōs*; closed *o* in the unaccented syllable giving *ou*, which the dialect retains, while French owing to the permutation spoken of above, has retained the *o* form. Thurot gives *arrouser, -souer* (from Palsgrave), *arrouze, arroze* and other forms, I, p. 245.

No. 3 *buˈku* = Fr. beaucoup, influence of the accented syllable upon the unaccented.

No. 4 *igwɪn, iguin, igɥn*. Littré spells the French form *égohine* and *égoïne*, defining: Petite scie à main . . . There is no etymology at all suggested. Jaubert spells both forms the same as Littré saying: Voir *zague, gouet* et *goy*. Under *goy, gouy*, "mot d'origine celtique, dit-on". Littré gives *gouet* "une serpe etc.", saying: Voir *gouge*, where under etymology, OF. *goi, goe*, and *goye* are given. A Basque etymology is suggested, but there appears to be nothing certain established. See IV. Phraseology, *iguin*.

[1] Thurot, I, p. 252.

No. 5 *kurre.* Both *courrée* and *corrée* are given in Thurot I. p. 261. In this case, the Fr. form appears the more regular (from L. *ŏ* in position) while the dialect has adopted the form with *u*.

No. 6 *kurca.* The word means *carrying* and has probably been influenced by *kurca* = Fr. courroie, meaning a strap.

No. 7 *mudi:r*[1] = Fr. maudire; cf. no. 11 and the foot-note 1.

No. 8 *ruti* and 9 *rutir*[2] are probably dialect pronunciations, as Jônain gives the form (from Berri French) *roûtie,* and Jaubert gives both *roûti* and *roûtir.*

No. 10 *subərkje.* The *u* of L. *subtus* points to *ou,* which the dialect retains, and Thurot also gives *soubriquèt* in his note on p. 244, tome I.

No. 11 *susɪs,* *salsiciam. The *l* in such cases was vocalized as early as the middle of the XIth century.[3] The *ɔ* resulting followed the steps described for *eklu* and *eklu:r* (p. 46, list 34, nos. 1 and 2).

No. 12 *t◡tune.* The change of Fr. *o* before *m, n, ɲ,* to *ou* is a regular feature of Acadian French, as I have noted it in other districts, and M. Pascal Poirier emphasizes this fact clearly in his article *La langue acadienne.*[4] It does not happen, however, to be a characteristic of this particular dialect, tho traces of it are found; for example, in this list of sixteen words, three of them, *t◡tune, truɲɔ̃,* and *um◡:r* are examples of this dialect feature, which is a trait of Poitou French[5] and Berri French.[6] That the Carleton dialect does not have this characteristic trait, I only attribute to the same reason that verb forms in *-ons, -ions* with the first person singular *je,* are not current, tho not unknown. This appears to be due to the influence of education or, perhaps, also to Canadian influence. Jaubert gives *tatouner.*

No. 13 *truɲɔ̃.* A dialect form given by Jônain; see preceding observation on *t◡tune.* Thurot, II, p. 514, 530: *trougnon, trognon.*

No. 14 *ublize.* I cannot account for this pronunciation. It seems curious to find a dialect form *ublize* = Fr. obligé and dialect *ɔblje* = Fr. oubli. Cf. p. 38, 5. Special cases, no. 7 *obli* = Fr. oubli.

No. 15 *um◡:r.* See the observation on no. 12. Thurot, II, p. 115: *homar, houmar.*

No. 16 *ute.* A dialect form found in Jaubert and Jônain. Cf. observation on *au* under *eklu* p. 46, list 34 nos. 1 and 2. Cf. also § LV, 3. Special cases, list 72, no. 8. Nisard, for popular rural French about Paris, spells *outer*: p. 161, *Langage populaire de Paris*; he shows by his list how common this trait was in XVIth century French.

5. Altho the characteristic, mentioned in no. 12 above, of dialect *u* corresponding to Fr. open or closed *o* is not, as already stated there, a feature of the Carleton dialect, it is so important a trait of what may in general terms be called

[1] Cf. p. 20, foot-note 4; also the form *mudʒi* noted by Professor Sheldon (no. 54 of *Specimens*).

[2] Quebec *rotsi* and *rotsi:r*; cf. p. 20, foot-note 1.

[3] Schwan-Behrens, § 174.

[4] *Soirées canadiennes,* t. III, p. 63 *et seq.*

[5] *Dictionnaire étymologique du patois poitevin,* Gabriel Lévrier.

[6] Jônain, *Dictionnaire du patois saintongeais*; cf. words having in Fr. *o* before *m, n, ɲ* (not the nasal, as in *bon,* but as in *bonne*) with the corresponding dialect words; cf. also Jaubert, the note under *u*.

Acadian French, as distinguished from Canadian French, that it is worth while, by way of illustration, to give a few examples taken from my notes while in Cheticamp, C. B., on the Acadian French spoken in that remote settlement (see the Map). I give accented and unaccented forms together. As I wish merely to bring out forcibly this Acadian characteristic in particular, I do not feel called upon to enter farther into etymologies or explanations of forms not belonging to the dialect of Carleton.

Cheticamp dialect *u* before *m, n, ɲ* = Fr. open or closed *o* before *m, n, gn* (not nasal as in *bon* but as in *bonne*).

List 36 a. From L. *o* or *u* before a nasal consonant.

1	*ɑ̃ːtune*	entonner	9	*kurdɲe*	cordonnier
2	*ɑ̃ːtunwɛ*	entonnoir	10	*oːtun*	automne
3	*bun*	bonne	11	*pum*	pomme
4	*bunɛ*	bonnet	12	*puɲɷːr*	poignard
5	*butuɲeːr*	boutonnière	13	*sune*	sonner
6	*dune*	donner	14	*suɲe*	soigner
7	*kumars*	commerce	15	*um*	homme
8	*kumɑ̃ːse*	commencer	16	*unɛt*	honnête

§ XII A. *ʊ* as in E. *bush.* The difference between this sound and *u* is about that which exists between E. *book* and Fr. *sou.*[1] The muscles being relaxed slightly, the difference in kind is quite parallel to that already noted between *i* and *ɪ* (list 22), *y* and *ʏ* (list 30); and, in a certain sense, somewhat analogous to that described on page 41, 2, as existing between *ɔ* and *ʌ*. The sound *ʊ* occurs, just as *ɪ*, *ʏ*, and *ʌ* do, in final syllables ending with a pronounced consonant.[2]

List 36 b. The source of most of the *ʊ*'s is either L. *ŭ* in position or *ŏ* in position—variations being noted.

1	*bʊk*	boucle	7	*mʊl*	moule
2	*bʊf*	bouche	8	*mʊf*	mouche
3	*fʊl*	foule	9	*nitʊf* G. tuhkôn (K. 8419)	nitouche
4	*fʊrf*	fourche	10	*pʊl*	poule
5	*kartʊf* (It. cartoccio) (K. 1832)	cartouche	11	*tʊf* (K. 8419)	touche
6	*kʊf*	couche	12	*fʊs*[3]	souche

Examples. 1 *ʒe pardy la bʊk d mɔ̃ suje* (j'ai perdu la boucle de mon soulier) 2 *uːr dɔ̃ la bʊf* (ouvre donc la bouche) 3 *l mɑ̃ːd* (le monde) *etɛ ɑ̃ fʊl a l eglizː* (était en foule à l'église) 4 *mɷ fʊrf ɛ kɷːse* (ma fourche est cassée) 5 *prɛ̃* (*prɑ̃*) *gard d feːr partiːr la* (prends garde de faire partir la

[1] Sweet, *Primer of phonetics*, § 200, § 244.

[2] Cf. Passy, *Étude*, § 595, *Parallélisme des changements.*

[3] For *ſ* = Fr. *s*, see the consonants § XXIII, list 49.

kartʊf 6 *ɔn kuf d sɔ̃:b* 7 *sɔ̃, sɔ̃ ete fɛ sy ã bo mʊl* 8 *le mʊf*
cartouche une couche de sable ça, c'a été fait sur un beau moule les mouches

m bɔ̃:d(ɛ)[1] 9 *sto parsɔn lɔ̃ ɛ ɔn sɛ̃:t nitʊf* 10 *vo pʊl pɔ̃ ti*[2] 11 *ʒe le*
me bad(rent) cette personne là est une sainte nitouche vos poules pondent-elles j'ai les

mã tro rad pur awɛ:r ɔn bɛl tuf sy l pjano 12 *arafe de fɔs*
mains trop raides pour avoir une belle touche sur le piano arracher des souches

§ XIII. 1. *y* Fr. *u* in *lune*. This vowel in the unaccented as well as in the accented syllables comes from L. *u*.[3] "*u* long du latin classique ou populaire (c'est-à-dire *ou*) est devenu notre *u* actuel, qui dès les premiers temps de la langue s'est prononcé *u* (*ü*)."[4]

Examples of dialect *y* under the accent = Fr. *u*:

1	*by*	bu	4	*lyn*	lune
2	*dy:r*	dur	5	*sy*	su
3	*lyt*	lutte	6	*vy*	vu

Examples of dialect *y* in unaccented syllables = Fr. *u*:

1	*kyre*	curé	3	*tyer*	tuer
2	*nya:ʒ*	nuage			

a brysk pwal for Fr. à rebrousse poil. The *y* here appears to be due to confusion with Fr. verb *brusquer* (cf. § XXVIII, 5. for *k* etc.).

2. *y* = written Fr. *eu*, occurring as initial in learned words.

List 36.

1	*yfɔni*	euphonie	6	*yrɔp*	Europe
2	*yfrɔzini*	Euphrosinie	7	*ystaf*	Eustache
3	*ykaristi*	eucharistie	8	*yʒɛn*	Eugène
4	*ylali*	Eulalie	9	*yʒini*	Eugénie
5	*ylɔʒi*	eulogie			

3. The above are evidently all learned words in regard to which Thurot says: "*eu* initial s'est prononcé *u* dans la plupart des mots qui ne sont pas de la langue populaire jusqu'au commencement de ce siècle . . ."[5] Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9 are so pronounced, as regards the *eu*, in Moisy: *Dictionnaire normand*.[6] I noted the

[1] See phraseology for *bɔ̃:dr*, § LXIII, which may be E. bother as Dunn suggests.

[2] For this interrogative particle *ti*, see Morphology § LIII, note.

[3] Paris, *Alexis*, p. 72, V.

[4] Arsène Darmesteter, *Romania*, V, p. 395; in reply to M. Talbert's statements regarding the pronunciation of *u* in the XVIth century; referred to in the foot-note 3 on p. 42).

[5] Tome I, p. 521.

[6] Cf. also Jaubert's observation under *u*: "Notre prononciation qui supprime l'initial *e* est

same pronunciation of the above words about the Falls of Montmorency—and it applies to Canadian French, according to M. Legendre.[1] The dialect of Carleton has merely retained the popular pronunciation, as have so many French dialects likewise. Nisard, for popular rural French around Paris, gives *Ustache, Urope, Ugène.*[2] Agnel gives nearly all of the words in the above list 36 as popular rural French pronunciation of the Fr. equivalents.[3]

4. Special cases[4] (including dialect *y* = Fr. *eu* in *peu, ui* in Fr. *suis, e* in Fr. *chez, e* in Fr. *semer*).

1	*a py prɛ*	à peu près	7	*ryso*	ruisseau
2	*dəpy* (*dəpi*)	depuis	8	*sy*	chez
3	*kyjeːr*	cuillère	9	*sy*	(je) suis
4	*kyzɪn*	cuisine	10	*syme*	semer
5	*kyzɪnɛːr*	cuisinière	11	*symãːs*	semence
6	*myzje*	menuisier			

No. 1 *a py prɛ*. This seems to be merely high-front-narrow-round, produced by slightly protruding the lips so that the aperture becomes a little more closed than for the Fr. mid-front-narrow-round in *peu*. I do not think that it has anything to do with dialect *py* = Fr. plus, confusion with it, or other relation; *py* for Fr. plus is common in Fr. dialects "C'est mon *pus* près voisin", Jaubert (under *près*).

Nos. 2 *dəpy*, 3 *kyjeːr*, 4 *kyzɪn*, 5 *kyzɪnɛːr*, 7 *ryso* and 9 *sy* = Fr. suis, all come under the same head, that of dialect *y* = Fr. *ui*, one of the dialect characteristics. The phonetical explanation seems to be this: The organs being in the position, with lips rounded for *y*, sufficient effort is not made to bring them into the unrounded position for *i*, and consequently the sound goes by default. In speaking in general of change in language, which is always in a state of instability, Passy says[5] there are two tendencies manifest: (1) the tendency for economy in language, causing all that appears superfluous to be neglected, and: (2) the tendency for emphasis. While it is not the intention to lay this down as a general law, it seems, nevertheless, to have a certain bearing on the cases in question. There are examples of *ɥi* = Fr. *ui* as *pɥi*[6] = Fr. pluie, *ɔʒɔrdɥi* = Fr. aujourd'hui; cf. § XLIII, 3; examples, footnote to no. 18.

No. 6 *myzje* = Fr. menuisier. A three syllable word is apt to be shortened in the popular speech by losing what may appear least effective when the word is pronounced. This happens, in this case, to be Fr. *n*, which has entirely disappeared in the dialect. The Fr. *ui* is then treated as in the above cases, becoming dialect *y*.

conforme à l'ancien usage dont il ne reste plus guère aujourd'hui de traces à Paris que dans le participe passé *eu*."

[1] *La langue française au Canada*, p. 45 (edition of 1890).

[2] *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 173.

[3] *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 11.

[4] The entire list (with the exception of *mnuzje* = Fr. menuisier) is also Canadian-French as heard about Quebec.

[5] *Etude*, § 618, 3°.

[6] The forms about Quebec are *pɥi* and *pli*.

No. 8. The *y* in dialect *sy* — Fr. chez is due to energetic lip movement producing rounding. The process appears to be *fe*, then *fø*, labialization due to *f*, then *fy*, exaggerated labialization. For *s* — Fr. *ch*, see § XXIII. 4.

No. 10 *syme*. In speaking of vowels "normales et anormales" (referred to under no. 8, p. 36) Passy says that in some words *ø* has become *y*, giving (under note 2, p. 135) *syme* and *fymal*[1] as Fr. dialect examples; he adds however: "mais ici le changement paraît être assimilatif." As in no. 8, labialization plays an important part in the forms *syme* and *symãz*.[2] Nisard gives both *sumer* and *fumelle* as popular rural French about Paris: *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 148, as does also Agnel: *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 11. Inversely, Fr. *semer* may have passed thru *some*.

Remark. *frɔnk* is the form corresponding to Fr. *furoncle*: Jóuain writes *froncle*. The loss of the vowel appears to be due to weakness of the accent-stress.

Note. In Quebec I noted *kyjɛ* — Fr. cueillir: the observation on no. 1 above applies as well here. Influence of 1st conjugation verbs is seen in the ending. Also noted in Quebec *fyne* and *fyine* = Fr. cheminée. Like the preceding case and no. 1 above as regards the *y*. Fr. *puis* is ordinarily represented by *pi*. Neglect of rounding in pronouncing this very common word produces this. *dəpi* = Fr. depuis and *e pi* — Fr. *et puis* are also heard.

5. *r* — *ä* in German *Hütte* is the high-front-wide-round vowel corresponding to the high-front-narrow-round *y*. It therefore should appear as here indicated in the table on p. 7, and follow *y* in the list of sounds on p. 6. It has been treated under § XI. 3, the distinction between very close *o* and the open *r* not being readily apparent and difficult to note.

The nasal vowels.

§ XIII A. 1. First, a word in regard to the French nasal vowels. It is known that the nasalization of *a* and *e* before a nasal under certain conditions, is anterior to the oldest monuments of the language.[3] In the time of the Alexis poem (second half of the XIth century) *ã* and *ẽ* were kept apart, but in the Roland (a quarter of a century later) they are found making assonance to-gether.[4] M. Paul Meyer admits that the assimilation of *en* to *an* can well have taken place during the first half of the XIIth century;[5] it had not at the time of the Norman Conquest (1061), and in Anglo-Norman *an* and *en* have ever remained distinct and are to-day in the Romance words, which have passed into English.[6] The rimes of the *chansons de gestes* show this and M. Meyer goes on to say:[7] "En dehors des chansons de geste.

[1] A well-known Canadian-French form.

[2] Both forms cited also by Legendre, *La langue française*, p. 45; and by Rivard, *Manuel de la parole*, p. 63.

[3] *Romania*, VII, p. 126, but particularly X, p. 54, the article by G. Paris on *ó fermé*.

[4] G. Paris, *Extraits*, § 16 (7th edition). M. Paul Meyer's statement in *Mémoires de la société de linquistique*, (I, 1868, p. 260) that ". . . les sons *an* et *en* étaient aussi distincts pour l'auteur du *Roland* que pour celui de *Saint Alexis*," in view of G. Paris' text and remarks, § 16 of the same, cannot be taken as literally true.

[5] Article just mentioned in preceding note, p. 261, § V; cf. also p. 252, the italicized passage.

[6] *Ibidem*.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 264.

le mélange des rimes est extrêmement rare jusqu'au XV^e^ siècle où il reparaît et s'établit définitivement dans notre versification."[1] Judging, too, by the quotations from the grammarians of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries,[2] there were slight differences in their pronunciation. The consonant after the nasal vowel was heard in those days, thus: *bõn* = Fr. bon; *fãm* = Fr. femme, the stages of this latter being *fõme, fãme* and finally *fàme*;[3] i. e., the nasalization in the feminine form was not lost before the XVIth century. Thurot concludes his résumé in regard to *an* and *en*[4] by remarking that it is probable that in the first half of the XVIth century the difference between *an* and *en* was more or less observed, but later no difference was made. I have been unable to see that the Carleton dialect makes any distinction between its treatment of the sound when corresponding to French *an* or *en*.

2. In regard to French *ain, ein* and *in*, Thurot remarks[5] that it is probable that from the beginning of the XVIth century, they were very near to each other. Most of the XVIIth century authors (before about 1680) express themselves in the way that the XVIth century grammarians do, that is that *ain* was pronounced like *ein* and that *ein* differed very slightly from *in*.[6] De Bèze speaks of this *ein* as a sound "voisin d'*i* simple".[7] As MM. Darmesteter and Hatzfeld remark, what this sound is, it is difficult to say. The statement, however, is of interest with reference to the Carleton dialect sound *ẽ* corresponding to Fr. *ein* or *ain*.

3. The nasalization of Fr. *o* took place later than that of *a* or *e*. We know, that in Anglo-Norman *on* was early written *oun* (originally a diphthong)[8] just as *an* was written *aun*.[9] At the end of the XIIth century at the latest, *o* of the group *on* became nasalized and has remained so to our day save in certain feminine words (*bonne* was pronounced *bõn* just as *femme* was pronounced *fãm*, as above shown under 1).

4. The French nasal *in* dates only from about the middle of the XVIth century.[10] At first the sound appears to have been intermediary between *i-n* and *ein*, and only gradually in the XVIIIth century did it fuse with *ein* and became what it is to-day in Fr. *vin, fin*.

5. French *un* like *in* is also of a comparatively late date. Palsgrave (1531) does not mention it, treating the *u* in *humble* in no wise differently from that in *plus*. The testimony going to show that it was pronounced as to-day dates from the latter half of the XVIth century.[11]

§ XIII B. *ã* = Fr. *ain, ein* and *in* when final. I was told by the Carleton school-teacher that this was a dialect feature regularly carried through as a rule;

[1] Cf. also p. 276, "Au XV^e^ siècle, Charles d'Orléans distingue soigneusement les rimes ou figurent *en* et *an*."

[2] Thurot, II, pp. 429 *et seq.*

[3] *Romania*, X, p. 54.

[4] Tome II, p. 434.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 481.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 484.

[7] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVI^e^ siècle en France*, p. 213.

[8] *Romania*, X, p. 54.

[9] See Meyer's article, p. 253, referred to in foot-notes 4, 5, 6, etc., on the preceding page.

[10] Thurot, II, pp. 477 *et seq.*; see also Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVI^e^ siècle en France*, p. 214.

[11] *XVI^e^ siècle en France*, p. 214; Thurot, II, pp. 542 *et seq.*

the following list of words was prepared to illustrate this dialect trait. I state this as I do because to my ear the *ã* of the dialect is not French *en* precisely, certainly not Parisian *en*, and I believe that it is nearer Fr. *in* than it is to Fr. *en*. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that in these words the sound *ã* is slightly different from the dialect *ɛ̃*, which seems to me to sound rather more like the nasal of Fr. *é* than it does like French *in*. In fact the word for bread, Fr. *pain*, in certain places along the shore sounded like *pɛ̃*, and words corresponding to French *-aindre, -eindre*, I have recorded with the nasal vowel *ẽ*, see list 36 D.

List 36 A.[1] *ã* = Fr. *in, ain, ein*. (To my ear *ɛ̃*, or possibly *ã, æ̃*, = Fr. *in, ain, ein*.) Going back to L. *a, e*, or *i* + nasal consonant, and see the list for possible variations.

1	*ɛ̃ʒã*	engin
2	*baʒ⌣mã*	Benjamin
3	*bytã* G. bytin (K. 1441)	butin (linge)
4	*d(ə)mã*	demain
5	*grã*	grain
6	*kuzã*	cousin
7	*lã·dmã*	lendemain
8	*lytã* doubtful; see **nŏcto* (K. 5631)	lutin
9	*magazã* Arab. al-machsan (K. 440)	magasin
10	*mã*	main
11	*malã*	malin
12	*matã*	matin
13	*mulã*	moulin
14	*ɔrã* unknown	orin
15	*patã* G. root pat, patt + ending (K. 5937)	patin
16	*pã*	pain
17	*pã*	pin
18	*plã*	plein
19	*rã*	rein
20	*sapã*	sapin
21	*satã* perhaps from sēta + ending; or possibly of oriental origin	satin
22	*sutɛrã*	souterrain
23	*suvɛrã*	souverain
24	*ʃ(ə)mã*	chemin
25	*trã* LL. trahmare, OF. traïner	train
26	*travɔrsã*	traversin
27	*wɛzã, wezã*	voisin
28	*vã*	vin
29	*ʒardã* G. gard + ending (K. 3608)	jardin

§ XIII C. 1. The teacher told me that, with the above exception, the nasal vowels in Carleton were pronounced as in modern French. I paid more particular attention to the nasals at Bonaventure, the most thoroly French-Acadian town

[1] "C'est une des variétés caractéristiques de l'accent populaire de Paris et des campagnes qui l'avoisinent, que la nasalité . . . *an* pour *in* domine, surtout dans les *Sarcelles*, et dans toutes les positions . . . il est final dans *festan, matan* pour *festin, matin*": Nisard, *Etude sur le langage populaire de Paris*, p. 153. M. Rivard, commenting upon list 36 A, writes (August 25, 1906): "Je ne sais pas ce qui en est dans l'Acadien; mais chez nous, toute cette liste serait prononcé, ou bien par *ɛ̃*, ou bien par *ã*, et non par *ɑ̃*." This statement illustrates the extreme difficulty of noting the exact sound. To obtain accurate results such instruments must needs be used as those employed by l'abbé Rousselot.

along the bay, some twenty odd miles to the east of Carleton, just because I was told in Carleton that the nasals were more peculiar in Bonaventure than elsewhere along the shore. The following examples of *ã* = Fr. *on* were noted at Bonaventure. It was the opinion of the school-teacher at Bonaventure and likewise that of the Carleton teacher that the nasal was not that heard in French *on* but rather that heard in Fr. *en*. To my ear, the sound heard for Fr. *on* in these cases was not only Fr. *en* but approached *ɛ̃* and was *ɛ̃*, as I distinctly noted at times.

List 36 B.[1] *ã* = Fr *on*. (To my ear *ɛ̃* = Fr. *on*.) The sources are namely L. *u, o, i* + nasal consonant,—see also the list.

1	*abãːdɛ̃*	abondant	13	*pã*	pont
2	*dã*	don	14	*repãːd*	répondre
3	*fasã*	façon	15	*rã*	rond
4	*(ʒ) fã*	(je) fends	16	*rãːfle* *rĕ-ĭnflare (K. 6790)	ronfler
5	*fãːtɛn*	fontaine	17	*rãːʒe* *rondicare, G. Paris, *Rom.* X, 59	ronger
6	*fripã* see fĭbram, OF. frepe (K. 3221)	fripon	18	*sãːʒe*	songer
7	*grijã* gryllum for *grīllum + ending (K. 3794)	grillon	19	*trã*	tronc
8	*imãːd*	immonde	20	*trãːpe*	tromper
9	*kãːt*	conte	21	*trãːpø, trãːpɹːr*	trompeur
10	*mãːd*	monde	22	*ʒypã* Arabic al-ǵubbah (K. 382)	jupon
11	*mã*	mont	23	*vjɔlã* *vītŭlam, OF. vielle (K. 8789)	violon
12	*pãːd*	pendre			

2. While the above list applies strictly to Bonaventure, to my ear this same feature exists also in Carleton among the illiterate, tho not so plainly marked as among the same class at Bonaventure. This fact, it seems to me, is due to educational influence. The tendency, too, seemed to my ear to be ever towards Fr. *in*, and in some cases, actually *ɛ̃*. I have recorded *pɛ̃* = Fr. paon; *ʒypɛ̃* = Fr. jupon. This feature, as far as I can judge from Thurot's observations on the nasal vowels,[2] does not go back to old French. In regard to *o* followed by *n* or *m*, Thurot says:[3] "Il semble qu'au XVI[e] siècle, l'*o* nasal ait été un *o* grave moins complètement nasalisé que l'*o* nasal d'aujourd'hui." He has previously[4] remarked that even long after the XVIth century, nasality may not have been so completely confounded with the vowel as to day. The cases of permutation of Fr. *an* and *on* are rare.[5] Therefore the above cases appear to be modern and due simply to unrounding.

Special case of *ã* = Fr. *a*. *grãːmeːr* = Fr. grammaire. The *a* before the *m* remains nasalized just as in XVIth century French. Thurot shows that the pronun-

[1] "*ã* = Fr. *on* est rare dans le français-canadien. Je l'ai cependant relevé dans l'île d'Orléans, à St Pierre. Était-ce *ã* ou *ɑ̃*? Je ne sais." Comment of M. Rivard just cited.

[2] Tome II, p. 421, etc.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 511.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 423.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 443.

ciation of this word differed from that of Fr. *grand'mère* only in the quality of the *e* in the final syllable.[1] The adverbs in *-amment* were for a long time nasally pronounced, thus: *ãmã*.

ã = Fr. *ng* in dialect *mɔ̃·tã* = Fr. montagne. This is most likely due to the influence of Fr. *montant*. I was told *mɔ̃·tã* is the pronunciation current among old people.

§ XIII D. *ɛ̃* = Fr. *on, an* or *en*. List taken at Bonaventure. Sources: principally L. *e, a, i, o* + nasal consonant; see also the list. "L'*a* suivi de *n* ou *m* (de même de l'*e*) dans le corps ou à la fin du mot, se prête avec une certaine complaisance, surtout aujourd'hui a son changement en *i*. Vous entendrez dire par exemple *binde, chince, cinquinte, cint, pindint, printimps*, etc. au lieu de *bande, chance, cinquante, cent, pendant, printemps*," Nisard, *Étude sur le langage populaire*, p. 132.

List 36 C.[2]

1	*aprɛ̃·d*	apprendre	14	*kɔmɛ̃*	comment
2	*apsɛ̃·s*	absence	15	*kɔ̃·tɛ̃*	content
3	*arɛ̃* G. haring (K. 3882)	hareng	16	*kuvɛ̃*	couvent
4	*arʒɛ̃*	argent	17	*mamɛ̃* mămmăm + ending (K. 5032)	maman
5	*atɛ̃·t*	attente	18	*pɛ̃*	paon
6	*avɛ̃*	avant	19	*pasjɛ̃:s*	patience
7	*ɛ̃·fɛ̃*	enfant	20	*-sjɛ̃*[3]	-tion
8	*ɛ̃·stɛ̃*	instant	21	*ʃ◡·timɛ̃*	châtiment
9	*ɛ̃·ʒɛ̃*	engin	22	*tɛ̃*	temps
10	*dɛ̃*	dent	23	*vɛ̃*	vent
11	*devosjɛ̃*[3]	dévotion	24	*ʒɛ̃*	Jean
12	*imɛ̃·s*	immense	25	*ʒymɛ̃*	jument
13	*kɔmarsɛ̃*	commerçant			

Notwithstanding the fact that the Carleton school-teacher went over the above list with me pronouncing it correct for Bonaventure, but not for popular pronunciation in Carleton, the nasal in these words, as I heard them around Carleton, seemed to me nearer to Fr. *in* than to any other nasal sound in standard French.[4] The cases of

[1] Tome II, p. 453.

[2] "Je ne connais pas *ɛ̃* = Fr. *on*. Nous avons un son qui me paraît se rapprocher de *ɛ̃*: c'est la voyelle nasale correspondant à *ã* chez ceux pour qui *ã* = *ɛ̃*. Ainsi, j'ai relevé *ɛ̃·ʒã* = Fr. *engin*. Mais je ne suis pas sûr que ce soit *ɛ̃*." Comment of M. Rivard referred to in note 1, p. 54, and note 1, p. 55.

[3] I think the pronunciation indicated can be heard in Carleton, and the fact that it is not heard as often as in Bonaventure where it is the normal one, appears to be due to educational influence. Education has made more progress in Carleton than in any other French town along the bay.

[4] I was fortunate in being in Carleton when the young folks of the town presented Molière's *Malade imaginaire*. I then and there noted down a dozen cases like the above feeling convinced that *ɛ̃* corresponded regularly to Fr. *ent*

dialect *-sjɛ̃* regularly corresponding to Fr. *-tion* are numerous. They are cases of unrounding as in the preceding list 36 B. Unrounded nasals then are largely in the majority (cf. Canadian ɛ̃ = Fr. *un*). The words in the above list follow the analogy of the great number of words where a French rounded nasal (including the Parisian pronunciation of Fr. *en*) is represented by dialect ɛ̃. As remarked under § XIII B, dialect ɑ̃ and ɛ̃ are more nearly alike than French *an* and *in*. Now as ɛ̃ represents in so large a class of words Fr. *en*, and besides is the commonest of the nasals heard in the dialect, it is not surprising that it should be taken to represent Fr. *on*, or Parisian French *en*, a sound so much like Fr. *on*. It is interesting to note that while ɑ̃ in Parisian French has become more rounded going completely over to ɔ̃, in the dialect, on the contrary, it has taken the opposite direction, becoming unrounded and going over to ɛ̃.

§ XIII E. ẽ — the nasal of Fr. é. Sources: L. *i, a, u* + nasal consonant.

List 36 D.[1]

1	*depẽ:d*	depeindre	8	*kɔ̃·trẽ:d*	contraindre
2	*etẽ*	éteint	9	*pẽ:t*	peintre
3	*etẽ:d*	éteindre	10	*plẽ*	plaint
4	*fẽ*	feint	11	*plẽ:d*	plaindre
5	*fẽ:d*	feindre	12	*tẽ·dy*	(teint)
6	*kɔ̃·plẽ:d*	complaindre	13	*ʒwẽ*	joint
7	*kɔ̃·trẽ*	contraint	14	*ʒwẽ:d*	joindre

What I have found in regard to XVIth century pronunciation of Fr. *ain, ein,* and *in* has been stated under § XIII A, 2. Perhaps the slight difference then observable between Fr. *ein* and *in* may have been due to pronouncing *ein* as a nasal diphthong. The dialect sound seemed to be that described by Professor Sheldon[2] in his *Specimens,* and tho, as it seemed to me, I heard the sound in *pɛ̃* = Fr. pain (cf. § XIII B), *kɔkdẽ:d* = Fr. coq d'inde, yet it appeared most clearly marked in the above words. Therefore I hardly ventured to record *pẽ* among them, so delicate are these distinctions between ẽ and ɛ̃, especially when, as I suspect is the case, they blend into each other when not clearly marked.

§ XIII F. ɔ̃ = Fr. *on,* save in the cases where this latter may be represented by ɑ̃ or ɛ̃ as in list 36 B.

in endings. I have noticed this same feature thruout Canada in both Canadian and Acadian regions; and the testimony of Prof. Sheldon, who records *ɑn ɛ̃fɛ̃* = Fr. un enfant (*Specimens,* no. 69), as well as that of Prof. Squair, who says in (17) of *A contribution,* etc.: "*an* and *en* in *avant, argent, vent* are often pronounced like *in* in Fr. *cin,*" support the correctness of my observation.

[1] The pronunciation here indicated, ẽ = the nasal of Fr. é, is likewise that heard in all the words of this list in the region about Quebec.

[2] *Transactions and proceedings of the modern language association of America,* vol. III, 1887, p. 211.

§ XIII G. $\tilde{a}$ = Fr. *un*; $\tilde{\varepsilon}$ = Fr. *un* can, however, be heard. $\tilde{\varepsilon}$, as is well known, generally speaking, is heard thruout Canada for Fr. *un*. The following cases of this trait I noted at the Falls of Montmorency. Sources: L. *u*, *o* + nasal consonant: in no. 4 Germ. *brun*.

1	*alɛ̃*	alun	5	*defɛ̃*	defunt
2	*ɑ̃prɛ̃*	emprunt	6	*kɔmɛ̃*	commun
3	*ɛ̃*	un	7	*lɛ̃di*[1]	lundi
4	*brɛ̃*	brun	8	*parfɛ̃*	parfum

A form like no. 2 is not used in Carleton. *defɛ̃:t* = Fr. défunte is heard in Carleton. This trait, like that under § XIII D, is due to unrounding, and I have noticed it occasionally in Paris French. While Passy remarks:[2] "Les voyelles nasalisées ont en général une tendance à devenir ouvertes", and farther on speaking of $\tilde{a}$ says: "En français, la voyelle orale (*a*) a pour correspondante nasalisée $\tilde{a}$: paysanne *peizan*, paysan *peizɑ̃*; et maintenant ce $\tilde{a}$ se prononce avec arrondissement partiel $\tilde{a}^{\circ}$ ou $\tilde{ɔ}^{+}$",[3] he adds here a foot-note: "Cependant $\tilde{a}$ devient plutot $\tilde{\varepsilon}$, suivant l'analogie des autres voyelles palatales, qui tendent à se normaliser (§ 300). On dit *fakɛ̃* pour *chacun*."

Diphthongs.

§ XIV. The diphthongs *wᵕ*, *wa* or *ɯa*, *we* and *wɛ*.

1. *wᵕ* has already been treated on p. 14, list 6, under ᵕ. Those few cases there given are about all the examples of this pronunciation in the dialect. This sound, of which Passy observes that it can be heard in country places, and even in the suburbs of Paris,[4] is merely *wa* slightly rounded.

2. *ɯa* or *ɯa*, the pronunciation, which the character *oi* was to have for modern French, is a later pronunciation of *we* (= later) *wɛ*; it is plain, that it was XVIth century Parisian pronunciation in several very common monosyllables, for Thurot cites the evidence of several authorities clearly showing this.[5] The diphthong *oi* was pronounced from the XIIIth century *oe*, then afterwards *oɛ*. During the XVIth century, popular speech, as well as that of the court, simplified the diphthong by reducing it to *ɛ* in a certain number of words and forms, where for the most part accented *oi* is followed by an *e* or an *s* final (*français*, *monnaie*, and particularly in imperfect and conditional endings).[6] The language of culture preserved at first

[1] Jaubert notes *lindi*. I have heard it so much in different places, I should call it popular French.

[2] *Etude*, § 308.

[3] *Ibidem*, § 432.

[4] *Phonetische Studien*, I, p. 171.

[5] Tome I, p. 356; H. Suchier, *Le français et le provençal*, traduction par P. Monet, p. 53, § 21: "Ce son *ọa* était déjà connu de Palsgrave (1530)", etc.

[6] Gröber's *Grundriss* (Suchier's article), p. 588 § 21, or Monet's translation, p. 53.

without any change the sound *oɛ* in such words; nevertheless, the pronunciation *ɛ* gained more and more, even in the language of the educated, which after some hesitation, decided for *oɛ* in *croire, croître, droit* and *soit,* and for the simple *ɛ* pronunciation in other words and forms as described above. This latter pronunciation, as is well known generally, was introduced into the orthography by Voltaire (*Zaïre,* 1732) *faible, rendrais,* etc. In all other cases, however, *oe* became *oa, oa,* to-day *ua, ua,* while the Middle Age notation *oi* still remains. Even the words *moelle, poêle, fouet* have regularly adopted the pronunciation *oa, oa,* with this reserve, that along side of it exists the pronunciation *oɛ,* which the spelling tends to preserve.[1]

Note. It is of interest to note here for Canadian French that in the cases above described as accented *oi* + *e* or *s* final, and particularly in imperfect and conditional endings, the diphthong has not only been simplified, but the Fr. resultant *ɛ* has been opened, so that Fr. *français, monnaie, vendais,* etc. are pronounced about like: *frɑ̃·sa, mɔna, vɑ̃·da.* Cf. foot-note 4, p. 16.[2]

3. *wa* = Fr. *oi* in Passy's *bois, noix* etc.,[3] heard only in final syllables.

List 37.

1	*fwa* fĭdem (K. 3230)	foi	4	*wa* aucam (K. 898)	oie
2	*krwa* crŭcem (K. 2295)	croix			
3	*patwa* see root *pat, patt* (K. 5937)	patois			

It seems to me that one pronunciation, that of old people in Carleton, of the words recorded in list 6 p. 14, that is the pronunciation *wa* (rather than *wa*), might, perhaps, come under this list. I think the sound, as heard from old people, is *wa* rather than *wa,* though I cannot be positive.[4] Professor Rivard, commenting upon this observation, writes: "Je pense que votre observation est juste. Les Acadiens établis au village de La Rochelle (Saint-Grégoire de Nicolet) prononcent ainsi. J'ai entendu souvent, à cet endroit: *watɣ:r,* ou plutôt: *wakɣ:r.*"

4. *wa* = Fr. *oi* as in *je bois,*[3] heard only in final syllables.

List 38.

1	*aparswa* OF. recoif, analogy to OF. boivre (Schwan § 511)	aperçois	3	*dwa* dĭgitum (K. 2575)	doigt
2	*ɑ̃·plwa* plĭcare, pleier, ploiier (Schwan § 123,2)	emplois	4	*fwa* fĭdem (K. 3230)	foi
			5	*lwa* lēgem (K. 4779)	loi
			6	*fwa* G. kausjan (K. 4532)	choix
			7	*ʒwa* gaudium (K. 3625)	joie

[1] Cf. foot-note 6 on p. 58.

[2] Cf. Legendre, *La langue française,* pp. 44, 45 (edition of 1890).

[3] *Phonetische Studien,* I, p. 172 (1888).

[4] If any evidence is needed tending to show how really difficult it is to be sure what the sound is in a given word, the following will illustrate taken from Passy's *Étude,* p. 239, § 586: "Un de mes frères distingue le pronom *toi* (*twa*) du substantif *toit* (*twa*), tandis que mes parents prononcent tous deux (*twa*) dans les deux cas." Cf. also the rather instructive note in regard to imitation in language at the bottom of the page. On p. 10, I have already cited Beyer's opinion in regard to *a* and *a* coming together.

5. Professor Squair in his list (15) in *A contribution*, etc. indicates nos. 2. 3 and 4 in list 37 and nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 in list 38 to be pronounced with the vowel heard in Fr. *très*. This is of interest as showing one stage of *oi* farther back—and shows that the Carleton-Acadian French in such words is nearer modern French than is that of Ste Anne de Beaupré.

6. Special case.

arnwa Cymr. haearn (iron) (K. 3844) = Fr. harnais

Roquefort gives both, *harnas* and *harnois*. Littré, speaking of two pronunciations, says: "*harnois* est l'ancienne prononciation de Paris et de la Picardie; *harnais* est l'ancienne prononciation de la Normandie et de l'Ouest." Thurot[1] quotes Ménage, who says: "Nous prononçons maintenant *harnois* par l'*e* ouvert simple." There were two forms in XVIth century French, *harnais* and *harnois*;[2] *harnais* was used for the horses' harness, and *harnois* was used figuratively just as to day "endosser le harnois". The Carleton dialect has evidently retained the latter pronunciation *arnwa*, applying the word to the every day meaning indicated by Fr. *harnais*, modern French having preserved the distinction observed in the XVIth century. Jaubert gives *harnois*, *harnas* without distinguishing. *arnwa* is also the form heard all about Quebec.

don mwa dɔ̃ ɑ̃ pti but də lɛ̃ pur amɔ̃re mɔ̃ arnwa
donne moi donc un petit bout de lin pour amarrer mon harnais

§ XV. *we* = Fr. *oi* in unaccented syllables. This sound is still heard in many words of the dialect, altho not nearly as common as *wɛ*, which seems to be ousting it gradually. One may draw the conclusion from Professor Squair's list (14) —and my own notes taken at the Falls of Montmorency testify to the same fact— that *we* has been retained in many more Canadian than Acadian words.[3] Indeed, I recorded but one example of it in Carleton in an accented syllable: *naʒwe:r* = Fr. *nageoire*. It is, however, not uncommon in unaccented syllables. Sources are given separately in the list.

List 39.[4]

1	*ɑ̃pwezɔne* (formed from potionem) (K. 1157)	empoisonné	
2	*dəmwezɛl* *dominicellu OF. damoisel (Schwan § 16 Anm. 2)	demoiselle	
3	*pwesɔ̃* *pɪscionem (K. 6170-1)	poisson	
4	*pwezɔ̃* (f.) potionem (K. 1157)	poison	

[1] Tome I, p. 404.

[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 404-5.

[3] This statement which may seem too broad to be made from the data above given, my own private researches in several Canadian and Acadian districts lead me to believe true. It can only be proven by visiting all the districts.

[4] "*oi* se prononce généralement *oué*", Jaubert, under *oi*; see also the foot-note 2, p. 61. "Toute la list 39 est franco-canadienne", Rivard.

5	*swɛɲe*[1] formed from *sonium (K. 7617)	soigner
6	*swɛɲo*[1] derivative of Fr. soin; see no. 5	soigneux
7	*swesɑ̃t* sĕxāgĭnta (K. 7435)	soisante
8	*twelɛt* derivative of tēla (K. 8080)	toilette
9	*wetyːr, wɛtyːr* vĕctura (K. 8594)	voiture
10	*wezɛ̃, wɛzɛ̃* *vĭcīnum (for vicinum (K. 8691)	voisin
11	*wezm, wɛzm* *vĭcĭnam (K. 8691)	voisine
12	*wezine* deriv. of nos. 10, 11	voisiner
13	*wezo* aucĕllum OF. oisel (K. 900)	oiseau
14	*wejaːʒ, wɛjaːʒ* vĭatĭcum (K. 8681)	voyage

Note. It will be noticed in this list, as well as in the four following, that where ever the sound *we* or *wɛ* = Fr. *oi* is preceded by *v* in the Fr. word, as in nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14, the French *v* is left unrepresented, so that in such cases dialect *we* or *wɛ* regularly = Fr. *voi*. A list of such words will be found under the consonant *v*, list 45.

Agnel observes, speaking of the popular rural pronunciation about Paris: "Dans la prononciation rustique la syllabe *oi* se change en *ouć* . . . Cette règle de prononciation s'applique à plus de six mille mots. Mais il importe de remarquer que plus on se dirige vers la Normandie, plus cette prononciation *ouć*, tend à s'éclaircir; ce qui produit un son entre l'*e* fermé et l'*e* ouvert", *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 15.

§ XVI. *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*, occurring as a rule wherever Fr. *oi* not final occurs in French.

1. Accented. Sources: L. suffix *-orium*; L. *ē*; L. *ĭ*; see the list for words going back to Germanic roots.

List 40.[2]

1	*armwɛːr*	armoire	7	*etwɛl*	étoile
2	*awɛn*[3]	avoine	8	*frɑ̃ːbwɛːz* G. brâmbezie (K. 1317)	framboise
3	*awɛːr*	avoir	9	*glwɛːr*	gloire
4	*ɑ̃ːsɑ̃ːswɛːr*	encensoir	10	*iwɛːr*	ivoire
5	*bwɛːr*	boire	11	*krwɛːr*	croire
6	*dəwɛːr*	devoir			

[1] Old people say *sɔɲe* and *sɔɲo* (perhaps *o* or *ʌ* should be written in the first syllable). Cf. p. 40, the note just below list 27.

[2] "*oir, oire* à la fin des mots font habituellement *oué, ouer, ouére,* comme dans l'ancienne prononciation française qui s'est conservée, non seulement dans plusieurs de nos provinces, mais aussi chez nos anciens compatriotes du Canada", Jaubert, under *oir*. Cf. also Jônain, under *oir*.

[3] *aveine* is the spelling given by Agnel for the popular rural form heard about Paris, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 97. Thurot, I, p. 405, gives a number of spellings for XVIth century French, *auene*, for example . . . "il faut dire *auoine* avec toute la cour et non pas *aueine* avec tout Paris", Vaugelas (1647). The popular usage was for *aveine*. An interesting study of the word will be found in the *Bulletin*, II, p. 318. "Toute la liste 40 est franco-canadienne. Le professeur Squair a noté des exceptions; sur l'usage général, il se trompe," Rivard.

12	*nwɛ:r*	noir	17	*trɔtwɛ:r*	G. *trotton (K. 8390) trottoir
13	*pwɛ:r*	poire	18	*twɛ:z*	toise
14	*pwɛ:r*	poivre	19	*viktwɛ:r*	victoire
15	*sawɛ:r*	savoir			
16	*swɛf*	soif			

2. In the Ste Anne dialect Professor Squair in list (14) of his: *A contribution*, etc., indicates the pronunciation of the vowel in nos. 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 19 of the above list to be like "*ou* in Fr. *oui* + *é* in Fr. *été*". This, then, is a parallel to what has just been pointed out under list 38; and just as there ɛ is one step behind Carleton *wa*, so here Ste Anne *we* represents one step behind Carleton *wɛ*.

3. *wɛ* = Fr. *oi* in unaccented syllables. The sources are given separately for each word.

List 41.[1]

1	*aprivwɛze* *ăpprīvĭtĭare (K. 666)	apprivoiser	4	*pwɛro* pĭrŭm + suffix (K. 6166)	poireau
2	*mwɛzi* *mucceum < *mŭccum = mūcum, OF. mois (K. 5440)	moisi	5	*wɛri* vĭārĭum (K. 8680)	voirie
3	*mwɛsɔ̃* mĕssĭōnem (K. 5269)	moisson	6	*wɛty:r, wety:r*	voiture
			7	*wɛzɛ̃, wezɛ̃*	voisin
			8	*wɛzin, wezin*	voisine

For the last three words, see list 39, nos. 9, 10, 11.

Special cases.

1	*mənwɛ:r* see p. 33, no. 3	(limonière)	3	*wɛrɔ̃* G. heigir (K. 3920)	héron
2	*mɔrtwɛ:z* (unknown) cf. Ar. murtazzo = fixed	mortaise			

No. 1. As suggested in the reference above given to *mənwɛ:r*, probably not connected with Fr. *limonière*, but rather from *mɔne* = Fr. *mener*. The form is also well known Canadian-French.

No. 2 *mɔrtwɛ:z*. Thurot (I, p. 414) indicates both *mortoise* or *mortaise*. The first spelling may well be the dialect form. The form here given in the list is also current in Canadian French.

No. 3 *wɛrɔ̃*. I have no explanation for this form. About Quebec, it is unknown.

4. *we* and *wɛ* corresponding to Fr. *oy*. These words being pronounced exactly like those = French *oi* might well be classed among them. It may, however, for convenience of reference, be as well to group them immediately following the above lists by themselves.

[1] According to Professor Squair's list (14), nos. 1 and 2 of list 41 have *we* in the Ste Anne dialect, so that the observation under 2 above applies also here. "Toute la liste est franco-canadienne", Rivard.

§ XVI A. *we* = Fr. *oy*, occurring like *we* = Fr. *oi*, almost if not wholly in unaccented syllables (see the list itself for sources of *we* or Fr. *oi*).

List 42.

1	*rãːweje* re + ĭn + vĭare (K. 4422)	renvoyer
2	*rydweje, rydeje*[1] Fr. rude + suffix (K. 7013)	rudoyer
3	*rwejal* rēgālem (K. 6770)	royal
4	*rwejom* *rēgālĭmen (K. 6769)	royaume
5	*swejɔ̃* *sẹamus (Schwan § 40)	soyons
6	*tytweje* tu + suffix	tutoyer
7	*wejɛl* vocalem	voyelle

Just as the *we* = Fr. *oi* cases are rarer than *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*, so the above *we* = Fr. *oy* are far less common than *wɛ* = Fr. *oy*.

§ XVI B. *wɛ*[2] = Fr. *oy* occurring almost, if not wholly, in unaccented syllables. See the sources in the list itself.

List 43.

1	*ãːplwɛje* ĭmplĭcare (K. 4135)	employer
2	*ãːwɛje*[3] ĭn + vĭare (K. 4422)	envoyer
3	*ɛ̃ːkrwɛjaːb* deriv. of Fr. croire, crēdere (K. 2249)	incroyable
4	*deplwɛje* de + plĭcare (K. 4135)	déployer
5	*mwɛjɛ̃* mĕdĭānum (K. 5188)	moyen
6	*nwɛje*[4] nĕcare (K. 5575)	noyer
7	*nwɛjo* nŭcalem (K. 5661)	noyau
8	*wɛjaːʒ, wejaːʒ* vĭātĭcum (K. 8681)	voyage
9	*wɛjaʒe* deriv. of no. 8	voyager
10	*wɛjaʒø* deriv. of no. 8	voyageur

Transitory sounds.[5]

§ XVI C. A transitory sound may occur as initial, easily becoming independent, medial, or at the end of a word before another word, as in the expression

a l ɛstə d la frɑ̃ːs.
à l'est de la France

Occurring not infrequently in this dialect as well as in the Romance languages

[1] This form is apparently on the analogy of the many words described p. 58, § XIV, 2, where the *w* has been lost.

[2] While the second element has been noted by ɛ, nevertheless, the sound is rather close; as the Carleton school-teacher expressed it, "presque pas ouvert".

[3] Comparing *ãːwɛje* with *rãːweje* (list 42, no. 1) the difference would appear purely accidental.

[4] About Quebec quite often *neje, nɛje*; cf. foot-note 1.

[5] Cf. also cases like *katørjɛm* (§ XXXIII), *pøpølje* and *tabølje* (§ XXXII).

generally. Passy says of it when initial: "Ce phénomène qui n'est qu'un cas particulier de l'anaptyxe, est connu sous le nom de prosthèse" (*Étude*, § 524). "En vieux Francais et en Espagnol, la prosthèse de *e* devant *s* suivi d'une consonne, est régulière: *escole, escuela* de *scholam*; *escrire, escribir* de *scribere*" (*Ibidem*, § 526). The following examples will illustrate this feature in the dialect. The vowel sound in question hardly calls for recording etymologies for the French forms.

1	*ebəlœt*	beluette	8	*ekrɛjɔ̃*[2]	crayon
2	*egadɛl*	gadelles	9	*ɛskarlatin*	scarlatine
3	*ekard*	carde	10	*ɛskəlɛt*	squelette
4	*ekarde*	carder	11	*ɛstaty*[3]	statue
5	*ekardɔ̃*[1]	cardon	12	*ɛfarpi*	charpie
6	*ekl‿*	glas	13	*ɛpəlyːr*	pelures
7	*ekɔpo*	copeau			

This is a common trait in XVIth century French and in French dialects. Of the words in the above list, Thurot gives *esquelette*[4] and *estatue*.[5] Jônain gives *écarder, écoupeau, escalette* and *estatu*. Moisy gives *éberluette, écarde* and *écardonner*. Royer de Montesson[6] mentions some of these words and adds: "de même que dans beaucoup d'autres provinces." Modern French, in cases like old French *escole*, has dropped the *s*; English readily drops the prefix: cf. OF. *espous*, Fr. *époux*, E. *spouse*. In regard to the quality of this transitory sound, it may be due sometimes, as Passy suggests, to analogy: possibly the influence of words like Fr. *estime*. Or it may be due to the quality of the *s*. The feature is a living one, for M. V. Henry has noted recently the pronunciation of the name (which I myself happen to remember seeing posted upon the amusement boards all over Paris) *miʃɛl ɔstrɔgɔf* for Fr. *Michel Strogof* (Passy, *Étude*, § 526, and note 2). The subject is treated in the *Bulletin*, II, pp. 203-6. Professor Rivard comments on the words in the above list thus: "1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 et 13, ne seraient-ils pas des cas d'agglutination de l'article? 4, 7, 9, 10, 11 (*ɛstaːty*) et 13 sont du franco-canadien."

Note. *ɛskus* = Fr. *secousse*. The French form is probably a case of simple metathesis. Of the dialect form, or more exactly, of *escouer*, M. G. Paris says: ". . . inconnu à l'Académie, mais usité dans le parler populaire de toute la France: il est difficile de distinguer de cet *escouer* notre *secouer*, qui n'a pas d'exemples anciens, ce qui est singulier, s'il vient directement de *succutere*; *esquerre, esquent* sont au contraire des formes fréquentes au moyen âge."[7] See also list 72, no. 4.[8]

[1] Chambure notes *éçardon, Glossaire du Morvan*.

[2] This form does not belong with these words as it is true for Pasbébiac French, not for Carleton. My notes give for the Quebec form *krijɔ̃*.

[3] For this popular rural French form heard around Paris, and other like ones, see Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 271; also Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 104, who notes also *esquelette*, p. 105.

[4] Tome I, p. 217.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 216.

[6] *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine*.

[7] *Romania*, X, p. 43.

[8] An explanation for the vowel prefixed in cases like *ɛstaty, ɛskəlɛt*, etc., is perhaps that offered by Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, p. 184, Anm. 4, taken with what precedes on p. 183 (3d edition, Leipzig, 1885).

B. Consonants.

General Observations.

In general it may be said, that the principal phonetic changes, which the consonants of the dialect undergo, are due to assimilation, dissimilation, and to metathesis.

1°. Before unvoiced consonants, voiced consonants as a rule become unvoiced: *apsɛ̃* = Fr. absent; and vice-versa, before voiced consonants, unvoiced become voiced: *aʒve* = Fr. achevé.

2°. The liquids *l* and *r*, occurring in French after a consonant in a final syllable followed by mute *e* as in Fr. *table, massacre,* are regularly unrepresented in the dialect: *tab, masak.*

3°. Fr. *v* before *w* regularly disappears in the dialect: Fr. voir = dialect *wɛ:r.*

4°. Final consonants are apt to be sounded in many dialect words, where not generally pronounced in the corresponding French words. This, however, is not a phonetic change strictly speaking, for such forms can usually be accounted for on the analogy of the forms, which, under certain circumstances, have that final consonant sounded in French: cf. *tut* = Fr. tout, and *tut ɛ̃fɛ̃* = Fr. tout enfant.

5°. The coming together of three consonants is generally avoided, (except when the last consonant is *l* or *r*: *ɛsplike* = Fr. expliquer) some change arising to prevent such a combination: *ɔn ɛsky:z* = Fr. une excuse; and cf. *ɔn bɛl ɛstaty* = Fr. une belle statue, altho the dialect likewise says: *ɔn ʒɔli ɛstaty* = Fr. une jolie statue.

6°. The treatment of Fr. *k* and *g* before front vowels, and Fr. *d* and *t* before *i* + a vowel, is of special interest; and I may add from notes taken in several other Canadian and Acadian localities, the same is true in general of these French dialects.

7°. Words, which in French begin with, or have in any but a final syllable, *bre, dre, cre, fre, gre, pre, tre,* undergo regularly metathesis, the dialect forms being *bər, dər, kər, fər, gər, pər, tər,* (perhaps *ə* should be written instead of *ə*).

8°. Metathesis, assimilation, and dissimilation among the liquids is particularly common: *maltɪd* = Fr. Mathilde; *rabu:r* = Fr. labour; *larmanak* = Fr. l'almanach.

9°. *x* = Fr. *g* before front vowels; also Fr. *j*; also Fr. *ch,* when pronounced like dialect *f*; also very often instead of Fr. *h.* It is a most characteristic dialect peculiarity.

Labials.

§ XVII. 1. *b* initial = Fr. *b.*

1	*bo͡ɪs*	bâtisse	4	*bəzwɛ̃*	besoin
2	*bɛ̃ wi*	bien oui	5	*bø*	bœuf
3	*bərwɛt*	brouette	6	*bytɛ̃*	butin

Remark. As the sources of the consonants are, as a rule, those of the same French consonants, it has seemed unnecessary to insert etymologies save in cases, which are of interest in some way regarding the dialect consonant; for the real source of the dialect changes is the French, not the Latin, which, of course, is the French source.

2. *b* medial, as a rule = Fr. *b*.

1	*arbaːʒ*	herbage	4	*sabˇ*	sabbat
2	*ɑ̃ːgarbe*	engerber	5	*tabøljə*	tablier
3	*ɔbarʒ*	auberge	6	*tabˇ*	tabac

3. In some dialect words a French *b* is unrepresented:

1	*ɔstiˑn*	obstine	3	*ɔstinemɛ̃*	obstinément
2	*ɔstinˇsjɑ̃*	obstination			

The first step in such a change as in these three forms would be for voiced *b* before unvoiced *s* to become unvoiced; examples of which can be seen in list 44. Then the *p* becomes completely assimilated to the *s*. This, too, was the XVIth century pronunciation of these words, as well as of words similarly spelled in French. Thurot cites De Bèze (1584), translating the original Latin quoted in a foot-note: "Devant *st*, le *b* est tout à fait muet, ou s'adoucit autant que possible."[1] The steps just described for the fall of Fr. *b* are, according to Passy, by no means necessary: for, in such a position, when too feebly pronounced to maintain its identity, the *b* is liable to disappear (*Étude*, § 381); *ostiné* and *ostination* is the pronunciation in the rural districts about Paris: Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 17; see also Nisard: *ostiné, Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 251. About Quebec *astine* and *astinˇsjɑ̃* are frequently heard.

4. *b* final Fr. *b* + *e* mute; Fr. *b* + liquid + *e* mute.

1	*ˇːb* (*ˇːbr*)[2]	arbre	4	*kurb*	courbe
2	*fˇːb, faːb*	fable	5	*sɔ̃ːb*	sombre
3	*furb*	fourbe	6	*tab*[3]	table

5. Examples of written *b* final are uncommon in French, and the cases, where they occur, not of popular origin.[4] In the dialect, I noted but one word, where *b* corresponded to written Fr. final *b*, and that a word taken both in French and the dialect from English: *klœb* = Fr. club. De Bèze's statement, that *b* does not end any word in French, Thurot shows, at least as regards spelling, to be not quite literally true.[5]

6. Special case. *flɑ̃ːb* = Fr. flamme. Also spelled *flambe* in Roquefort; cited from Palsgrave by Thurot as so pronounced;[6] and generally so pronounced in

[1] Tome II, p. 369.
[2] See § XXXIII, 8, note.
[3] *tab* not *taːb* is the popular form in use here and about Quebec.
[4] Cf. Lesaint, p. 128.
[5] Tome II, p. 125.
[6] Tome II, p. 256.

dialect French, as is shown by the *Dictionnaire* of Jaubert, Jônain, and Moisy; also so spelled by Talbert.[1] The phonetic explanation is simple: The oral explosive corresponding to *m* is *b*; when the nose passage is closed, the air coming explosively thru the mouth produces the *b* at the end. Nisard notes *flambe*, p. 204 of the work above cited, for popular rural French about Paris.

§ XVIII. 1. *p* initial = Fr. *p*.

1	*parsɔn*	personne	3	*prɛ̃:tɛ̃*	printemps
2	*parwɛs*	paroisse			

2. *p* medial as a rule = Fr. *p*.

1	*apɶl*	appel	3	*rəpri*	repris
2	*rapo:r*	rapport			

3. However, before an unvoiced consonant, medial *p* corresponds to the written voiced labial Fr. *b*, being assimilated to the unvoiced consonant.[2] For rural popular French around Paris, Agnel (*Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 8) says: "Ainsi *ab* suivi d'un *c* ou d'un *s* se change en *ap* et on dit: *apsence, apsolu*" etc.

List 44.[3]

1	*apsɛ̃*	absent	7	*apsu:d*	for (ils) absolvent
2	*apsɛ̃t*	absinthe	8	*apsudɔ̃, -e*	for absolvons, -ez
3	*apsəlymɛ̃*	absolument	9	*ɔpcɛ̃d*	for obtenir
4	*apsəlusjɑ̃*	absolution	10	*ɔpsarve*	observer
5	*apstəni:r*	abstenir	11	*ɔpstak*	obstacle
6	*apstinɛ̃:s*	abstinence	12	*ɔptəni:r*	obtenir

This is one of the commonest and simplest of phonetic changes; and can be heard in standard French, for it is difficult to prevent always its occurrence. Indeed, Lesaint says: "Par attraction, *b* devant *s* se change un peu en *p* dans la prononciation."[4] Also Passy: "L'assimilation la plus importante est celle qui a lieu entre consonne vocalique et consonne soufflée."[5]

ɔstine = Fr. obstiné; cf. Ital. *osservare, oscuro* etc., and see Jaubert: *ostiner*. For entire assimilation to *s*, see § XVII, 3.

4. Special cases of *p* medial. *aps* — Fr. asthme (Gr. ἆσθμα). The spellings *asthme, astme*, and *asme* are found in Thurot.[6] Canadian forms are: *apse, aspe*, and

[1] *Du dialecte blaisois*, p. 227.

[2] Regular pronunciation for Canadian French, cf. Manseau, *ab*, p. 7.

[3] This list, like many others, shows the advantage of comparing the dialect words with the modern French instead of with the Latin forms. This latter method of comparison is in this connection a matter of secondary importance, for the change is purely a phonetic one, the *p*, strictly speaking, owing its origin only indirectly to L. *b*, the source of the modern Fr. forms.

[4] P. 129.

[5] *Les sons*, 6th edition, p. 125, § 235.

[6] Tome II, p. 354.

astme.[1] *t*, either in the dialect or in French, occurs before a consonant other than *r* in very few words, and, as Thurot's examples show,[2] in some of these it underwent assimilation. This has been the case in the dialect, if a *t* was pronounced as might possibly have been. Then the oral unvoiced stop *p*, corresponding to *m*, has been substituted, which can occur when anything causes nasal closure. We then have *asp*, or by metathesis the dialect form *aps*.

5. *p* final = Fr. *p* final, written and pronounced; Fr. *p* followed by mute *e*, or by a liquid + mute *e*.

1	*kap*[3]	cap	3	*sup*	souple
2	*kup*	couple	4	*up*	houppe

As for final XVIth century *p*, the rules which apply to the consonants of that period in general (excepting, of course, *c*, *f*, *l*, and *r*), apply to *p*; that is to say, if before a consonant, as a rule, silent; if before a vowel, pronounced; if before a pause, also pronounced with a tendency, however, to become silent.[4]

eſap = Fr. écharde. The dialect word for Fr. *écharpe* is *ſap*,[5] a sling which is used to bind an arm or hand that has been hurt by an *eſap* (splinter). Thus *ſap* has very likely led to *eſap* = Fr. écharde by confusion with Fr. *écharpe*, to the extent of giving Fr. *écharde* a final *p* and making a change of termination.

eſarp is the Quebec form for Fr. *écharde*. This same substitution occurs not infrequently in modern French.

§ XIX. 1. *v* initial = Fr. *v*.

1	*varʒe*	verger	3	*vrɛ*[6]	vrai
2	*vilɛ̃*	vilain			

2. Tho dialect *v* = Fr. *v*, nevertheless Fr. *v*, initial or medial, before the dialect diphthong *we* or *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*, is left unrepresented (see the diphthong *we*, page 61, note). The following dialect word list will illustrate. In nos. 4 and 6, the origin of the Fr. *v* is, of course, L. *b*; in nos. 1, 8 and 11, L. *p*; in no. 9, euphonic; but it is not to Latin, but to French that one must look for the dialect change.

List 45.

1	*aparsəwɛːr*	apercevoir	3	*awɛn*	avoine
2	*apriwɛze*[7]	apprivoiser	4	*awɛːr*	avoir

[1] See Manseau, p. 67.

[2] Vide *posdater, posposer* and other examples, tome II, p. 354.

[3] So, too, in XVIth century French; Thurot, II, p. 120.

[4] *Ibidem*, II, p. 3 *et seq.*

[5] Cf. Raoul Rinfret's *Dictionnaire de nos fautes contre la langue française*, under *chape*: "c'est une faute de lui donner le sens d'*écharpe*," etc.

[6] Canadian *vra*; cf. Professor Squair's list (5) no. 28. Professor Rivard says: "Le Canadien dit plutôt *vre*. *vra* est une exagération du Professeur Squair. On entend bien *vrɛ* très ouvert, quelque chose comme *vræ*, mais rarement."

[7] Cheticamp *prive*.

5	*ɑ̃ˑwɛjɛ*	envoyer	12	*sɑwɛːr*	savoir
6	*dəwɛːr*	devoir	13	*wɑ*	voix
7	*iwɛːr*	ivoire	14	*wɛːr*	voir
8	*kɔ̃ˑsəwɛːr*	concevoir	15	*wɛri*	voirie
9	*puwɛːr*	pouvoir	16	*wɛtyːr*	voiture
10	*rɑ̃ˑwɛjɛ*	renvoyer	17	*wɛjaːʒ*	voyage
11	*rsəwɛːr*	recevoir	18	*wɛjɛl*	voyelle

3. This pronunciation can be heard in popular French.[1] Lip-teeth *v* is about to be made, when by anticipation of the *w*, the action does not take place, but instead a bilabial consonant is formed, producing the *w* and resulting in the loss of lip-teeth *v*.

4. *v* medial in other cases = Fr. *v*.

1	*bulvarse*	boulverser	3	*ravɛ̃*	ravin
2	*ləve*	lever			

Note. Sometimes, however, a similar change occurs to that noted in 2 above, when a *v* in French precedes no *oi* sound. For example, *ʒəwo* is one form for Fr. *cheval*, and results from feeble contact in attempting to pronounce the *v*, which becomes bilabial instead of lip-teeth. The forms heard about Quebec are *ʒval, ffal, ʒwal* = Fr. cheval, and *ʒvo, ffo, jwo* = Fr. chevaux. The feature is common enough in some kinds of English, for instance, Sam Weller's, in *Pickwick Papers*. *surifod* is the dialect form for Fr. *chauve souris* and is probably due to confusion. Jónain gives *souris-chaude* (Berri) and Jaubert also notes the same form. According to Guerlin de Guer, the form is the product of popular etymology (*Introduction à l'étude des parlers normands*, pp. 39, 40).

5. *v* final, as a rule = Fr. *v* + mute *e*, or liquid followed by mute *e*.

1	*løːv*	lève	3	*rɛːv*	rêve
2	*pwɛːv* L. pĭpĕrem (K.$_2$ 7176)	poivre	4	*sɛːv*	sève

6. Special cases.

1	*lɛsi*	lessive	2	*vøːv*	veuf

No. 1. In dialect *lɛsi*, Fr. *v* has been lost thru enfeeblement;[2] cf. Fr. *clef* or *clé*.[3] Dialect pronunciations, such as *artɪs* = Fr. artiste, *dɑ̃ˑtɪs* = Fr. dentiste, etc., are similar and due to the same cause.

No. 2. *vøːv* = Fr. *veuf*. Jaubert quotes: "Il est *veuve* depuis longtemps." This is a case more properly belonging to the morphology. The feminine form, being in so much more current use, has influenced the masculine. Cf. E. *He's a widow*.

---

[1] Passy, *Les sons*, 2d edition, p. 80, l. 11; also 3d edition, p. 138, l. 15: *ʒ vø le wɑːr*; also Beyer and Passy, *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 73, l. 5: *ty wa bjɛ̃*.

[2] Favre, in *Glossaire du Poitou*, spells the form also without the *v*.

[3] Cf. Passy's remarks on *chute*, § 381 and § 383 of his *Etude*.

§ XX. 1. *f* initial = Fr. *f* initial. The sources are those of the same Fr. words.

1	*fi* (or *fis*)	fils	3	*frɑ̃bwɛ.z*	framboise
2	*fɔ:r*	fort			

2. *f* medial = Fr. *f* medial.

1	*defi*	défi	3	*syfi*	suffit
2	*rəflɑ̃*	refrain			

3. *f* final = Fr. *f* final; also Fr. *f* + liquid followed by *e* mute.

1	*ganif* G. *knîf (K.$_2$ 5298)	canif	3	*swɛf*[1] sĭtĭm (K.$_2$ 8754)	soif
2	*suf*	souffle	4	*fəf*	chef

4. *f* final is also heard in certain words, where it is not in French, (going back to L. *v* originally).

1	*de narf*	des nerfs	3	*de sarf*	des cerfs
2	*dez of*	des œufs			

Cf. popular Fr. given by Beyer and Passy: *yn duzɛn d-œf*: *Das gesprochene Französisch,* p. 112.

5. These forms are on the analogy of the singular ones, where the *f* is pronounced; as, in general, Fr. plural and singular are now alike, it seems natural, that the dialect, too, should have like forms in singular and plural. The declension of OF. *uef,* taken as a type of the above three forms, ran thus:

Sing. Nom.	*ues*	Plur. Nom.	*uef*
Accus.	*uef*	Accus.	*ues*

6. Therefore the French forms should regularly be: sing. *œf,* plural *ø*; but the dialect has followed the analogy of the great majority of French nouns, which make singular and plural alike. In XVIth century French, Thurot tells us, that in the pronunciation, considered as normal, the *f* final was always sounded.[2] The plural, however, of such words had no pronounced *f*[3] just as in modern French to-day.[4] There was a popular tendency towards not pronouncing an *f* in the nom. sing. of such words as the above.[5] Traces of this can be found in the dialect dictionaries: Jônain gives *veu* = Fr. veuf, and so does Dubois. The Acadian dialect of Carleton says *œ̃ bø* = Fr. un bœuf, on the analogy of the plural, which is *bø*. However, when the flesh of the animal is spoken of in which sense the word, of course, has no plural, the expression is *mɑ̃:xe du bœf* = Fr. manger du bœuf. An interesting case of how pronunciation now takes one trend, now another, is Carleton *dez abi nö* = Fr. des habits neufs.

[1] For the explanation of the *f*, which Gröber calls purely graphic, see *Zeitschrift,* II, p. 459, and X, p. 300.

[2] Tome II, p. 133.

[3] Cf. Paris, *Extraits,* 7th edition, pp. 24-25, § 63.

[4] Tome II, p. 72.

[5] *Ibidem,* pp. 133-4.

This, naturally enough too, was the old French and XVIth century French pronunciation; but the pronunciation *dez abi nöf,* Thurot tells us,[1] was creeping in, and in modern French has won the day, while the Carleton dialect still sticks to the old usage. The popular rural districts about Paris still say *neu,* Nisard, p. 258. About Quebec *nø* is the form generally used in both singular and plural.

7. *f* final represents in some words Fr. *v* + mute *e,*[2] (going back to L. *v* originally).

1	*kaptıf*	captive	4	*retıf*	rétive
2	*masıf*	massive	5	*tardıf*	tardive
3	*naif*	naïve	6	*vif*	vive

8. These forms are on the analogy of the more usual masculine forms and belong properly under morphology, where they will receive attention: § XLIV. The same feature is found noted in the dialect dictionaries; Jaubert gives *vife: ce vin a une couleur bien vife.*

Dentals.

a. Stops.

§ XXI. 1. *d* initial = Fr. *d* initial. The sources of this consonant are the same as its sources in the same Fr. words.

1	*dam*	dame	3	*du*	doux
2	*dəwɛ:r*	devoir			

2. *d* medial = Fr. *d* medial.

1	*fidɛl*	fidèle	3	*fɑ̃dɛl*	chandelle
2	*kɔ̃'dɥi:r*	conduire			

3. *d* final = Fr. *d* final + mute *e,* or liquid followed by mute *e.*

1	*ku:d*	coudre	3	*surd*	sourde
2	*pard*	perdre			

4. Special cases. For convenience of reference, the cases of initial, medial and final *d* are all grouped to-gether.

List 46. The changes as explained below being modern, the sources of the Fr. originals are not inserted.

1	*avard*	avare	3	*dijo:m*	Guillaume
2	*dife* probably of Scand. origin (K.$_2$ 10171)	guichet	4	*fregad*	frégate
			5	*mamzɛl*	mademoiselle

[1] Tome II, p. 72.

[2] For examples, see Morphology, § XLIV, 3.

6	*norwa* (*a* rather than *a* as also in no. 9)	nord-ouest	8	*syɛtr*	sud-est
7	*pānā*	pendant	9	*syrwa, sœrwa*	sud-ouest

No. 1 *avard* = Fr. avare. This is a change of termination on the analogy of some more familiar feminine ending in *-arde*, like *criarde, pendarde*. Cf. § XX. 7. for a similar trait. The form is common about Quebec.

No. 2 *dife* = Fr. guichet. The palatal Fr. *g* is brought forward, so far forward, that a *d* position is reached with the dialect result. The reverse of this is quite common about Quebec: *gjø* = Fr. Dieu. Cf. Nisard, *Étude sur le langage populaire*, p. 200, for *guieu, guiable, guiamant*, etc.

No. 3 *dijo:m* = Fr. Guillaume. Same explanation as for no. 2 *dife*, the *d* not coming directly from the L. *gu*, as the Fr. form does, but being a change from French.

No. 4 *fregad* = Fr. frégate. Probably the reason, why the suffix *-ad* should be heard rather than *-at*, both being of foreign importation, is that *-ad* is by far the commoner of the two. The *a* is pronounced short.

No. 5. Fr. *d* is not represented in *mamzɛl* = Fr. mademoiselle. As a rule, the dialect shortens three and four syllable Fr. words to two. Passy says under *Accent de force*[1] of similar language traits: "L'affaiblissement des sons placés en syllabe faible va souvent jusqu'à la chute complète." The examples, he gives of this feature in French (§ 271), are very instructive.

No. 6, 8 and 9 are properly cases, where Fr. *d* is unrepresented. The words are mostly heard in the mouths of the nautical people, and where spoken as they must be so quickly, it is not surprising to find some change from standard pronunciation. Thus in Fr. *nord-ouest*, in the group *rdou*, the loss of *d* simplifies just so much the word. Losing the *d*, here makes it easy to fall out in *syrwa* and *syɛtr*, the *r* in the last two forms being heard on the analogy of *r* sounded in the first form (see § XXXIV, 8, consonant *r*, Special cases, no. 7.[2]

No. 7 *pānā* = Fr. pendant, also a case of Fr. *d*; between nasals, it has become completely nasalized. See Passy, *Étude*, § 436, for this identical case, as well as similar ones. In such instances the XVIth century usage appears to have been: *d* silent before consonants; before vowels, linked as *t*; lightly pronounced before a pause. Cf. Thurot II, pp. 11 and 111.

§ XXII. 1. *t* initial = Fr. *t* initial. The original source is that of the *t* in the same Fr. words.

1	*tẽ*	temps	3	*tuːr*	tour
2	*trɛːt*	traître			

[1] *Étude*, § 270.

[2] Thurot, II, p. 107, quotes from Féraud (1761): "les marins disent *vent d'è, d'ouè, sud-è, sud-ouè, nord-è, nord-ouè*."

2. *t* medial = Fr. *t* medial, (but not the written Fr. *t* in *-tion* and *-tie*).[1]

1	*lɑ̃ˑtarn*	lanterne	3	*rɛste*	rester
2	*pti* Celtic root pĕtt (K.$_2$ 7106)	petit	4	*sɛ̃ˑpati*	sympathie

3. *t* final = Fr. *t* final (which is rare), Fr. *t* + mute *e*, or + liquid followed by mute *e*.

1	*krut*	croûte	3	*put*	poutre
2	*lut*	loutre	4	*fyt* (interjection)	chut

4. The pronunciation of XVIth century final *t* followed in general the rules for the final consonants (given under § XVIII, 5). Usage evidently varied in a number of common monosyllabic words,[2] and of these pronunciations both French and the dialect may show influence.

5. *t* final is heard in a number of Carleton dialect words where tho written in modern French, it is not usually sounded. The original source is the same as that of the Fr. written *t* (save in no. 10, and see foot-note 6 to no. 9).

List 47.[3]

1	*adrwɛt*	adroit	10	*isit, isɪt*[6]	ici
2	*ɛ̃ˑkjɛt*	inquiet	11	*kɔ̃ˑplɛt*	complet
3	*ɑ̃ˑdrwɛt*[4]	endroit	12	*nɛt*[7]	net
4	*bʊt* G. bōtan (K. 1296)	bout	13	*plat*	plat
5	*dəbʊt* cf. 4	debout	14	*pɔt*	pot
6	*dizgrɛt*	discret	15	*syʒɛt*	sujet
7	*drwɛt*	droit	16	*tʊt*	tout
8	*etrwɛt*	étroit	17	*ʒɥijɛt*[8]	juillet
9	*frɛt*[5] [6]	froid			

6. The adjectives in the above list might be accounted for on the analogy of the Fr. feminine forms. As for the nouns, and this in a measure applies to

---

[1] In the XIVth century Fr. *-tion* was written as pronounced *-cion*, which as early as the time of Palsgrave (1530) became altered to *-tion* in accordance with the Latin *-tionem* forms, but the pronunciation *-cion* was retained (D. and H., *XVI^e siècle en France*, p. 216).

[2] Thurot, II, p. 86 *et seq.*

[3] Cf. Morphology, § XLIV, 6.

[4] In the sense of right side (of a piece of cloth).

[5] Jaubert notes *fret* and Thurot comments on *il fait fret*, t. I, p. 409.

[6] The two words *frɛt* and *isit* do not strictly belong in the list as no *t* is written in French. To be sure, in Fr. *froid*, when the word is linked, the *d* is in some cases sounded as a *t*. I have found it convenient to place them here, but I have no explanation for the *t* in *isɪt*.

[7] Lesaint (p. 302) says: "Le *t* se prononce toujours," adding: "Nodier et Landais prononcent toutefois *nè*."

[8] I have heard repeatedly in Parisian French *ʒɥijɛt*. Lesaint says that "cette prononciation n'est pas du bon langage," p. 310, note 4 of *Prononciation française*.

the adjectives, when before a vowel in the next word and sometimes when final, the *t* is sounded (as in Fr. *tout, net*). As the dialect ever strives for simplicity, the tendency is to adopt one form, and most likely the one commonly heard; thus the *t* forms in the dialect happen to have prevailed in these words. These reasons also apply to the *t* heard in the words in the following list 48.

7. In this connection it is interesting to compare Canadian usage and I therefore add a list of words containing a final pronounced *t*, which I noted about Quebec.

List 48.

1	*alfabɛt*[1]	alphabet	9	*lɛt*	laid
2	*ɛ̃kjɛt*	inquiet	10	*lɛt*	lait
3	*bɔnɛt*	bonnet	11	*mɑ̃tlɛt*	mantelet
4	*byfɛt*	buffet	12	*ɔrjɛt*[2]	oreiller
5	*fɛt*	fait	13	*pɔt*	pot
6	*fɔsɛt*	fossé	14	*rwɛt*[3]	rouet
7	*fwɛt*	fouet	15	*tut, twt*	tout
8	*kɔrsɛt*	corset			

8. Of these words, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 in the Carleton dialect are pronounced as in modern French. The trait seems to me commoner in the Canadian districts than in the Acadian.

That XVIth century pronunciation may have been retained in some of these words a glance at Thurot's list of words where *t* final was apt to be pronounced, tho usage shows hesitancy or indecision, will give indication:[4] *net, fait, fouet, but, plat, pot, fret* in the expression *il fait fret, droètte* and *étroète.*

isɪt and *isit* can be heard thruout the Dominion of Canada and is found in Jaubert and Moisy. The form *tu,* as well as *tut,* can be heard in Carleton, which may be due to education; only before a consonant, however, as in *tu l'zuœr* = Fr. tout le jour, and also by this analogy *tu la nɥi* = Fr. tou(te) la nuit; cf. § LVII, 2, example 2 under no. 4.

9. Special cases. The change from French is due to modern influences as explained below.

1	*ekartije*	écarquiller	6	*nɔrdɛ*	nord-est
2	*fɛ*	faîte	7	*pjas*	piastre
3	*kastɔnad*	cassonade	8	*strɛ̃:g*	seringue
4	*kɑ̃:t*	quand	9	*tu la nɥi*	toute la nuit
5	*kɛsjɑ̃*	question			

[1] This word is learned, the popular form being *abése* = Fr. a b c.

[2] *ɔrjɛt* appears to be a change of termination on the analogy of the many endings in *-et.*

[3] Acadian pronunciation in Carleton is *rwa* or *roa,* cf. p. 31, under 4.

[4] Tome II, p. 86 *et seq.*; see also tome I, p. 406 *et seq.*

No. 1 *ekartije.* This may be a case of dissimilation; cf., however, p. 72, no. 3 *dijom* = Fr. Guillaume, i. e. case of a back consonant brought forward. Among the general remarks under Consonants on p. 65, 6°, I noted the treatment of Fr. *k* and *g* before front vowels and Fr. *d* before *i* as being of especial interest. In Cheticamp, I noted Fr. *k* before *i* = regularly *tʃ*,[1] so that in this particular case I at once suspected dialect influence. In fact, in Favre, *Glossaire du Poitou,* I find the spelling *écartiller.*

No. 2 *fɛ* = Fr. faîte. This is a dialect form found in Jaubert. The Carleton form has no *t* to represent that in the French form. One is called upon to explain a trait precisely contrary to what one has attempted to explain in list 48 above. I have seen no better explanation then Passy offers in his *Étude.*[2] "Les explosives, à la fin des mots, sont exposées à un affaiblissement particulier, qui consiste à en négliger la détente" etc. "La disparition très fréquente des explosives finales dans le français *tout, coup, trop* doit se rattacher à cet affaiblissement"; see § LXIII, no. 84.

No. 3 *kastɔnad.* A case of what Passy terms "épenthèse", but not easy to explain.[3] Passy says: "Dans ces formes l'analogie joue sans doute le principal rôle bien qu'il ne soit pas toujours facile d'en déterminer le point de départ.[4] Mais il est possible qu'il y ait aussi renforcement phonétique de certaines syllabes, d'après des principes encore inconnus." Thurot, II, p. 240, cites Ménage: "Le grand usage est pour *castonnade* et non pour *cassonade,*" etc.

No. 4 *kɑ̃:t* is due to the analogy of forms where the *t* is sounded in French, or the *d* as *t,* as in *quand il.*

No. 5 *kɛsjæ̃* = Fr. question. Passy gives cases similar to this: *fymis* = Fr. fumiste, etc. explaining thus: "Chaque fois qu'une consonne par suite de sa formation ou de sa position est trop faiblement perçue pour servir de caractère distinctif au groupe phonique dont elle fait partie, elle est exposée à disparaître."[5]

No. 6 *nɔrdɛ* = Fr. nord-est. A case of Fr. *st* unrepresented in the dialect. While the observation just cited in the preceding example may here also be applicable, in Carleton certainly this word is mostly in the mouths of sailors. Thurot[6] quotes from Domergue (1805): "Les marins disent *nord-è.* On dit le plus brièvement possible ce qu'il faut dire à tout moment." Jônain spells *nordais* adding *marine.* The desire for brevity seems to be a real factor in this case. See p. 78, foot-note 1.

No. 7 *pjas* = Fr. piastre. Another case of a *t* in French unrepresented in the dialect form. Groups of final consonants are particularly liable to fall; cf. the reason just quoted from Passy in no. 5: *kɛsjæ̃.* See p. 78, foot-note 1.

[1] Cf. Professor Sheldon's *Specimens* the examples under II. "*tʃ* = Fr. *t* or *k* followed by a front vowel." This is not a Canadian trait, as Professor Rivard explains in the Note, on p. 80.

[2] §§ 380, 383.

[3] Talbert, in *Dialecte blaisois,* p. 269, while doubting the possibility of explaining such words, cites this very word as an example of what he terms "un mot estropié".

[4] §§ 537, 541 of the *Étude.* Dunn says: "Pop. en France pour *cassonade.*"

[5] *Etude,* § 381.

[6] Tome II, p. 107.

No. 8 *strĕ:g* = Fr. seringue. This again seems to be an insertion due to a desire to reinforce the word. - Cf. OFr. *e(s)tre.*

No. 9 *tu la nɥi* = Fr. toute la nuit. Here the dialect form has no *t* to represent that in Fr. *toute.* Usually accounted for on the analogy of Fr. *tout le jour.*

Fr. cafetière = dialect *kafjere.* See Acadianisms, § LXIII, no. 99.

Note. *kʊ̆:t*[1] is Quebec pronunciation of Fr. cadre; the *d*, having become final, becomes unvoiced, cf. OF. *grant. fatiam* is Quebec pronunciation of Fr. choux de Siam; both examples taken from notes made in Quebec.

β. Sibilants.

§ XXIII. 1. *s* initial = Fr. *s* initial and Fr. *c*, which has the *s* sound. (The sources are those of the same Fr. words given as examples under initial, medial, and final.)

1	*sʊ̆* ĕccĕ + hāc (K.$_2$ 3179)	ça	4	*sɛl* sălem (K.$_2$ 8277)	sel
2	*sɛ̃:k* *cīnquĕ (for quinque) (K.$_2$ 2201)	cinq	5	*sjɛl* caelŭm (K.$_2$ 1705)	ciel
3	*sede* cēdere (K.$_2$ 2053)	céder	6	*so:r* sŏrtem (K.$_2$ 8894)	sort

2. *s* medial = Fr. *s* medial not between vowels, and Fr. *t*, where *t* has in French the sound of *s* as in words ending in *-tion,*[2] *patience* etc.; Fr. *ss*; Fr. *c*, which has the *s* sound, *ç*.

1	*ɛ̃·siste* insistere	insister	5	*ləsɔ̃* lēctīonem (K.$_2$ 5501)	leçon
2	*garsɔ̃* OF. gars, see *cărdĕo (K.$_2$ 1928)	garçon	6	*marsi* mĕrcēdem (K.$_2$ 6105)	merci
3	*kʊ̆·sku* *cāsĭcare (+ collem) (K.$_2$ 1984)	casse-cou	7	*nʊ̆·sjæ̃* nātiōnem (K.$_2$ 6464)	nation
4	*kɔ̃·stɛ̃* constantem	constant	8	*pʊ̆·se* *pāssāre (K.$_2$ 6905)	passer
			9	*rɛste* rĕstāre (K.$_2$ 8015)	rester

3. *s* final = Fr. *s* or *ss* + mute *e*; sometimes Fr. final *s*; the *c* (= the sound *s*) + mute *e*.

1	*avɪs* Diez: vis (=vit[i]s)? 699	vis	4	*ekɔrs* cŏrtĭcem (K.$_2$ 2546)	écorce
2	*dā:s* OhG. dansōn (K.$_2$ 2749)	dance	5	*finɛs* fīnem + -itiam (K.$_2$ 3776)	finesse
3	*delikates* dēlicātum + -itiam (K.$_2$ 2841)	délicatesse	6	*pjɛs* celt. pĕtt + ? (K.$_2$ 7106)	pièce

s final is pronounced in many words in modern French, yet they are mostly all learned or foreign words.[3] There are, as might well be expected from XVIth

[1] Also Ste Anne de Beaupré as regards the *t*; see Consonants under *d*, Professor Squair's *Contribution.*

[2] But remark dialect *kɛsjæ̃* = Fr. question; see under no. 5 on the preceding page.

[3] Cf. Lesaint, p. 262 *et seq.*

century usage as well as modern French treatment of *s*, a number of cases where the correspondence in the dialect and in standard French is just the reverse, that is, retained in the dialect and silent in modern French or *vice-versa*.

4. *s* = Fr. *ch*; *ſ* = Fr. *s*.

List 49.

1	*sarfœ:j, farfœ:j* a dialect form found in Jônain: cherfeuil	cerfeuil	4	*ſɛs*	sèche
2	*surifo*	souriceau[1]	5	*ſɛse*[2]	sècher
3	*sy*	chez	6	*ſɛsrɛs*	sécheresse
			7	*ſɛswɛ:r*	séchoir
			8	*ſvs*	souche

The change in 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, dialect *ſ* = Fr. *s* is due to the influence of the second syllable (*ch* in French) upon the first syllable. The change, dialect *s* = Fr. *ch* in the same words is due to the influence of the first syllable (*s* in French) upon the second. Confusion may be the simplest explanation; cf. popular Latin *circare* giving in OFr. *cerchier* (retained in some dialects of the south of France).[3] Suchier of this case says: "Au XVI^e^ siècle on disait encore *chercher* à côté de *cercher* — *circare*: dans ce mot l'initiale a été assimilée au *ch* suivant."[4] In no. 3, the *s* seems to be due to the influence of *sy* = Fr. sur or to *sus* (Latin susum). Cf. *sy* and *syr*, § XXXIV, 8, no. 6, and 9, no. 4; also p. 52, no. 8; see also the prepositions, § LX.

5. *s* occurs regularly in the dialect representing a French consonantal group of which the first consonant is *k*:

List 50.

1	*ɛskysab*	excusable	5	*ɛsplike*	expliquer
2	*ɛsky:z*	excuse	6	*ɛsplwa*	exploit
3	*ɛskyze*	excuser	7	*ɛspluɛte*	exploiter
4	*ɛsplik‿sjɑ̃*	explication	8	*ɛsprɛ*	exprès

Latin *ks* or *x* gave in OFr.,[5] in cases where no *i* was developed, *s*. This pronunciation is found in XVIth century French, which had in popular words *s* before consonants,[6] as in the above words, and the popular pronunciation *gz*, just as modern French has to day, before vowels[7] (as in modern Fr. *exemple*). Other dialects likewise have retained the old pronunciation of *s* before consonants, as Jaubert indicates

[1] *souris-chaude*, I find in Jônain for *souris-chauve* or *chauve-souris*. The dialect form *surifo* appears to be confusion with *souris-chauve*; already noted p. 69, 4, note. Guerlin de Guer regards the form as popular etymology, as also *souris-gauche* and *souris-chaume*: *Introduction à l'étude des parlers normands*, pp. 39-40.

[2] Jaubert, *chécher*.

[3] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVI^e^ siècle en France*, p. 218, § 63 and note 1.

[4] Monet's translation of *Le Français et le Provençal*, p. 56, § 24, or Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 589.

[5] Schwan, 2d ed., § 218, 2) (cf. Bourciez, p. 76, remarque 2). Schwan-Behrens, 6th ed.; § 158.

[6] Thurot, II, pp. 340-1.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 338.

under *x* and Talbert in *Dialecte blaisois*, p. 241. This is also a feature of the popular rural pronunciation about Paris as the words cited by Nisard: *escuser, esquis, esprimer, espris, espliquer, estremité*, etc. show, pp. 215, *Language populaire de Paris*. The Michaelis-Passy *Dictionnaire phonétique* indicates this same pronunciation in all of the above words.

6. *s* final is heard in many words, where it is not final in standard French, tho often heard as final, just as in the dialect and in popular French; cf. p. 75, no. 7, *pjas*.

List 51.[1] (Cf. p. 75, no. 5.)

1	*artɪs*	artiste	5	*kas*	casque
2	*ɑ̃ːtikɔs*	Anticoste	6	*pjas*	piastre
3	*bɔːtɪs*	Baptiste	7	*vɛs*	veste
4	*bɔːtɪs*	bâtisse	8	*ʒys*[2]	juste

The consonant after the *s* in French in such cases is particularly liable to fall because of feeble pronunciation. Passy gives just such examples of "chute" caused by "affaiblissement".[3]

Note. *katefim* = Fr. catéchisme. Jaubert gives *catéchime*, and Dunn says: "Pop. en France pour *catéchisme*." Jônain adds: "Langue d'Oc et Berri."

kataplam = Fr. cataplasme.[4] Jaubert notes *cataplâme*, Godefroy gives an old Fr. form: *cataplamer*.

7. Special cases.

1	*a bras koːr*	à bras le corps	4	*u*	os
2	*fi*	fils	5	*ʒɑ̃ːs, ʒɛ̃ːs*	gens
3	*sɑ̃*	sens			

No. 1 *a bras koːr*. This is a dialect expression quoted by Moisy.[5] Jaubert in his dictionary gives *brasse-moi* and *abrasser*, under the influence of which the expression appears to have arisen, i. e. embracing with the arms the body; cf. the French expression "cet homme *brasse* beaucoup d'affaires".

No. 2 *fi*, no. 3 *sɑ̃*, no. 4 *u* (cf. list 34 no. 3), no. 5 *ʒɑ̃ːs* or *ʒɛ̃ːs* indicate the dialect pronunciation of the French words *fils, sens, os* and *gens*. Lesaint says[6] in regard to them: "Quelle est l'exacte prononciation de ces quatre mots? Il est assez difficile de le dire, chacun suivant ici ses propres habitudes de langage ou le langage de ceux qu'il fréquente." Both in XVIth century French[7] as well as in modern, the dialect

[1] In regard to such words as in list 51, Agnel says: "Les paysans ont pour habitude de ne point prononcer la syllabe finale *te, me, que*, quand la dernière lettre de la syllabe précédente est un *s*;" *cass* = Fr. casque is one of the examples: *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 28.

[2] Norman as well as Centre de la France, see Moisy and Jaubert: *jusse*.

[3] *Étude*, § 381.

[4] Thurot cites from Richelet (1680), who spells *cataplâme*, II, p. 326.

[5] *Dictionnaire du patois normand*.

[6] *Prononciation française*, p. 284.

[7] See Thurot, II, pp. 81, 21, 32.

pronunciation existed by the side of the other. Inasmuch as these French nouns have two pronunciations, one heard when the words stand immediately before a vowel, the other when they come before a consonant, either pronunciation might be accounted for by influence of the other.

Note. *plys* = Fr. plus, so pronounced as in French in similar cases: *je dis plus, en plus,* when denoting quantity.

On p. 20, foot-notes 1 and 4, and on p. 25, foot-note 3, the Quebec pronunciation of *t* and *d* before *i, u, j,* and *ɥ* has been noted; cf. the Note on p. 80.

§ XXIV. 1. *z* initial = Fr. *z* initial. But few cases occur, sources being those of the same Fr. words.

1	*zɛl* zēlŭm (K.$_2$ 10447)	zèle	2	*zɛro*[1] Arab. ṣifr (K.$_2$ 2174)	zéro

2. *z* medial = Fr. *s* between vowels; Fr. *z* medial.

1	*azo:r* Arab. azzar (K.$_2$ 1117)	hasard	2	*ga:zõ* G.*waso (K.$_2$ 10364)	gazon
			3	*rɛ:zõ* rătiōnem (K.$_2$ 7803)	raison

3. *z* final = Fr. final *z* (rarely occurring); Fr. *z* + mute *e*; or Fr. *s* after a vowel + mute *e* at the end of the word as in dialect *ro:z* = Fr. rose.

1	*go:z* (Gr. χάος) see K.$_2$ 2119	gaz	2	*ga:z* (m.) Γάζα (K.$_2$ 4193)	gaze
			3	*fo:z* causam (K.$_2$ 2034)	chose

4. Special cases.

1	*dizgro:s*	disgrâce	4	*zgõ*	second
2	*ɛzã:p, ɛgzã:p*	exemple	5	*zgõ·de*	seconder
3	*zarze*[2]	jersiais			

No. 1 *dizgro:s.* "Assimilation régressive" of unvoiced *s* to voiced *g*. So pronounced in French and for the same reason. Cf. the cases under list 44.

No. 2 *ɛzã:p.* Good authorities for the pronunciation *gz* are cited for XVIth century French[3] (cf. list 50), which is also that of standard French. In *ɛzã:p* the *z* has completely assimilated the *g* to itself.

No. 3 *zarze.* Influence of the *z* in the accented syllable on the Fr. *g* of the unaccented first syllable; cf. p. 20, foot-notes 5, 6.

No. 4 *zgõ,* no. 5 *zgõ·de.* This is popular French pronunciation, "assimilation régressive", the commonest kind,[4] e. g. *zgrɛ* — Fr. secret, *zgretɛ:r* — Fr. secrétaire, see § XXVII, 4.

[1] For *ɛ* = Fr. *é*, see p. 31, 5. no. 9.

[2] For the *e* see p. 27, Special cases, no. 12; *ʒarze* is also heard.

[3] Thurot, II, p. 338.

[4] Passy, *Les sons,* pp. 114-15, § 223 (3d ed.).

§ XXV. 1. *ʃ* initial = Fr. written *ch* (*chemin*). Original sources are the Fr. sources.

1	*ʃarl* Carolum	Charles	3	*ʃu* caulem (K.$_2$ 2031)	chou
2	*ʃjɛ̃* cánem (K.$_2$ 1831)	chien			

2. *ʃ* medial = Fr. written *ch*.

1	*kaʃe* *cŏăctĭcāre (K.$_2$ 2272)	cacher	3	*tuʃe* G. *tukkôn (K.$_2$ 9802)	toucher
2	*marʃe* [mărcare] (K.$_2$ 5941)	marcher			

3. *ʃ* final = Fr. *ch* + mute *e*.

1	*kuʃ* cŏllŏcat (K.$_2$ 2326)	couche	3	*pɛʃ* noun from pĭscare	pêche
2	*luʃ* *luscum (K.$_2$ 5752)	louche			

4. Special cases (see p. 77, 4).

1	*ʃarfø:j*	cerfeuil	3	*ʃy*	suis
2	*ʃre*	serai			

No. 1 *ʃarfø:j*. Jónain gives *cherfeuil*, which the Carleton dialect would pronounce *ʃarfø:j*. Jaubert under *ch* gives a number of similar examples. It may easily be dialect influence. This pronunciation *ʃ* for Fr. *s* sound is most common according to Jaubert among the Auvergnats, and Passy likewise recalls this feature of their pronunciation.[1]

No. 2 *ʃre*. This comes, I think, from *ʒ* = Fr. je + serai, being phonetically made up of *je serai*, i. e. not (*je*) *serai*.

No. 3 *ʃy* = suis, made up of *ʒ* + *sy* (influence of the *ʒ*).

Note. I noted in Quebec *ʃɔfa* = Fr. sofa; also *arɛʃ* = Fr. arête; in Moisy's *Norman dictionary*, the word is spelled *arreste* and *harèque*.

Professor Sheldon records *pt/i* = Fr. petit in *Specimens*, no. 32. M. Legendre[2] has recorded *d(z)ur* = Fr. dur and *rôt(z)ir* = Fr. rôtir. Professor Squair[3] has noted *t* = *t* + *ch* (as in E. *church*) before *i* in *parti*, etc. Professor Rivard in a letter to the writer sends the following comment: "*t/* = Fr. *t* + *i* ou *u* n'est pas canadien. C'est une erreur. Nous prononçons ce que je note par *ţ*, quelque chose comme *tsi*, *tsy*, mais jamais *t/i*, *t/y*. Vous avez remarqué que Legendre note *d(z)ur*, *rôt(z)ir*: c'est à dire que nous prononçons devant *i* et *y*, *d* et *t* sifflant. Mais Legendre, qui note bien *d(z)* note mal *tz*; ce devrait être *dz* et *ts*. Legendre n'a jamais noté *tch* (= *t/*); et Squair s'est trompé totalement."

§ XXVI. 1. *ʒ* initial = Fr. *j* or *g* before *e* or *i*. The sources, being plainly identical with the sources of the same Fr. words, are not given.

1	*ʒɑ̃:s*	gens	3	*ʒy:ʒ*	juge
2	*ʒɛ̃*	Jean			

[1] *Étude*, § 336, note 4.

[2] *La langue française*, p. 47.

[3] *A contribution etc.*, under *t*, p. 167.

2. *ʒ* medial = Fr. *j* medial or *g* before *e* or *i*.

1	*ɛ̃:ʒɛ̃*	engin	3	*ʒyʒmɛ̃*	jugement
2	*reʒɥ:ir*	rejouir			

3. *ʒ* final = Fr. *g* + mute *e*.

1	*bu:ʒ*	bouge	3	*ru:ʒ*	rouge
2	*lɛ̃:ʒ*	linge			

4. *ʒ* represents regularly its unvoiced correspondent *ʃ* in French (written *ch*) whenever this unvoiced Fr. *ʃ* precedes a voiced consonant. This is merely one of the most common cases of assimilation.

List 52.

1	*aʒve*	achever	5	*ʒvalɛ*	chevalet
2	*eʒvo*	écheveau	6	*ʒvij*	cheville
3	*raʒve*	rachever	7	*ʒvijɛ*	cheviller
4	*ʒval*[1]	cheval	8	*ʒvo*[1]	cheveux

ʒval has also the forms *ʒwal* (for change to *w*, see § XIX, 3) and *ʒvo, ʒwo* (analogy of the Fr. plural form *chevaux*). All the examples in list 52 are examples of what Passy calls "assimilation régressive".[2] For the plural of *ʒval*, cf. list 69. Professor Rivard notes: "Je connais dans le fr.-can. *ʒval, ʒvo*; *ʒwal, ʒwo*; *ʒɥal, ʒɥo*; *ffal, ffo*."

5. Special cases.

1	*aʒɛt*[1]	(il) achète	3	*rəvã:ʒ*	revanche
2	*ʒiʒjɛ*[3]	gésier			

No. 1 *aʒɛt* is a case of false analogy to words like dialect *aʒve* = Fr. achever. Beyer and Passy, under § 125, note 1, in regard to *aʒɛt* = Fr. (ils) achètent, remark that this pronunciation is antiquated. Vaugelas (1647) says of OFr. *ajetter*: "ce défaut est particulier à Paris"; Thurot, II, p. 228.

No. 2 *ʒiʒjɛ*. (For *i* = Fr. *é*, see no. 15 of Special cases, p. 35.) The second *ʒ* is due apparently to the influence of the first upon it, "assimilation progressive". The form is common to Normandy, Center of France, and Picardy.

No. 3 *rəvã:ʒ* possibly a case like the preceding of "assimilation progressive"—or possibly due to influence of E. *revenge*.

Note. In Quebec I noted the following: *arɔ̃:dzi:r* = Fr. arrondir; *dzi:r* = Fr. dire; *grɑ̃:dzi:r* = Fr. grandir; cf. Professor Rivard's observations in the Note on p. 80.

[1] The voicing of the Fr. *ch* in words beginning with *chev-* Thurot mentions (II, p. 227) as particularly Parisian. Nisard, for popular rural French about Paris, spells: *ajeter, Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 199. Moisy, *j'veu* = Fr. cheveu. Professor Rivard notes: "J'ai aussi entendu *aʒɥe, raʒɥe, ʒwal, ʒɥale, ʒɥij, ʒɥø*, etc."

[2] Passy, *Les sons*, p. 124, § 235 (6th edition); *Étude*, p. 168, § 392.

[3] Grandgagnage spells *gigni, Dictionnaire de la langue wallone*.

Palatals.

§ XXVII. 1. *g* initial = Fr. *g* before the consonants *l* and *r*; also before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u* (= Fr. *ou*). The original source of the *g* is of course identical with that of Fr. *g*.

1	*garde*	garder	4	*gɔlf*	golfe
2	*glutɔ̃*	glouton	5	*grɑ̃*	grand
3	*glwɛːr*	gloire	6	*gu*	goût

2. *g* medial = Fr. *g* medial before the consonants *l* and *r*; also before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u* (= Fr. *ou*).

1	*degu*	dégout	4	*regle*	régler
2	*fago*	fagot	5	*rəgrɛ*	regret
3	*regale*	régaler	6	*vargl⌣*	verglas

3. *g* final = Fr. *g*, final in the word *zig-zag* = Fr. zig-zag; Fr. *g* + *ue*; and Fr. *g* + liquid followed by mute *e*. The vowel quantity in the following words is short rather than long.

1	*bɛg*	bègue	4	*ɔrg*	orgue
2	*lɔ̃ːg*	longue	5	*rɛg*	règle
3	*mɛːg, mɛg*	maigre	6	*sɛg*	seigle

4. *g* — Fr. *k* sound, written *c*; or the written *c* which is sounded like a *g* (before *a* and *o*).

List 53.

1	*anɛgdɔt*	anecdote	5	*zgɔ̃*	second
2	*galf⌣*	calfat	6	*zgɔ̃ːde*	seconder
3	*galfate*	calfater	7	*zgrɛ*	secret
4	*ganif*[1]	canif	8	*zgretɛːr*	secrétaire

In as much as the Fr. *c* in nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 is really voiced, these cases are only apparent exceptions.[2] *zgɔ̃* and *zgɔ̃ːde* have been commented on under Special cases, p. 79.

No. 1 *anɛgdɔt* may be "assimilation régressive". Nos. 2, 3 and 4 seem to be due to dialect influence, for they are found spelt with *g* in the Saintonge dialect, and Talbert[3] remarks the same trait.[4] The mistaking of the voiced consonant for the unvoiced is not difficult. Thurot notes *ganif*, II, p. 200.

[1] Nisard for popular rural French about Paris spells *ganif*: *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 199. Georges Dottin gives *ganif* in his *Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine*, Paris, Welter, 1899. Agnel gives *segret* and *segond* for popular rural pronunciation about Paris: *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 18.

[2] At least, if not standard French pronunciation for 7 and 8, the dialect pronunciation (i. e. with the *g*) can be heard: Lesaint, p. 130.

[3] *Dialecte blaisois*, p. 233.

[4] Cf. vulgar Latin *gamba* (Cl. *camba*). *grassu* (Cl. *crassum*) and Schwan's remark under 3) of § 23 (2d edition) *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*.

5. Special cases.[1]

1	*gabɔte*	caboter	5	*grup*	croup
2	*galã:s*	balance	6	*ʃi, ʃɥi*	lui
3	*galã·se*	balancer	7	*magane*	malmener
4	*galã·sin, galã·siŋ*	balancine	8	*zɛ̃:g*	zinc

No. 1 *gabɔte*. "Assimilation régressive". Derived from Sp. *cabo* = cape, and used in XVIth century French (according to H., D., T., *Dictionnaire général*).

No. 2 *galã:s*. Littré gives the dialect form for Geneva dialect verb *se galancer*; *galã:s* and *galã·sin* would naturally follow *galã·se*. I have searched in Gaudy and Lefort's *Glossaire genevois* (where, however, *balancoire* is given) and in D. Bridel's *Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande* for these words, but without success.

No. 5 *grup*. Geneva dialect for Fr. *croup*, according to Littré.

No. 6 *ʃi*. The evolution appears to be: Fr. *il lui dit* = *i ji di* = *i ʃi di*. Fr. *gu* regularly appears in the dialect as *j* (*jid* — Fr. guide), which is also the case in the Saintonge dialect. There are in Jônain's dictionary but a half dozen cases in all of *gu* + a vowel. The commoner form for Fr. *lui* in the Carleton dialect is *j* before vowels and *ji* before consonants. These forms together with *li* and *i* may be found in Jaubert. In regard to *gl*, Jaubert says "souvent mouillé, de même que dans la langue italienne"; and in speaking of *li* in cases like *vous li parlerez, vous li direz*, he says "*li* se prononce le plus souvent comme *gli* dans l'italien". In the first place, dialect *ji* has come about by weak point of contact for *l*, which has thus been lost. Making still further effort a little further back of the already palatal position, a *ʃ* has resulted;[2] (cf. p. 84, no. 5, comment to *edzɥig* — Fr. aiguille). *ʃɥi* is heard also, formed like *ʃi*, but retaining the *ɥ* following thus Fr. *lui*.

No. 7 *magane*. Dunn under *maganer* says: "Can. Traiter rudement: *Maganer un cheval*. En Nor., *magouaner* sig. *mâcher* lentement et désagréablement". Jaubert gives the words *magner* and *magnier*, meaning *maltraiter*, and says: "La première acceptation de ce mot vient de *manus* . . . tandis que la seconde est une contraction de *mehaigner* (*estropier*)." Dottin, in his *Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine*, gives the form *mã·gɔne* = mâchonner.

No. 8 *zɛ̃:g* = Fr. zinc. "Assimilation régressive".

Note. The following cases noted about Quebec are of interest by way of comparison (cf. § XXIX, 2).

1	*ɛ̃·ʃɛ̃*	indien	4	*ʃo*	Dieu
2	*ʃɔ:b*[3]	diable	5	*edzɥig*(?)	aiguille
3	*ʃamɛ̃*	diamant	6	*ʃəʃe:r*	chaudière

[1] These changes go back to French and not to Latin (except of course indirectly) and it is for that reason that I have not thought it worth while to compare with the Latin originals of the French forms; cf. the foot-note 3 on p. 8.

[2] Cf. *milieu* and *lieu* in Matzke's *Mouilliertes l* and notes 21 and 22 p. 83 (*Publications of the M. L. A.*, 1890), vol. V; also Logie, *Patois of Cachy*, pp. 169-170 in *ibidem*, vol. VII, 1892.

[3] Found in other dialects, for example E. de Chambure in his *Glossaire du Morvan*, p. 6* (notes grammaticales) says "*g* dur s'emploie pour *d*: *guiâbe* = Fr. diable".

From cases 1. 2. 3. 4 and 6, Fr. *d* before consonantal *i* = *j*; in Carleton, on the contrary, Fr. *d* before *i* = *j* (see list 55). The explanation of the *j* = Fr. *d* + *i* is simply that Fr. *d* is carried back to the palatal position assimilated with it, the *d* then dropping out. In Fr. *d* before *i* = *j*, the *d* is merely carried farther back. The forms *guieu, guiable, guiamant* are given by Nisard for popular rural pronunciation about Paris: *Langage populaire*, p. 200: cf. Molière's *Mon Guieu* (*Don Juan*, act II, *passim*).

No. 5 is of particular interest. In the Waterville, Me., French-dialect, Professor Sheldon indicates the pronunciation of this word to be *edʒyidʒ*, that is French so-called liquid *l*, really *y*, in that dialect = *dʒ*. Here then in Quebec *edʒɥig(?)* is an example of the phonetic process reversed and besides a stop produced. If liquid *l* sound ever existed in the Carleton dialect, it has as in ordinary French become completely palatalized. This process began early as can be seen by Thurot's numerous examples.[1] Now if in addition to palatalization the process of going back be continued until the velar position is reached, then a *g* is produced as in this case. I have queried the form *edʒɥig(?)* inasmuch as Professor Rivard writes: "Je noterais *edʒɥij*." Parallel with the first element in *edʒɥig(?)* are such Quebec forms as *dzijom* = Fr. Guillaume, *dziʃɐ* = Fr. guichet, *burdziɲɔ̃* = Fr. Bourguignon; and conversely *ʃijɔ̃* = Fr. Dion and *ʃiɔn* = Fr. Dionne. *dj* = *j* in the dialect reminds one of *di* in Latin [*i* = *j*] becoming *i*; cf. § XXXI, 2.

§ XXVIII. 1. *k* initial = Fr. *c* before *l*, and *r*; Fr. *c* and *qu* before *a, o,* and *u* (= Fr. *ou*). The sources are identical with those of this consonant in the same French words.

1	*kᴗ:b*	câble	4	*ko:r*	corps
2	*kᴗ:r*	quart	5	*krē:d*	craindre
3	*klu*	clou	6	*kura:ʒ*	courage

2. *k* medial = Fr. medial *c* before *l* and *r*; Fr. *c* before *a, o,* and *u* (= Fr. *ou*).

1	*ɑ̃klym*	enclume	4	*disko:r*	discord
2	*ɑ̃krje*[2]	encrier	5	*pᴗka:ʒ*	pacage
3	*bukle*	boucler	6	*rəku:r*	recours

3. *k* final = Fr. final *c*, or *q* (in no. 4); Fr. *q* + *ue*; Fr. *c* + liquid followed by mute *e*.

1	*evɛk*	évèque	4	*kɔk*	coq
2	*fiak*	fiacre	5	*kɔ̃:k*	conque
3	*frɔ̃:k*	furoncle	6	*sɛk*	sec

4. Special cases. 1°. *k* = Fr. *g*.

1	*ekl ᴗ*	glas	4	*fatice*[3]	fatigué
2	*fatik*	fatigue	5	*vakabɔ̃*[4]	vagabond
3	*fatikɑ̃*	fatiguant			

[1] Tome II, p. 300-301.

[2] Noted in Quebec *ɑ̃krije*; both *ɑ̃krie* and *ɑ̃krije* are popular French forms.

[3] Agnel gives *fatikué* for popular rural French about Paris: *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 20. The Quebec form is *fatsice*. Thurot cites Vaugelas (1647) for *vacabond* "le vulgaire dit *vacabond*", tome II, p. 206.

[4] Given by Nisard *vacabond* for popular rural French about Paris: *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 200.

No. 1. The dialect form *ekl⌣* for Fr. *glas* may be confusion with the Fr. word *éclat*; *clas* is, however, according to Littré, a Burgundian form. Jaubert gives *clas* and under *c* comments upon the permutation of *c* for *g* and vice-versa. Dialect *g* = Fr. *k* sound has already been noted in list 53.

Nos. 2, 3 and 4 may be considered cases of "assimilation progressive" (Passy, *Les sons,* 6th edition, § 235; *Étude,* § 392).

No. 4 is a dialect form found in Jaubert, Moisy, and Talbert's *Dialecte blaisois.* Evidently very popular pronunciation also in XVIth century French, as Thurot's quotations testify,[1] the Carleton form being apparently a retention. Roquefort, also, spells *vacabond* and *vacabonder.*

5. Special cases. 2⁰.

1	*a brysk pwal* (*pwɛl*)	à rebrousse-poil	5	*sɛktã:b*	septembre
2	*armanak*	almanach	6	*tɔmak*	tomate
3	*ekydje*	étudier	7	*ʒyce, ʒuce*	jucher
4	*nik*	nid	8	*ʒykwɛ:r, ʒukwɛ:r*	juchoir

No. 1 *a brysk pwal* (*pwɛl*). The *k* is not clear; possibly confusion with Fr *brusquer* (cf. § XIII for the *y*). The Fr. *re* is lost thru weakness of accented stress.

No. 2 *armanak.* See Thurot, II, p. 127. Probably a retention of old pronunciation, final *c* being regularly sounded, tho often silent in this word; (for *r,* see list 63, no. 2).

No. 3 *ekydje.* I should expect *etyje* as Fr. *d* before *i* = *j* (*jø* = Fr. Dieu). The dialect forms for Center of France and Blois where Fr. *d* before *i* — *g* are those one looks for, Jaubert giving *étuguier* and *étuguer,* which last Talbert in *Dialecte blaisois,* p. 232, gives; see list 71. *étuguier* is also the popular rural form about Paris given by Nisard, p. 200. Analogy of dialect words like Quebec *ekyi* — Fr. étui may have influenced in pronouncing *k* for Fr. *t* in the first syllable.

No. 4 *nik.* A dialect found in Moisy, also in Métivier. Godefroy says: 2. *nic* Poitou, Canada, Normandy *nic.* It is not in Corblet's *Picard Glossary.*

No. 5 *sɛktã:b.* Analogy of *ɔktɔb* = Fr. octobre.

No. 6 *tɔmak.* A cas of dissimilation.

No. 7 *ʒyce, se juquer* is given by Métivier in his *Dictionnaire franco-normand* = Fr. se jucher; also Moisy gives *jouquer, juquer.*

No. 8 *ʒykwɛ:r.* A Picard form given by Corblet in his *Glossaire du patois picard* is *joukoir* = Fr. perchoir.

Note. *bisyi* = Fr. biscuit (in Quebec); *patak* = Fr. patate (in Quebec), dissimilation.

Remark. *kã d kid* is the Carleton dialect pronunciation of Fr. gants de "kid"; the *k* in *kã* being due, I think, to the influence of the *k* in *kid.*

[1] Tome II, p. 206.

§ XXIX. c = Fr. k before the front vowels e, $ɛ$, i, $ø$, y, $ɛ̃$, $ɑ̃$. This slight difference, being like the great majority of differences, due to a modern development easily explained phonetically. (The original sources of the Fr. k are not inserted.)

List 53 a.

1	*americɛ̃*	américain	16	*cɛ·te*	quêter
2	*ɛ̃·dice*	indiquer	17	*cij*	quille
3	*ɛ̃·cɛt*	inquiet	18	*cit*	quitte
4	*becij*	béquille	19	*cite*	quitter
5	*bucɛ*	bouquet	20	*cø:r*	chœur
6	*eticɛt*	étiquette	21	*cø:r*	cœur
7	*evɔce*	évoquer	22	*cy*	cul
8	*ɛscif*	esquif	23	*ocɑ̃*	aucun
9	*ɛscive*	esquiver	24	*pace*	paquet
10	*fabricɛ̃*	fabricant	25	*parɔce*	perroquet
11	*kɔcɛ̃*	coquin	26	*facɑ̃*	chacun
12	*kɔcɛt*	coquette	27	*subørce*	sobriquet
13	*cɛl*	quel	28	*trɑ̃·ci:j*	tranquille
14	*cɛ:s*	caisse	29	*vace*	vaquer
15	*cɛ:t*	quête	30	*ʒacɛt*	jacquette

The Fr. k in the above words in the Cheticamp dialect = *tʃ*, that is, pronounced still farther forward. The trait in these words, the insertion of a *j*, or approach to the palatal position, when the preceding consonant is near to it is one of the commonest in popular French speech and is hard to avoid, so natural and easy is the change. The tendency is observable in the pronunciation of French *cas* and *qui*, *tas* and *tiens*, the k in *qui* and the t in *tiens* being slightly farther forward than the normal k and t in *cas* and *tas*.[1] The Quebec pronunciation of nos. 23, 26, 27 and 28 is: *ocɛ̃*, *facɛ̃*, *subrice*, *trɑ̃·cil*.

§ XXX. c[2] = Fr. t + i + vowel. Just as in list 52 the change here is a comparatively modern one going directly back to French and not to Latin, as pointed out in the foot-note 1, p. 83.

List 54.

1	*amice*	amitié	5	*bizuce*	bijoutier
2	*ɑ̃·ce*	entier	6	*fɛrblɑ̃·ce*	ferblantier
3	*ɑ̃·trecɛ̃*	entrétien	7	*galimacᵕ*	galimatias
4	*benice*	bénitier	8	*inimice*	inimitié

[1] Passy, *Étude*, § 407.

[2] Common in the French provinces; Chambure, *Glossaire du Morvan*, (notes grammaticales, p. 17*) says: "*q* ou *h* s'emploie pour *t*: *amiquie*"; R. de Montesson, *Vocabulaire du Haut Maine* (under the letter *t*): "*t* suivi de *i* se prononce *qui*." In regard to Quebec French M. Rivard notes: "On rencontre *kj* et *c*. No. 3 se prononce: *ɑ̃trəcɛ̃*."

9	*karee*	quartier	18	*mɯɛee*	moitié
10	*kreeɛ̃*	chrétien	19	*pee*	pitié
11	*eɛ̃*	tiens	20	*sueɛ̃*	soutien
12	*eɛd*	tiède	21	*simee:r*	cimetière
13	*ee:r*	tiers	22	*ʃɑ̃ee*	chantier
14	*maeer*	matière	23	*ʃarpɛ̃ee*	charpentier
15	*mɛ̃eɛ̃*	maintien	24	*ʃ◡ree*	chartier
16	*mee*	métier	25	*tabaee:r* [1]	tabatière
17	*mɔree*	mortier	26	*turee:r*	tourtière

The above change is a well known one in dialect French as can be seen by consulting Jaubert, who cites many of these same words as examples (under *ti*). Talbert mentions this, too, as characteristic of the dialect of Blois.[2] The *t* is carried back, assimilated to the *k* position, then becoming *k*. The phonetic treatment of Fr. *d* before *i* in and around Quebec is precisely parallel in such words as *ʃ◡:b* — Fr. diable, see § XXVII, note, no. 2. The Fr. *t* in all the above words in the Cheticamp dialect = *tʃ*;[3] yet Fr. *qui* in that dialect is nevertheless retained intact.

Note. In regard to the above words in list 54 Agnel says: "La syllabe finale *-tier* se prononce *quié*: on dit *char'quie*," etc.; and Nisard, commenting on the same feature, says: "Cette forme, l'aris semble ne la devoir à aucun patois; elle lui est bien propre et l'on peut dire qu'il s'y délecte. Cependant, à y bien regarder, on reconnaît bientôt qu'elle procède de la forme bourguignonne *gu* pour *d* comme dans *guieu, guiable*." Dottin, in his *Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine*, Notes grammaticales, p. LXXXV says: "*t* suivi de *i* consonne se combine avec lui pour donner *k* mouillé (i. e. *c*)"; "*d* suivi de *i* consonne se combine avec lui pour donner *g* mouillé (i. e. *ɟ*)", *ibidem*.

cun = Carleton pronunciation and also Quebec of E. *tune*; analogy of such pronunciations as those in the above list. For an example see § LXIII, no. 73.

§ XXXI. 1. *j* = Fr. medial *ill*; or *ill* in the last syllable of a word + mute *e*.[4] (Sources as in French.)

1	*bat◡:j*	bataille	3	*t◡jø:r*	tailleur
2	*myr◡:j*	muraille	4	*vɔl◡:j*	volaille

2. *j* = Fr. *d* before *i*. This change arises from carrying the Fr. *d* back, assimilating it to the *j* position, the *d* then dropping. Cf. the Latin intervocalic *di*

[1] The French form is due to the analogy of just such words as in this list. It should be naturally, coming from *tabac, tabachière* or *tabaquière*; in fact, Thurot's quotations show both forms in use in XVIth French, t. II, p. 238, but analogy has forced it into the list of the majority. Darmesteter mentions this case: *De la création actuelle des mots nouveaux dans la langue française*, p. 75.

[2] *Dialecte blaisois*, p. 232.

[3] So also in Professor Sheldon's *Specimens*, cf. no. 23 *tʃɛl* = Fr. quel, p. 5.

[4] Cf. thruout for dialect *j* Professor Sheldon's dialect *dʒ* = Fr. *j* (consonant), *g* followed by a front vowel, *d* followed by *i* (p. 5 of *Specimens*). Or Geddes, *American French dialect comparison* in *Modern Language Notes*, Dec. 1897, Jan., Feb., April, May 1898. Also separately printed.

becoming *i* (= *j*) in French, e. f. gaudium = *joie*, hodium = *hui*, medium = *mi*. Cf. also the cases in the Note to § XXVII, pp. 83 and 84.

List 55. The change is purely one from French.

1	*agrejɛ̃*	(ingrédient)	9	*kaskapejᵕ*	Cascapédia
2	*akajɛ̃*[1]	Acadien	10	*metapejᵕ*	Métapédia
3	*akajɛn*[1]	Acadienne	11	*fojer*	chaudière
4	*ajø*	adieu	12	*jamɛ̃*	diamant
5	*ɛ̃jɛ̃*[2]	Indien	13	*jamɛt*	diamètre
6	*ɛ̃jɛn*[2]	Indienne	14	*jᵕ:b*	diable
7	*kanajɛ̃*	Canadien	15	*jø*	Dieu
8	*kanajɛn*	Canadienne			

Note. *paspejᵕ* = Paspébiac.[3] Probably influence of such names as *kaskapejᵕ* and *metapejᵕ*.

3. *j* = Fr. *gu* before the front vowels *e* (= *e*, *ɛ*), *eu* (= *ø*) and *i*.

List 56. Purely a change from French just as in the preceding lists 53, 54 and 55.

1	*bajɛt*	baguette	14	*jɛ:r*	guère
2	*malɑ̃:jøle*	malengueulé	15	*jɛ:r*[6]	guerre
3	*marjije*,[4] *marʃije*	marguillier	16	*jɛrjɛ*	guerrier
4	*navije*	naviguer	17	*jɛte*	guetter
5	*ɔrjijø*	(orgelet)	18	*jid*	guide
6	*ɔrjøj*	orgueil	19	*jide*	guider
7	*ɔrjøjø*	orgueilleux[5]	20	*jirlɑ̃:d*	guirlande
8	*vijø:r*	vigueur	21	*jiʃɛ*[7]	guichet
9	*jerɛ*	guéret	22	*jitᵕ:r*	guitare
10	*jeri:r*	guérir	23	*jø*	gueux
11	*jerisab*	guérissable	24	*jœl*	gueule
12	*jɛ*	guet	25	*jøz*	gueuse
13	*jɛ:p*	guêpe			

[1] Also *kajɛ̃* and *kajɛn*, the Fr. *a* being lost thru enfeeblement in an unaccented syllable.

[2] Altho these forms can sometimes be heard, the popular ones in use are *sovaːʒ* and *sovaʒɛs* = Fr. *sauvage* and *sauvagesse*. About Quebec no. 1 is pronounced *agrejɛ̃* and is used rather for Fr. *criblures* = popular *agrɛ̃*. No. 3, directly under § XXXI, is pronounced *tᵕjœːr*, neither *tᵕjø:r* nor tᵕjø being in use.

[3] In regard to these French names ending in *-ac*, see Jônain's observations in his *Préambule* to the *Dictionnaire*, p. 10.

[4] Also noted *mardije*, cf. M. Legendre's *Dijaume* and *Bourdignon* for Fr. *Guillaume* and *Bourguignon*, p. 47: *La langue française*.

[5] Rinfret, *Dictionnaire de nos fautes*, says under *orgueilleux*: "N'est pas français pour désigner l'orgelet." M. Rivard commenting on the Carleton form for Fr. *orgelet* says: "Je ne connais que *ɔrɛjɔ̃* et *ɔrijɔ̃*."

[6] Jônain writes *yarre* (p. 20, Introduction). Cf. § LXIII, Christian names, no. 27 *piar* = Fr. *Pierre*.

[7] Also noted *diʃɛ*, see foot-note 4. Such forms may be due to the influence of dialects, where Fr. *gui* may regularly appear as *di*. They are merely cases of pronunciation so far forward that the *d* position is reached. About Quebec the *d* in such words sounds like *d* + *z*; see the Note to no. 5, p. 84.

In these examples, the Fr. *gu* is carried forward to the palatal position, where, just as in the preceding list 55, assimilation to *j* takes place, the French consonant falling. Jônain remarks this trait particularly in his *Préambule*, p. 20 (*Dictionnaire du patois saintongeais*).

4. Special cases of *j*.

1	*ramysje*	rat musqué	4	*jɛ̃*	rien
2	*suje*	soulier	5	*jø* (*jœz*)	leur
3	*ji, i*[1] (*ɲi*)	lui			

No. 1 *ramysje*. This form which I failed to recognize when in Carleton points to a Fr. *ramusgué*. Upon going to Cheticamp C. B., I found that Fr. *k* + *é* was regularly represented by *tʃ*; and I noted *ramystʃe*, which pointed to Fr. *rat muské*, and only then did I recognize the Carleton form for Fr. *rat muské*. This is of particular interest as showing the varied pronunciations Fr. *k* in dialects assumes: The Fr. *k* in a back palatal position, the Carleton form between the French form and the Cheticamp form, and lastly the Cheticamp form itself in a front palatal position.

No. 2 *suje*. Simply a case of palatalization of *l* just as in ordinary French.[2]

No. 3 *ji*. This is the form before consonants, *j* before vowels e. g. *i ji dɔn* = il lui donne; *i jɔ̃ dɔne* = ils ont donné. Even in French the ordinary pronunciation of the pronoun *il* is *i*.[3] The *l* then of Fr. *lui*, coming between front vowels perhaps becomes palatalized and hence *j*. For examples, see Morphology, § XLVI.

No. 4 *jɛ̃*. Merely a case of loss of initial Fr. *r*, perhaps thru assimilation.

Note. The Port Daniel form for Fr. *rien* is *lɛ̃*. Cf. OF. *orme* from L. *ulmum*. Also in popular speech sometimes *margré* for *malgré*.[4] Passy remarks that in some barbarous languages *l* and *r* have not a distinct existence.

No. 5 *jø* = Fr. leur. Just as in such words as no. 2 *suje*, the *l* has become completely palatalized. I do not feel sure, whether the form Jaubert gives *ieux* = Fr. leur (see example under Morphology, § XLVI) has had an influence or not. Whether the combination be *i(l) leur*, or *il eux*, the phonetic possibilities are alike and the *l* has become palatalized. Ch. Guerlin de Guer in *Le parler populaire dans la commune de Thaon* (Calvados), p. 109, attributes the introduction of the palatal *j* to the need of avoiding hiatus, the intermediary steps being as follows: *il leur a dit*; *i leur a dit*; *i leux a dit*; *i eux a dit*; and finally: *i jøz a di*. Dottin (*op. cit.*, p. 532) gives this good example: *di jø k sɛ pur jø* — Fr. dis leur que c'est pour eux. The phenomena of *jø* for *leur* and *ji* for *lui* are identical in formation: *i jø di* = Fr. il leur dit, and *i ji di* = Fr. il lui dit; the *l* falling, the palatal *j* naturally prevents the hiatus.

[1] Cf. Beyer and Passy *ʒyi e kri yn tit lɛt* = Fr. je lui ai écrit une petite lettre, *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 99, § 44.

[2] Cf. Passy, *Étude*, § 326, also *Les sons*, 6th edition, § 195.

[3] Beyer and Passy, *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 123, § 90.

[4] Passy, *Étude*, § 331.

Liquids.

§ XXXII. 1. *l* initial = Fr. *l* initial. (The sources are those of Fr. *l* in the same or corresponding words.)

1	*larsɛ̃*	larcin	3	*lu*	loup
2	*lɛst*	leste			

2. *l* medial = Fr. *l* medial.

1	*alimɛ̃*	aliment	3	*parle*	parlé
2	*kulœv*	couleuvre			

3. *l* final = Fr. *l* final; Fr. *l* or *ll* + mute *e*.

1	*krɛl*	querelle	3	*sɛl*	sel
2	*mɛ:l*	mêle			

4. Whispered French *l* as in *table* is regularly lost in the dialect, thru enfeeblement, Passy, *Étude,* § 374. Cf. also Beyer and Passy's statement in regard to voiceless *l* in such cases: "In dieser Stellung kann es leicht wegfallen" (§ 18, p. 87) referring to spoken popular French. In XVIth century French, *l* after a consonant as a general rule did not become silent; Thurot's quotation from Palsgrave shows this (II, p. 265 and Note 3). Nevertheless Thurot says: "La syncope est rare après la consonne initiale ou médiale, beaucoup plus fréquente après la consonne métatonique"; the examples cited by Thurot illustrate this. Nisard shows this to be a common feature of popular rural French about Paris, p. 252; cf. also Agnel, p. 21, in the *op. cit.*

As is well known, *l* mouillée was for a long time in early French a simple consonant pronounced just as the one to-day is in the south of France.[1] Nevertheless early in XVIth century French it was being replaced by the palatal (*j*) sound it has to-day both in French and in this dialect, and Thurot[2] quotes Hindret (1687) who says that in "la petite bourgeoisie de Paris, on trouve beaucoup de gens qui pour dire, *bataillon, postillon, mouillé, bouillon* etc. disent *batajon, postijon* etc."[3]

5. Special cases of *l*. (Explained below as due to the influences there stated; therefore the L. originals of the Fr. forms are not inserted.)

1	*a* (before consonants)	elle	5	*lɑ̃·bre*	ambler
2	*alimo*[4]	animaux	6	*i, ĭ* + *j*[5] often before vowels	il, ils
3	*byto*	bluteau			
4	*køk, køkə*	quelque	7	*limərɔ*	numéro

[1] Passy, *Les sons,* p. 105, § 195 (6th edition).
[2] Tome II, p. 298.
[3] Cf. also foot-note 2, p. 83.
[4] Cf. list 69.
[5] Professor Rivard comments as follows: "Le *j* ne fait pas parti du mot *i*, c'est une consonne intercalaire comme le *z* dans *quatre-z-yeux* mentionné par l'Académie, comme le *t* dans *j'en ai-t-un*"; cf. *Bulletin P. F.* I, pp. 81-85.

8	*lɔkjɛ*	hoquet	12	*pʀʀizi*	pleurésie
9	*pəpəlje*	peuplier	13	*rəflɑ̃*	refrain
10	*py, ply*	plus	14	*tabəlje*	tablier
11	*pɥi*	pluie	15	*vɛlimə*	venimeux

Remark. For *bəlwe, bəlye, bəlue* = Fr. bluet, see p. 44, 9.

No. 1 *a.* See the explanation of *i* = il, ils, no. 6 below.

No. 2 *alimo.* Passy, *Étude,* § 332: "Une nasale se change assez souvent en consonne d'une classe différente ... 4° en laterale: italien *alma* de *animam*; *velem* de *venenum*; français vulgaire *vlɛ̃* pour *venin.*" The point of contact of the two consonants being so near together, this is one of the easiest changes and of very frequent occurrence in the Romance languages.

No. 3 *byto* = Fr. bluteau, just as in *kək, pɥi, parapɥi, pʀʀizi* the Fr. *l* is completely vocalized. See example no. 63, § LXIII, Acadianisms.

No. 4 *kək* = Fr. quelque. The point of contact for *l* is so feebly struck as not to be heard. True also for spoken French as Beyer and Passy give the form *kɛk.*[1]

No. 5 *lɑ̃·bre* = Fr. ambler. The word is used much in the expression *a lɑ̃·b* = Fr. elle amble; thus the *l* appears to be that of the pronoun *elle,* which has become attached to the verb; after which dissimilation has taken place *lɑ̃·ble* becoming *lɑ̃·bre.* "*ambrer* suit le sort d'*ambre* devenant *lambre,* et devient lui-même le plus souvent *lambrer,* dans le Can.-Franç.," *Bulletin du parler français au Canada,* t. I, p. 168.

No. 6 *i* = Fr. il. This was XVIth century usage when Fr. *il* or *ils* was before a consonant, so clearly indicated by Thurot;[2] and *i* = Fr. il, ils (before consonants) is also colloquial Parisian usage.[3] The phonetic explanation is this: The *l* being vocalic in nature unites with the vowel which follows it so quickly, that the flapping movement of the tongue necessary to produce the *l* lacks the force requisite for that result. Passy states how this may be brought about in several ways.[4] For examples see Morphology, § XLVI; the loss of *l* in dialect *a* = Fr. elle is thus explained also; for the *a* cf. p. 21, 4.

No. 7 *limərɔ.* This case is cited by Passy in his *Étude,* § 332, 4°. The explanation is the same as that given for no. 2 *alimo.* Corblet, Jaubert and Dottin give *limére,* a form heard also about Quebec. For the vowel *ɔ,* see p. 33, Special cases, no. 1.

No. 8 *lɔkjɛ* = Fr. hoquet. Just as in case no. 5, the *l* of the Fr. article has become attached.

No. 9 *pəpəlje.* This may be considered as a case of "épenthèse"; cf. *katərjɛm* § XXXIII. 8. Remark, and cf. Transitory sounds, p. 63. About Quebec: *pəpəlje.*

[1] § 112, *Das gesprochene Französisch.*

[2] Tome II, p. 141 and p. 78.

[3] Beyer and Passy, *Das gesprochene Französisch,* § 90; *Les sons,* lines 15, 16 of examples, p. 83 of 2d edition; p. 153, lines 4, 5 of 6th edition.

[4] *Etude,* § 326.

No. 10 *pɣ* = Fr. plus can be heard in *ʒ ā e pɣ* = Fr. je n'en ai plus. The *l* has become completily vocalized. This *pɣ* is also Norman and Centre of France.

No. 11 *pɣi* = Fr. pluie (and *parapɣi* = Fr. parapluie); no. 12 *prrizi* = Fr. pleurésie. This *l* has become completely vocalized, reasoning similar to that given for no. 6, dialect *i* = standard Fr. *il*.

No. 13 *rəflā* = Fr. refrain. A case of dissimilation.

No. 14 *tabəlje* = Fr. tablier. Same explanation as for no. 9 *pəpəlje*.

No. 15 *vɛlimə* = Fr. venimeux. The explanation is the same as that given for nos. 2 and 7. Moisy gives *velimeux*. Dunn besides giving Norman notes also Champagne for the French provinces where this form is used. This is popular rural pronunciation about Paris as Nisard notes *velimeux*: *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 204. Thurot II, p. 261, popular according to H. Estienne (1582) even in Paris; Buffet (1668) says: "Plusieurs disent *c'est du velin, cela est velimeux*." Quebec: *vlimə*.

Note. In Quebec, I have noted *kalvə* = Fr. canevas, the explanation being the same as that given for *alimə* and *limərə* above. Also *ɔrgilɲə* = Fr. orgueilleux. Martin (1632) for Fr. *orgueil* figures the pronunciation by writing: *orgölje* (Thurot II, p. 295). M. Rivard believes *ɔrgilɲə* to be erroneous stating: "Ici je ne connais que: *ɔrgije*."

In Port Daniel, I noted *lɛ̃* = Fr. rien (see Note under no. 4, p. 89); *ra:l* = Fr. rare (dissimilation). Cf. also Passy's remark under § 331 of his *Etude*, quoted in the Note on p. 89.

Remark. *plyskə* = Fr. puisque, influence of the *l* in Fr. plusque.

§ XXXIII. 1. *r* in the dialect is usually lingual. (The sources are those of *r* in the corresponding or identical Fr. forms.) *r* initial = Fr. *r* initial.

1	*rə:r*	rare	3	*ri:v*	rive
2	*rɛ:zɔ̃*	raison			

2. *r* medial = Fr. *r* medial.

1	*frābwɛ:z*	framboise	3	*tarıb*	terrible
2	*rəmarsje*	remercier			

3. *r* final = Fr. *r* final; Fr. *r* or *rr* + mute *e* in the last syllable.

1	*me:r*	mère	3	*tɛ:r*	terre
2	*fə:r*	char			

4. A transitory sound is regularly heard in the dialect preceding an *r*, corresponding to a Fr. *r*, followed by *e* (= *ə*), the so called mute *e*, which is not mute. (Again a change directly from French with which the comparison is therefore more instructive than with the originals of the Fr. forms, not inserted here.)

List 57.[1]

1	*akərte*	âcreté	14	*gərlo*	grelot
2	*ɑ̃ːgərne*	engrener	15	*gərlɔte*	grelotter
3	*ɑ̃ːtərpərno*	entrepreneur	16	*gərnaːj*	grenaille
4	*ɑ̃ːtərprɑ̃ːd*	entreprendre	17	*gərnuːj*[2]	grenouille
5	*ɑ̃ːtərpriːz*	entreprise	18	*katərtɛ̃*	quatre temps
6	*ɑ̃ːtərtəniːr*	entretenir	19	*kərve*	crever
7	*ɑ̃ːtərvy*	entrevue	20	*mɔ̃ːtərr⌣*	montrera
8	*bərduje*	bredouiller	21	*otərfwa*	autrefois
9	*bərtɛl*,[2] *brrtɛl*	bretelle	22	*pərmje*	premier
10	*bərvaːʒ*	breuvage[3]	23	*pərne*	prenez
11	*fɑ̃ːfərlyf*	fanfreluche	24	*pudərri*[5]	poudrerie
12	*fərtije*	fretiller	25	*povərte*	pauvreté
13	*gərdɛ̃*[4]	gredin	26	*sakərmɛ̃*[6]	sacrement

5. The above cases appear to be metathesis. Passy says,[7] however, that in consequence of reinforcements or insertions, there can very well be apparent metathesis, if the vowel which has determined the character of the inserted vowel disappears. In the French *fromage* for *formage*,[8] in the dialect *fromi* for *fourmi*, there is not true metathesis. There is influence of the vowel upon the *r*, development of an inserted vowel and fall of the primitive one. This is more apparent in Portuguese in the confusion of the prefixes *per* and *pre*. This feature, like so many others, was not only common in the little towns, but Hindret (1687) testifies to its being current in Paris in XVIth and XVIIth century French: "La plupart des vieilles gens, qui sont dans les petites villes et même dans Paris, ont de la peine à prononcer *Bretagne, Breton, brebis, bretelle, frétiller, frédonner, frélater* autrement que *Bertagne, Berton, berbis, bertelle, fertiller, ferdonner, ferlater*."[9] Hindret writes *é* in the first syllable of *fredonner* and *frelater*. Cf. Guerlin de Guer, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Dottin, *op. cit.*, pp. XCI-II.

6. On the analogy of the words in list 57, the sound *ə* occurs before *r* where the French word has *r* + a vowel other than the so called mute *e*.

[1] "Dans toute cette liste, le fr.-cand. écrirait *œ* ou *ɔ* à la place de *ə*." Comment by Professor Rivard.

[2] Quebec *bartɛl*; also Carleton *garnuj*, cf. Remark 2, p. 23, for the *a*.

[3] Slightly different from the other French words in the list as the vowel of the first syllable is *ø* rather than *ɔ*.

[4] Jaubert, *guerdin*; A. Orain, *guerdin*: *Glossaire patois du département d'Ille et Vilaine.*

[5] Cf. Dunn, who says of this word: "... c'est le chef-d'œuvre de notre langue."

[6] Agnel for popular rural French about Paris gives a rule, which appears to be equally applicable to like words in the Carleton dialect: "Quand dans le milieu du même mot, l'une des syllabes *dre, bre, fre, gre, pre, tre, vre,* se trouve suivie de la syllabe *ment*, cette syllabe *bre, dre, fre, gre, pre, tre, vre,* se change en *deur, beur, feur, geur, peur, teur, veur,*" *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 26.

[7] *Étude*, § 523.

[8] Cf. Suchier's observation on this word, and on Fr. *brebis* = *vervecem* (list 59) in Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 589, § 24 (Monet's French translation p. 56, § 24).

[9] Thurot, II, p. 286.

List 58.

1	*abœrʒe, abrɪʒe*[1]	abréger	5	*retœrsi:r, retɪrsi:r*[1]	retrécir
2	*bœrʒɨt*	Brigitte	6	*sakœrfis*	sacrifice
3	*pœrʒydis, prɪʒydis*[1]	préjudice	7	*subœrce*	sobriquet
4	*pœrl◡*[2]	prélart			

Note. *madœrje* = Fr. madrier: slightly different from the preceding cases: "épenthèse", cf. *bœrwɛt* in the notes just below under 8.

7. The dialect characteristic as in list 57, *œr* = Fr. *re* (= *rə*), is common along the whole north shore, which I traversed. The following examples, noted at Bonaventure and verified also as correct by the schoolmistress of Pasbébiac for her town, will illustrate:

List 59.

1	*◡pœrmɛ̃*[3]	âprement	6	*gœrne*[4]	grenier
2	*bœrbi*	brebis	7	*gœrnu:j*[5]	grenouille
3	*bœrlɑ̃*	brelan	8	*katœrtɛ̃*[6]	quatretemps
4	*bœrlɑ̃·dœ*	brelander	9	*tɑ̃·dœrmɛ̃*[3]	tendrement
5	*bœrtaɲ*	Bretagne	10	*vɑ̃·dœrdi* (also Carleton)	vendredi

8. Just as in the Carleton list 58, *ø* (possibly *ɤ*) occurs also before *r* when the French word has *r* + a vowel other than the so called mute *e* in Bonaventure, and Pasbébiac. The entire list, if *œ* be substituted for *ø*, is, according to Professor Rivard, Franco-Canadian. The following notes taken in these places are of some interest in this connection:

1 *bœrvje* = Fr. bréviaire; an example of vowel influence upon *r*, development of *ə* before it, and loss of the original Fr. *é* after it. The ending appears due to analogy with such popular endings as in *gœrne*.

2 *bœrwɛt*[7] = Fr. brouette. A case similar to that of *madœrje* noted above under list 58. The combination *r* + *w*, like *r* + *j*, developes a vowel which makes itself heard before the *r*, and no loss occurs after the *r*.

3 *katœrjɛm* = Fr. quatrième. A case of "épenthèse" according to Passy's distinction from "métathèse", *Etude*, § 537; cf. *pøpølje* and *tabølje*, pp. 90, 91, under 5. Special cases.

4 *mœrkədi* = Fr. mercredi. Dissimilation. The Carleton forms are *mœrkə·rdi, mekœrdi*, or *mekɤrdi*; see p. 27, under 6. Special cases. Thurot, II, p. 279: "L'on prononce vulgairement *mecredy* pour *mercredy*", Oudin (1633). In *mœrkœrdi*, the second syllable has seemingly influenced the first.

---

[1] See p. 28, ζ.

[2] The final *r* of the French is not heard in the dialect in this word. Sometimes *parl◡*; cf. *bartɛl*, list 57, no. 9. Quebec: *pœrl◡*.

[3] See the foot-note 6 on the preceding page.

[4] Also *grine* (influence of French accented *-ie* in the last syllable).

[5] Cf. foot-note 3, p. 93 for general frequency of these forms in many French dialects; A. Delbouille notes *guernouille, Glossaire de la vallée d'Yères* (Haut-Normand).

[6] The Port Daniel form for this word taken from my notes there is: *kaɤratɛ̃*.

[7] The dialect forms of this word are numerous, Moisy gives *bérouette* and *bourouette*; Jaubert and Royer de Montesson (Haut-Maine) *berouette*.

For Quebec: 1 *bartɛl* = Fr. bretelle, cf. the Saintonge *barbis* and Quebec *barbi* = Fr. brebis; see p. 23, Remark 2 for observation on the vowel. 2 *kɔrtɔn* = Fr. crétonne. The vowel of the accented syllable seems to have influenced the quality of the inserted sound.

Note. *ᵕbr, ᵕb* = Fr. arbre; dissimilation; the final *r* is sometimes heard; cf. Manseau, *abe, âbre.* The common XVIth century pronunciation was *abre.* Thurot, II, p. 278. Cf. *Bulletin P. F.* I, p. 28.

gorɲe is popular rural French about Paris, Agnel writing *guernier, Langage des environs de Paris,* p. 100.

§ XXXIV. 1. *ɤ* (possibly very close *ø*) = Fr. *eur.* Cases of Fr. *r* unrepresented in the dialect. (Sources of the Fr. forms L. *ōrem,* or analogy of this ending.) The sound indicated by *ɤ* appears in my original notes *ö*; that is a sound closer even than the *eu* in Fr. *peu.*

List 60.[1]

1	*aftɤ*	acheteur	10	*pijɤ*	pilleur
2	*dezartɤ*	déserteur	11	*pɔ̃ːpɤ*	pompeur
3	*eplyfɤ*	éplucheur	12	*rodɤ*	rôdeur
4	*flᵕnɤ*	flâneur	13	*rɔ̃ːʒɤ*	rongeur
5	*grɔɲɤ*	grogneur	14	*fɑ̃ːʒɤ*	changeur
6	*cɛːtɤ*	quêteur	15	*trɛnɤ*	traîneur
7	*lɤ(z)*	leur(s)	16	*trɔtɤ*	trotteur
8	*marfɤ*	marcheur	17	*vɑ̃ːdɤ*	vendeur
9	*mɑ̃ːtɤ*	menteur			

2. *ɤ* and *ɤr* (possibly very close *ø, øɤ*) = Fr. *eur.* Cases where the dialect has two forms. (Sources of the Fr. forms L. *ōrem,* or analogy of this ending.)

List 61.

1	*maʒɤ-r*	majeur	7	*ruʒɤ-r*	rougeur
2	*minɤ-r*	mineur	8	*sɔnɤ-r*	sonneur
3	*mɔcɤ-r*	moqueur	9	*suflɤ-r*	souffleur
4	*pɔrnɤ-r*	preneur	10	*trɑ̃ːpɤ-r*	trompeur
5	*pretɤ-r*	préteur	11	*ʒazɤ-r, ʒᵕzɤ-r*	jaseur
6	*rɔ̃ːflɤ-r*	ronfleur			

3. The feature in the above lists of not pronouncing the French *r* is a common one in the French provinces, as is also that of double forms like those in the last list as can be seen by consulting the dialect dictionaries.[2] In list 60, Jaubert indicates no. 4, 6, 8, 9 and 16 as so pronounced for Central France French;

[1] For such popular pronunciations in the rural districts about Paris see Nisard, p. 205, Agnel, p. 27, of the *op. cit.* Professor Rivard remarks: "Ce son *ɤ* est, je pense, inconnu dans le fr.-can.; il est sans doute particulier à l'acadien. Nous disons *øː: cɛːtø* ou *ceːtø* = Fr. quêteur, etc. J'ai dit tout ce que je savais là-dessus dans le *Bull. P. F.* II, pp. 161-8."

[2] Talbert comments upon this trait in *Dialecte blaisois,* p. 227.

in list 61, nos. 2, 3, 6 and 10 pronounced without the *r*. Moisy spells without *r* no. 12 in list 60 and no. 5 in list 61. The general rules for XVIth century French in cases like the above are clear: The *r* was never silent in nouns ending in *-eur*, having no feminine in *-euse*;[1] in nouns ending in *-eur*, feminine *-euse*, the *r* early became silent, the *eu* being pronounced as in adjectives in *-eux* from L. *-osus*.[2] *-atorem* giving in OF. *-edor, -eor, -eeur* expresses the name of the agent: cantorem = *chanteur*; L. *-osum* forms from substantives adjectives in *-eux*: amorosum = modern *amoureux*; in the XVIth century, in popular language the ending *-eur* became confused with the ending *-eux*, feminine *-euse*.[3] The *r* pronunciation has in general prevailed in modern French and the dialect forms in list 60 and 61 are retentions of the old usage still preserved.[4]

4. *we* = Fr. *-oir*. Other cases of Fr. *r* unrepresented in the dialect. (Sources of the Fr. forms L. *-orium*, but the dialect forms, as explained below, are directly traceable to XVIth century French.)

List 62.

1	*akrɔʃwe*	accrochoir	7	*pərswe*	perçoir
2	*arɔzwe*	arrosoir	8	*razwe*	rasoir
3	*kraʃwe*	crachoir	9	*rəpɔzwe*	reposoir
4	*kulwe*	couloir	10	*salwe*	saloir
5	*mirwe*	miroir	11	*tirwe*	tiroir
6	*muʃwe*	mouchoir			

5. As a general rule for XVIth century French, final *r* was always pronounced.[5] The ruling tendency since that century has been (see p. 25, 4), always to pronounce the *r* after an open *e* and not to pronounce it after closed *e*. The *r* of the infinitives of the first conjugation verbs used to be always pronounced and the *e* coming from a L. *a* not in position was naturally closed. When the *r* was lost, the usage was to pronounce the *e* as closed; and when the *r* was sounded, open *e*[6] like in *cher*. However, in substantives formed (like the above in list 62) with the suffix *-oir* of L. *-orium* the *r* was silent,[7] but as Thurot says, usage was much divided and *r* finished by gaining the day for modern French. The above words then are evidently specimens of what Thurot describes; indeed, four of these words, no. 5, 6, 10 and 11, are found so spelled by authors, whom Thurot quotes (II, p. 149 *et seq.*). I have no such direct evidence for the other seven. Jónain gives *arrousoué* for the Saintonge form and gives *rasoi* for Fr. *rasoir* as a Berri form. Of this list Professor Rivard

[1] Thurot, II, pp. 164-5.

[2] Tome II, p. 165 and note 3.

[3] See Tobler's remark to this effect p. 118: *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*; or p. 156 of Karl Breul and Léopold Sudre's French translation.

[4] Cf. as a relic of ancient usage the word *piqueux* still in colloquial use. Thurot, II, p. 169; and the interesting case of modern Fr. *monsieur*, cited by Tobler in the reference in foot-note 3.

[5] Thurot, II, p. 146.

[6] Tome I, p. 56.

[7] Thurot, II, p. 149.

remarks: "Fr.-can. sauf le no. 2 qui se prononce: *aroːzwe*, le no. 7 *parswe*, le no. 9 *rpoːzwe*, et le no. 10 fait souvent *salwa*."

6. *r* = Fr. *l*. (A change as shown below, not going back to a L. *r*, but due to one of the commonest influences in nearly all language development.)

List 63.

1	*lɑ̃ːbre*	ambler	6	*krwezɔ̃*	cloison
2	*armanak*[1]	almanach	7	*rɑ̃ːbri*	lambris
3	*farbal◡*	falbalas	8	*rɑ̃ːbrisaz*	lambrissage
4	*karkjyl, karcyl*	calcul	9	*rabur*	labour
5	*karkjyle, karcyle*	calculer	10	*rabure*	labourer

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 are cases of dissimilation; *lɑ̃ːbre* has the *l* of Fr. *elle* attached: *a lɑ̃brɛ* = elle amblait, as noted on p. 91, no. 5; in *armanak* the word is used with the article, thus: *larmanak* = Fr. l'almanach. Jônain gives *armanat* (for *k*, see p. 85, no. 2). Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10 are cases of assimilation. No. 5 is given by Jônain: *croison*.[2] Passy[3] gives many examples of the above change as well as the reverse, both of which are among the commonest occurrences in a great many languages; the point of contact for *r* and *l* being so close, it is most natural for such interchanges to occur. The change can occur in various ways as Passy describes.[4] Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are also Fr.-Can., according to Professor Rivard.

7. Whispered Fr. *r* in final syllables as in Fr. *sucre* is regularly lost in the dialect. (Cf. observation on whispered Fr. *l*, p. 90.) This of course is nothing but popular French usage. Indeed, according to Beyer and Passy, educated people usually say *kat pɛrsɔn* (= Fr. quatre personnes).[5] In XVIth century French, judging from Thurot's authorities,[6] this usage was very popular particularly among "la petite bourgeoisie de Paris", more so I should judge than the suppression of *l* in a similar position. Nisard cites this feature as one characterizing popular rural French about Paris, p. 253; cf. also Agnel, pp. 24-5.

8. Special cases of dialect *r*. (Changes from Fr. forms as explained below.)

1	*ɑ̃ːtɔrmy*	trémie	5	*rakɔrce*	recoquiller
2	*dɔsur*	dessous	6	*sur*	sous
3	*gulɔrɔ̃*	goulot, goulet	7	*surwa*	sud ouest
4	*karn◡*	cadenas			

No. 1 *ɑ̃ːtɔrmy*. A difficult case to explain. I can merely state what may possibly be suggestive. Roquefort gives old French spellings, *tremuće, tremuie* and

[1] Nisard for popular rural French about Paris spells *armanach*: *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 202; Agnel (*Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 8) spells *armona*.

[2] Probably dissimilation like the others: *la krwezɔ̃* = Fr. la cloison. For Ste Anne de Beaupré, Professor Squair remarks that the *l* is often silent (*A contribution*, p. 165).

[3] *Etude*, § 331; cf. also §§ 490-3.

[4] *Etude*, § 331; cf. also §§ 490-3.

[5] *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 87. note 2.

[6] Tome II, p. 280 *et seq.*

tremuye. Jônain gives *tremue*. The Carleton word may be connected with the Saintonge word *entoumure* = *entamure*, "la portion que l'on détache d'un pain en l'entamant (après lui avoir tracé une croix sur le ventre, si l'on est catholique);" "*donne-me l'entoumure*".[1] Jaubert gives *termuée, tremouée, tremuée* = *trémie d'un moulin à blé*. Moisy also gives *trémue* and derives the word from L. *tremere* as does also Jaubert, because of the slight jarring to which the bin is subjected. Thru the influence of Fr. *trémie*, dialect *entoumure* probably got its *r*, becoming *entourmure*; and then thru influence of the forms ending in final *u* = *ãtœrmy, ou* in an unaccented syllable easily appearing as *o*.

No. 2 *dœsur*, influence of Fr. *sur*, see no. 6.

No. 3 *gulœrɔ̃*, a change of termination, preceded by the insertion of *r*, which is rather popular, as for example: *puce, puceron*. Another suffix treated in a like manner is Fr. *ie*, the dialect having for example: *ʒaluzri* for Fr. *jalousie* (also popular French).[2]

No. 4 *karnu̯* = Fr. cadenas. We know that the Latin *d* became *r* in some words in old French; e. g. OF. *mire* from L. *medicum*; M. G. Paris conjectures the intermediary of an *l*.[3] Indeed, Professor Squair in his *Contribution* records the Ste Anne form as *kalnu̯*, or to be more exact, his own words are: "*d* = *l* sometimes in *cadenas*." M. L. Havet thinks rather the intermediary to be *ð*.[4] The changes seem intellegible, the tongue movements being similar.

No. 5 *rakɔrce* = Fr. recoquiller. Cf. Fr. *fronde* from *fundam*; *enclume* from *incudinem*; Spanish *sangre* from *sanguinem*. Passy (*Étude*, § 541) calls these examples just cited "épenthèse", where he says "l'analogie joue sans doute le principal rôle", altho it is not always easy to determine the starting point. The *a* in *rakɔrce* seems analogical, and due most likely to the influence of forms like Fr. *raccorder*.

No. 6 *sur*. Influence of the *r* in Fr. *sur*, meaning "upon", for which the dialect form is *sy*. The *r* could not be a reminiscence of L. *subter* as Jaubert suggests. (See the prepositions, § LX, nos. 34 and 35.)

No. 7 *syrwa* and *sœrwa*. Cf. p. 72, nos. 6, 8 and 9. The vowel *u* in a word pronounced so quickly may easily assume in an unaccented syllable the sound *o*. (Mentioned on p. 45, no. 5.) The *r*, as stated in the reference, is due to the analogy of the form *nɔrwa* = Fr. nord-ouest. Jônain gives the form *surouais*: Marine, = Fr. sud-ouest, as does also Moisy, who gives the two forms thus: *surouet, seurouet*, and says: "*sorvest*, donné par Cotgrave," which recalls more directly *nɔrwa*.

9. Cases of Fr. *r* unrepresented in the dialect.[5]

1	*efap*	écharde	4	*sy*	sur
2	*fɔʒɔ̃*	forgeron	5	*fap*	écharpe
3	*gu̯* OF. nom. gars, obj. garson	gars			

[1] Jônain, p. 166-7.

[2] Brunot, *Grammaire historique*, p. 159 *ie*, and p. 160 *on*.

[3] *Romania*, VI, p. 129 *et seq.*

[4] Passy, *Etude*, § 327 and notes 2 and 3.

[5] Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are common about Quebec.

No. 1 *eſap* = Fr. écharde, as already explained (p. 68, 5.) is change of termination owing to the influence of *ſap*, the two words being so often employed together.

No. 2 *fɔrʒɔ̃* = Fr. forgeron, may be considered a case of "dissimilation harmonique", where no other consonant is substituted for the one dropped out; cf. the childish pronunciation *federik* = Fr. Frédéric.[1]

No. 3 *gᴗ* = Fr. gars, appears to be a dialect form, as Jônain says: "*gars* se prononce *gâ, in jhene gâ* (un jeune gars)." Moisy writes *gas*, as does also Jaubert. The *r* is likely lost as in *porlᴗ* = Fr. prélart (cf. list 58, no. 4) being pronounced feebly at the end of the syllable; Littré gives *gâ* for the usual pronunciation of the word OF. *gars* (subj. case). See Godefroy.

No. 4 *sy* = Fr. sur. Thurot (II, p. 176) says: "Il y a eu confusion au XVII[e] siècle entre deux mots d'origine différente, dans *sur* (de *super*) et *sus* (de *susum*)." The Carleton form seems simply a retention of this old usage, for which Thurot quotes a number of examples. This *sy* is also common in other dialects. Jaubert spells *sus* and says: "l's final ne se prononce pas plus que dans *sous, il est sus la table*; *il est sous la table*." Jônain spells *sû*, prep. = *sur*, used in Berri. The form appears to be due to influence of L. *susum* giving Fr. *sus*, tho in modern French, the only remnants of L. *susum* are found in the expressions *dessus, par-dessus* and *courir sus*.[2] (See the prepositions, § LX, nos. 34 and 35.)

No. 5 *ſap* = Fr. écharpe, is a sling to bind up a limb that has been hurt by an *eſap*, a splinter; as explained in no. 1 the use of the two terms corresponding to Fr. *écharpe* and *écharde* has led to confusion producing popular simplification of both words.

Nasal consonants.

§ XXXV. 1. *m*, initial, medial and final = Fr. *m* respectively in those positions; final *m* occurring in written French only in learned words as *Jerusalem*; so that dialect final *m* usually = Fr. *m* + mute *e*. (The sources are those of Fr. *m* in the equivalent words.)

1	*lam*	lame	3	*rame*	ramer
2	*macɛ:r*	matière			

2. Special cases.

1	*mat*	natte	3	*rymatıs*	rhumatisme
2	*mny*	venu			

No. 1 *mat* = Fr. natte. Probably due to influence of English *mat*.

[1] Passy, *Étude*, § 497.

[2] Brunot, *Grammaire historique*, p. 540.

No. 2 *mny* = Fr. venu; due to influence of nasal *n* upon lip-tooth *v* nasalizing so that the effect is that of *m*. Passy says of such changes:[1] ". . . des mots comme *avenue, revenir,* se prononcent souvent *aɛ̃nü, rəɛ̃nir*; alors on n'entend guère que (*amny*) (*remnir*)."

No. 3 *rymatis* = Fr. rhumatisme. In a consonantal breath group like this, at the end of a word, a consonant is very apt to be lost thru enfeeblement; cf. E. *rhumatis*. Passy remarks:[2] "En Français les consonnes finales de *peuple, table, quatre, rhumatisme* ne sont maintenues qu'à grand peine par l'autorité du maître d'école."

§ XXXVI. 1. *n* initial, medial and final = Fr. *n* respectively in those positions; final *n* occurring in written French only in learned words; so that dialect *n* usually = Fr. *n* + mute *e*. (The sources are those of Fr. *n* in the equivalent words.)

1	*amɛn*	amen	4	*lɛn*	laine
2	*animo, alimo*	animal	5	*nu*	nous
3	*imɛn*	hymen			

2. Special cases of dialect *n* = other than Fr. *n*.[3]

1	*alɛne*	agneler	4	*malin*	maligne
2	*kansɔ̃*	caleçon	5	*ʃɔ̃tɛn*	châtaigne
3	*mal gane*	mal gagné(?)	6	*varn*	vergne

No. 1 *alɛne* = Fr. agneler. Metathesis of *gn* and *l* together with confusion of *ɲ* and *n* owing likely to analogy of a word like *alɛn* = Fr. haleine. Thurot, II, p. 310, gives *anielé,* "prononcez presque *anielé* en trois syllabes" (Richelet 1680).

No. 2 *kansɔ̃* = Fr. caleçon. According to Passy (*Étude,* § 332) this change of *l* to a nasal consonant rarely occurs independently as in this case and in vulgar French *panto* = paletot. Assimilation is the step by which the consonant usually becomes nasal. On the other hand, a nasal is quite often changed into a consonant of a different class. (Examples of this last statement are given on p. 90 under 5.) The point of contact for *l* and *n* being so close, a slight deviation from this point of either would be sufficient perhaps to cause one consonant to be pronounced instead of the other.

No. 3 *mal gane* = Fr. mal gagné (?). The dialect words means *mal portant*; I think it represents a Fr. form *mal gagné*; probably influence of analogy of such cases as in the above list where dialect *n* = Fr. *gn*; see example § LXIII, Acadianisms, no. 116.

No. 4 *malin* = Fr. maligne. Confusion between *gn* and *n* is quite common in the dialect. This is natural, both occurring very often as in this case at the end of words in final syllables; and *malin* is so pronounced on the analogy of words like Fr. *enfantine*. Nisard for popular rural French about Paris spells *malaine,* p. 201, *Langage populaire de Paris.*

[1] *Étude,* § 434.
[2] *Ibidem,* § 379.
[3] Nos. 1, 2 and 4 are comon about Quebec.

No. 5 *ʃʊ̈tɛn* — Fr. châtaigne, like the above, analogy to a word with a termination *-aine* in French as for example Fr. *certaine*.

No. 6 *varn* = Fr. vergne. (For the change of Fr. *e* before *r* to *a*, see p. 17, 3.) See the explanations to nos. 4 and 5. This is analogy to forms like Fr. *marne*. Littré gives both forms: *verne* and *vergne*. Jaubert gives these same forms.

§ XXXVII. 1. *ɲ* = Fr. *gn*; does not occur as initial; medial = Fr. *gn*; final = Fr. *gn* + mute *e*. (Original source that of Fr. *gn* in the equivalent words.)

1	*aɲo*	agneau	3	*maɲifik*	magnifique
2	*diɲ*	digne			

2. *ɲ* = Fr. *n* + consonant *i*, regularly in the dialect, and also in much provincial and popular French.[1] Indeed, Fr. *gn* took its rise from L. *n* + consonant *i*: Fr. *cigogne* from L. *ciconiam*. Passy remarks that while in Paris one often says *rɛnje, anjo* for *règner* and *agneau*, most of the patois show the opposite feature, i. e. *paɲe* = Fr. panier; *nu prəɲõ* — nous prenions.[2] In such words as in those in the following list, the difficulty in pronouncing as in standard French is to avoid combining *n* and *j* in one sound, so that its insertion phonetically is here most natural, the change then being an easy development from standard French. (The Fr. *ni* goes back to L. *n* + vowel.)

List 64.[3]

1	*baɲe:r*[4]	bannière	11	*ɲɛ*	niais
2	*butɔɲe:r*	boutonnière	12	*ɲɛs*	nièce
3	*darɲe*	dernier	13	*ɲɛzri*	niaiserie
4	*daɲɛl*	Daniel	14	*ɔpiɲõ*	opinion
5	*deɲɛze*	déniaiser	15	*paɲe*	panier
6	*griɲe*[5]	grenier	16	*plɛɲe:r*	plenière
7	*kɔrdɔɲe*[6]	cordonnier	17	*prizɔɲe*	prisonnier
8	*kriɲe:r*	crinière	18	*pryɲe*	prunier
9	*kyziɲe:r*[7]	cuisinière	19	*rəɲe*	renier
10	*maɲe:r*	manière	20	*ʃɑ̃sɔɲe:r*	chansonnière

[1] Passy, *Étude*, § 407.

[2] *Ibidem*, § 510. See also the careful analysis of this sound *ɲ* in *Les sons*, § 191 (6th edition).

[3] Agnel says, speaking of such words as in this list: "Les gens de campagne ajoutent un *g* dans la prononciation des mots terminés par la syllabe *nier* ou *nière*; ce qui communique à cette syllabe une articulation mouillée." Then follow such examples as in the above list: *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 20. This entire list, according to Professor Rivard, is Franco-Canadian.

[4] For the L. termination *-arium*, represented in the dialect by *je:r* = Fr. *-ière*, see p. 25, list 14.

[5] Also *gœrne*; see p. 94, foot-note 4, and cf. Dunn *guernier, ghernier*.

[6] Cf. the Cheticamp form *kurdune*, p. 49, list 36 a, no. 9.

[7] Cheticamp form is *tʃicizɲe:r* (*ci* = *ui* not *yi*).

21	*ʃifɔɲe*	chiffonier	24	*ynɔ̃*	union
22	*ʃikɑɲe*	chicanier	25	*ʒardiɲe*	jardinier
23	*tizɔɲe*[1]	tisonnier			

3. It is of interest to note that in both modern French and the dialect, *n* mouillée has been preserved in actual use, while old *l* mouillée has disappeared in both. The pronunciation *n* + vowel *i*, current[2] in Richelet's time (1680), is rarely heard, while the above, which Hindret (1687) reproaches "la petite bourgeoisie de Paris" for using, is the regular one in the dialect.

4. Special cases of dialect *ɲ*.

1	*alɛɲ*	alène	3	*varɲ*	vergne, verne
2	*dɛsiɲe*	dessiner			

No. 1 *alɛɲ* = Fr. alène. Jónain gives *alègne* and Littré the same spelling for the Berri form. The commoner form, however, in the Carleton dialect is *alɛ̃:g*, which I cannot explain.

No. 2 *dɛsiɲe* = Fr. dessiner is most likely confused with Fr. *désigner*.

No. 3 *varɲ* = Fr. verne is not irregular as the forms *varn* (p. 101, no. 6) and *varɲ* may respectively = Fr. *verne* and *vergne*.

Aspirates.

§ XXXVIII. *h* = Fr. *h* in *hache*. The aspiration is so slight that one can doubt its existence.[3] It does not exist in the English sense of the *h* sound. It was said by the teacher in Carleton that a slight aspiration is heard in the following words. (If really pronounced, the source as shown below is distinctly modern influence.)

List 65.

1	(*haːr*) *aːr*	haïr	7	*hɛ̃*	hein
2	*hamak*	hamac	8	*he*	hé
3	*harp*	harpe	9	*hɛ*	haie
4	*haʃ*	hache	10	*holˇ*	holà
5	*hˇːjɔ̃*	haillon	11	*hɔ̃ːtø*	honteux
6	*hɑ̃ːʃ*	hanche	12	*hy*	hue

The distinction existed in the XVIth century between two kinds of *h* both written alike, one being aspirated, the other silent; only according to Thurot,[4] when

[1] Cheticamp *tʃizɔɲe*.

[2] Thurot, II, p. 311.

[3] Cf. Beyer and Passy, *Das gesprochene Französisch*: "Es ist meist wenig vernehmbar und verstummt oft ganz," p. 88.

[4] Tome II, p. 392; Palsgrave gives a list of words beginning with aspirated *h* on p. 18 of *Éclaircissement de la langue française*; cf. also Théodore de Bèze, p. 77, *De francicae linguae recta pronuntiatione*, Genevae 1584 (reprinted by Tobler, Berlin 1868).

h was aspirated, the aspiration was distinctly heard and remained so down to the XVIIIth century. In the main, the same general line of demarcation was noted then as is apparent to-day, that aspirate *h* was more frequent in words of German origin than in those of Latin origin, where it seldom if ever occurred. Inasmuch as the teachers told me that they had great difficulty in getting the children to aspirate *h* at all, I am inclined to believe that in the above words it is of learned origin, perhaps in some of them of imitative origin.[1]

§ XXXIX. *x* = Fr. *ʒ* (written *j*, and *g* before *e* and *i*); sometimes at least = Fr. aspirated *h*; also Fr. *ʃ* (written *ch*). (The source, a dialect one is stated on the next page.)

This sound is one of the most characteristic in the dialect and the most perplexing one to describe, and also not easy to note down when totally unprepared for it at first. It is undoubtedly the same sound, which Professor Sheldon describes[2] as "suggesting a hissed aspirate such as one of the German sounds of *ch* in *ich*, and possibly even voiced at times." It reminded me of the Spanish *j* even before reading F. Aranjo's description of the sound *x*, which he calls "luettal".[3] I remarked the sound all thru Canada and the Acadian districts as well and more pronounced among the illiterate. I believe, M. Legendre has this same sound in mind when he says:[4] "*ch, g* doux et *j* s'aspirent dans certains mots: *he manhe* (j'ai mangé), *Hoseph* Joseph." He adds: "Cette faute n'est pas commune." It seemed to me very common and impressed me, with the treatment of Fr. *k* and *g*, *t* and *d* in certain positions as one of the most striking, novel, and interesting features in the dialect. I select from a long list the commonest examples and those I most frequently heard.[5]

List 66.

1	*arãˑxe*	arranger	11	*xabo*	jabot
2	*ãˑgaxe*	engager	12	*xavɛ*	j'avais
3	*ãˑxɛ̃*	engin	13	*xe*	j'ai
4	*dexøne*	déjeuner	14	*xe*	chez
5	*dəxor*	dehors	15	*xɛst*	gestes
6	*fᴗˑxe*	fâcher	16	*xor*	hors
7	*foxe*	faucher	17	*xoːz*	chose
8	*xamɛ*	jamais	18	*xozɛf*	Joseph
9	*xardɛ̃*	jardin	19	*xøn*	jeune
10	*xardiɲe*	jardinier	20	*xur*	jour

[1] Cf. Professor Squair's statement, p. 166, *Contribution*: "*h* is never heard as far as I have observed." Also Professor Sheldon's *Specimens*, p. 4, *h* = Fr. *ʒ*, *gahɔ̃* = Fr. *gageons*.

[2] Under *h* on p. 3 of *Specimens*; also Jaubert's note on *h* in *Glossaire*, p. 356.

[3] *Phonetische Studien*, III, p. 339.

[4] *La langue française*, p. 47 (edition of 1890).

[5] I have talked with both Acadians and Canadians, about this sound and have been told that no such sound exists, when the speakers themselves in denying its existence repeatedly make use of it.

21	*ɤupĩ*	jupon	26	*l◡ɤe*	lâcher
22	*ɤyre*	jurer	27	*mɑ̃◡ɤe*	manger
23	*ɤurnal*	journal	28	*mɑ̃◡ɤ◡:j*	mangeaille
24	*kərixe*	corriger	29	*oxordɥi, oʒordɥi*	aujourd'hui
25	*kokɤoz*	quelque chose	30	*təɤur*	toujours

Professor Sheldon has given the clue to the origin of this sound in his *Specimens* (pp. 7, 8), and what Jônain says,[1] in regard to the Saintonge pronunciation of Fr. *j, ge* and *ch,* is true to-day of the Carleton dialect equivalents. In the dialect words *dəɤor* and *ɤor* I felt sure of recognizing something strange to standard French; and this peculiarity seems to be no other than that described by Jônain under *jh*:[2] "*jh* va exprimer, entre aux vocables, toutes les aspirations de *h*. Il faut y mettre un peu le souffle espagnol." Educational influence interferes very much with the regularity of the appearance of the sound and of its quality as well in the speakers' mouths. In attempting an explanation of the sound, one may suppose the steps to have been somewhat as follows: Starting with Latin *falcare,* disregarding the terminations and considering only the history of this sound, the successive steps starting from the velar position and coming forward to the front position may have been: *falkare, falkjare, faltjare*; then *faltfare* in Italian and French, then later in French *falfer, faufer, fofer,* and finally in the dialect *foxe.*

[1] P. 19, Introduction to *Dictionnaire du patois saintongeais.*

[2] *Ibidem,* p. 227.

III. Morphology.

General remarks.

§ XL. The dialect ever aims at simplicity, and in this respect the laws it follows differing from those of the literary language in eliding, shortening, linking, and making changes generally, resemble strikingly those followed by popular modern French.[1] In regard to linking, as a rule it occurs only between words intimately related by their sense or connection, as for example between the article and its noun, a numeral or limiting adjective and its noun, a pronoun and its verb. Where literary French employs two forms, as in the endings, one for the masculine and one for the feminine of many adjectives, or where the singular and plural of nouns differ, the tendency in the dialect is continually to simplify by reducing the two forms to one. The analogy of the endings of the vast majority of nouns, where the singular and plural are alike, here shows its influence. The dialect preserves exactly the same tenses as spoken popular French, discarding the literary preterit indicative[2] and hence the imperfect subjunctive. These special features will be treated under their respective heads. The French translations are merely verbatim renderings of the dialect features, without regard to standard French correctness, but meant to be intelligible. As in the phonology, particularly under the consonants, the origin of the dialect has been shown to be French itself, comparisons with Latin forms will only be made as occasion may call for them.

The definite article.

§ XLI. 1. *la* = Fr. *la*.

1	*la fam*	la femme	3	*la pʏl*	la poule
2	*la pɛ:f*	la pêche			

[1] See Beyer and Passy, *Das gesprochene Französisch, Form und Satzlehre*, pp. 92-101.

[2] *Ibidem*, p. 155, § 152.

2. *l* = Fr. *l'* and *le*.

1	*l abi*	l'habit	6	*l kuto*	le couteau
2	*l ɔ̃:r*[1]	le hart	7	*l mã:ʃ*	le manche
3	*l ɛ̃fɛ̃*[2]	l'enfant	8	*l ɔm*	l'homme
4	*l bɔnø:r* (*x:r*)	le bonheur	9	*l pwɛ:l*	le poêle
5	*l garsɔ̃*	le garçon			

3. *le* = Fr. *les* before consonants.

1	*le mɛzɔ̃*[3]	les maisons	3	*le ʒval*[4]	for les chevaux
2	*le pe:r*	les pères			

4. *lez*[5] = Fr. *les* before vowels.

1	*lez abi*	les habits	3	*lez ɔ̃:g*	les ongles
2	*lez ɛ̃fɛ̃*	les enfants			

5. Thus all the forms save *l* before consonants are the same as the standard French forms. This dialect form *l*, Passy comments on saying: "On sait que nos paysans disent communément (*əl pɛr*) = le père, *əl py grã* = le plus grand." He classes it under "prosthèse".[6] Perhaps it might be considered metathesis. It is due to the vocalic nature of the *l*.

6. Combinations of the article with the preposition *a* = Fr. *a* and *də* = Fr. *de*.

1	*a l ɛ̃fɛ̃*	à l'enfant	7	*o fam*	aux femmes
2	*də l ɛ̃fɛ̃*	de l'enfant	8	*de fam*	des femmes
3	*oz ɛ̃fɛ̃*	aux enfants	9	*o trava:j*	au travail
4	*dez ɛ̃fɛ̃*	des enfants	10	*dy trava:j*	du travail
5	*a la fam*	à la femme	11	*o trava:j*[7]	aux travaux
6	*də la fam*	de la femme	12	*de trava:j*	des travaux

This feature is then the same as that for standard French.

7. The forms for the so-called partitive article are the same as those for popular French: *d(ə) la*; *dy*; *d(ə) l*; *de* and *dez* used just as in French.[8]

[1] No aspiration whatever. About Quebec, *la hɔ̃:r*.

[2] Cf. Professor Sheldon's no. 69 in *Specimens*: *œn ɛ̃fɛ̃*.

[3] About Quebec, *le mɛ̃zɔ̃*.

[4] See § XLIII, list 69, no. 11, foot-note. The so-called *e* mute was not sounded in XVIth century (Thurot, I, p. 158) any more than at present in modern popular French in such words as *fmɛ̃*, *ʒval* etc.; cf. Beyer and Passy, § 43, p. 99 and *passim* all thru the book.

[5] The *z* is pronounced with the following vowel. I have written it thus for simplicity in reading, following Passy as he writes it in his extraits in *Les sons*, 3d edition, p. 130, l. 11; p. 131, l. 4; 6th edition, p. 148, l. 14.

[6] Cf. the words on p. 64, *ɛstaty* = Fr. estatue, etc.

[7] For the ending, see the nouns ending in *al*, list 69. The forms 11 and 12 are not in use about Quebec.

[8] Cf. Beyer and Passy, § 57, for examples of popular French usage.

The indefinite article.

§ XLII. 1. *œ̃* = Fr. *un* before consonants; *œ̃n*[1] = Fr. *un* before vowels.

1	*œ̃n ɛ̃fɛ̃*	un enfant	3	*œ̃n ɔm*	un homme
2	*œ̃ liv*	un livre			

Note. This is not the Canadian usage, which is *ɛ̃* and *ɛ̃n*, respectively; cf. Jônain's remark on p. 17 of his introduction: "*u* se change en *i* dans le mot *un* et ses composés." When I heard *ɛ̃* or *ɛ̃n*, as not unfrequently, I supposed it due to Canadian influence; tho *œ̃* and *œ̃n* may, on the other hand, be due to educational influence. There is no doubt that *ɛ̃* or *ɛ̃n* is pretty current all thru Canada, and I have heard it in Paris. Professor Rivard notes: "Ici on entend plutôt *ẽ* que *ɛ̃*: *ẽn ɔm*. *ɛ̃* = *un* peut aussi se rencontrer chez nous, mais je ne crois pas qu'on puisse dire que c'est le 'Canadian usage'; i. e. la façon franco-canadienne la plus générale de prononcer le fr. *un* est *ẽ* (*e* fermé nasal) et *ẽn*. Par exception on ouvre la voyelle, et l'on arrive à *ɛ̃* et *ɛ̃n*; mais on se rend même jusqu'à *ã* et *ãn*: *ãn ɔm*."

2. *ɔn* = Fr. *une* before vowels or consonants.

1	*ɔn asiɛt*	une assiette	3	*ɔn tab*	une table
2	*ɔn istwɛ:r*	une histoire			

Note. This again is different from Canadian usage. I noted at the Falls of Montmorency and about Quebec *ɛ̃* and *an*,[2] the former used before a feminine noun beginning with a vowel: *ɛ̃ ima:ʒ* = une image, the latter before feminine nouns beginning with a consonant: *an fam* = une femme. Both Jaubert and Moisy[3] give the form *eune*. Professor Rivard notes: "Remarque analogue à la précédente. Ici on remarque surtout la prononciation *ɛn*: *ɛn fam*. Mais il est vrai qu'on entend aussi *an*, et très souvent *œn*. Je pense que *œn* = *une* est le fait le plus fréquent ici."

3. The plural of the indefinite is *de* = Fr. *des* before consonants, *dez* = Fr. *des* before vowels.[4]

1	*de fam*	des femmes	2	*dez ɔm*	des hommes

The noun.

§ XLIII. Gender. 1. As a rule the gender of nouns in the dialect corresponds to that of the same words in modern French. The following differences, however, have been noted:

List 67.[5] Nouns used as feminine in the dialect being masculine in modern French.

1	*abijmɛ̃*	habillement	3	*arkɑ̃sjɛl*	arc-en-ciel
2	*alpaku*	alpaca	4	*armɔnjɔm*	harmonium

[1] Cf. the interesting note by Beyer and Passy, no. 2, p. 104: "Die gebundene Form von *œ̃* wird von manchen *œn* oder auch *yn* gesprochen; also *œ̃n-ɔm, œn-ɔm, yn-ɔm*." Littré gives *u-n homme*.

[2] M. Legendre states the same fact: *La langue française*, p. 46 (edition of 1890).

[3] Introduction to the *Dictionnaire* of Moisy, p. LXI.

[4] Exactly as in popular French; cf. Beyer and Passy, § 56.

[5] Of the words given in the above list, nos. 10, 15, 16 and 22 are cited by Agnel as being

5	*arʒɛ̃*	argent	14	*ivɛ:r*	hiver
6	*ɑ̃tɛrmɛ̃*	enterrement	15	*o:r, ɔ:r*	or
7	*bɔl*	bol	16	*o·tɛl*	autel
8	*ete*	été	17	*o·tel*	hôtel
9	*etųi*	étui	18	*o·tɔn*	automne
10	*ezɑ̃:p, egzɑ̃:p*	example	19	*ɔra:ʒ*	orage
11	*ezvo*	écheveau	20	*ɔreje*	oreiller
12	*ɛskalje*	escalier	21	*ɔrg*	orgue
13	*ga:ʒ*	gages	22	*pwezɔ̃*	poison

2. Of the words in the above list, no. 8 *ete* became masculine in French very early following Fr. *hiver* and Fr. *printemps*; no. 19 *ɔra:ʒ* at different periods of the language is used as a feminine noun; no. 10 *ezɑ̃:p* and no. 22 *pwezɔ̃* are regularly used in old French as feminine nouns.[1] Five of the words, nos. 5 *arʒɛ̃*, 7 *bɔl*, 10 *ezɑ̃:p*, 19 *ɔra:ʒ* and 22 *pwezɔ̃*, are given as feminine by Moisy (p. LV). Talbert in speaking of the gender of the dialect of Blois words says: "Je ne connais point d'exemple dans l'ancienne langue du genre feminin aux substantifs: *argent . . . autel . . . hôtel.* Ils n'en ont jamais d'autre dans la bouche de nos paysans." He goes on to say: "La plupart des femmes donnent le genre feminin à . . . *orage . . . gage*[2] . . . etc." Dunn gives *argent, bol* and *poison* as feminine in Canadian French, and Manseau gives *arc-en-ciel* and *autel* as feminine. It may be noticed that with the exception of the words *bɔl, ga:ʒ*, and *pwezɔ̃*, the other nineteen words in the list begin with a vowel. These nouns, when occurring in French after certain adjectives like *bel, fol, mol, vieil*, because of the adjective being pronounced like the corresponding feminine adjective, may for that reason have come to be regarded as feminine.

3. Examples. 1 *ʒ m e aʒte ɔn abijmɛ̃ kɔ̃·plɛt* 2 *vl◡ d la bɛl alpak◡*
je m'ai acheté une habillement complète voilà de la belle alpaca

3 *gard la bɛl arkɑ̃·sjɛl dɑ̃ l ryso* 4 *vɔt armɔnjɔm ʒu ply fo:r kə la mjɛn*
regarde la belle arc-en-ciel dans le ruisseau votre harmonium joue plus fort que la mienne

5 *ʒ e ete pẹje ɑ̃ bɛl arʒɛ̃ no:v* 6 *i ◡ y ɔn bɛl ɑ̃tɛrmɛ̃* 7 *ʒ e k◡se la bol ɑ̃*
j'ai été payé en belle argent neuve il (y?) a eu une belle enterrement j'ai cassé la bol en

feminine in the popular rural French heard about Paris, *Langage des environs de Paris*, pp. 33-38. Nos. 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 22 are so given by Professor Rivard in an article, *Le genre des noms communs dans notre parler populaire* (*Bull. du par. fr. au Can.*, t. III, pp. 7-14). The following thirty forms complete Professor Rivard's list of *Substantifs masculins* (*féminins au Canada*): *âge*†, air†, almanach, amiante, arc, balustre*, char*†, cigane (cigare)*†, couple, échange*, éclair, élan, emplâtre*, esclandre*, espace*†, esquelette (squelette)*†, étang†, examen, evangile*, honneur*, horoscope*, incendie*, intervalle*, légume†, lèze (lé), organe*, orteil, ouvrage*†, plaine (plane)†, soucisse (sourcil)*†.* The forms followed by an asterisk (*) are found in old French as feminine; the forms followed by a dagger (†) are found in various French dialects as feminine.

[1] Cf. Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVIe siècle en France*, pp. 248-50. Also the luminous article (pp. 184-191) of the *Traité* preceding the H. D. T. *Dictionnaire.*

[2] *Du dialecte blaisois*, p. 266.

vulã la puse 8 *st ɛskalje l◡ ɛ trɔ drwɛt; al ɛ fatiɡ̃:t a mɔ̃:te* 9 *ʒ ire vu*
voulant la pousser cette escalier - là est trop droite; elle est fatiguante à monter j'irai vous

wɛ:r l ete prɔʃɛn 10 *vl◡ vɔt ezɑ̃:p; vuz ave jɛ̃ kə la pɛn d la sɥiv*[1] 11 *ʒ e*
voir l'été prochaine voilà votre exemple; vous avez rien que la peine de la suivre j'ai

file dø gros eʒvo də lɛn 12 *a vu de bɔn ɡa:ʒ?* 13 *ʃ krwa k ɔ̃ v◡ awɛ:r*
filé deux grosses écheveaux de laine avez-vous des bonnes gages? je crois qu'on va avoir

ɔn dy:r ivɛ:r 14 *vl◡ d la bɛl o:r* 15 *ʒ e tut atrape la gro:s ɔra:ʒ ki j ◡ y (i)jɛ:r*
une dure hiver voilà de la belle or j'ai tout attrapé la grosse orage qu'il y a eu hier

16 *mɔ̃n ɔrɛje ɛ trɔ bo◡:s* 17 *vɔt ɔrg ɛ ply*[2] *gro:s kə la not* 18 *la grɑ̃:d o'tɛl*
mon oreiller est trop basse votre orgue est plus grosse que la nôtre la grande autel

etɛ bɛ̃[3] *greje o'zɔrdɥi* 19 *ʒ e kuʃe a la prəmje:r o'tɛl, wɛzin d la st◡:sjɔ̃*
était bien gréée aujourd'hui j'ai couché à la première hôtel, voisine de la station

4. Nouns used as masculine in the dialect, being feminine in modern French.

List 68.[4]

1	*dɛ̃:d*	dinde	4	*rəlik* (*ik*)	relique
2	*ɡɔ:z*	gaze	5	*tarje:r*	tarière
3	*ɔriɲe*	araignée[5]	6	*w◡, wa*	oie

5. Of these six words, I find no. 1 *dɛ̃:d,* no. 5 *tarje:r* and no. 6 *w◡* given in Moisy's *Dictionnaire* as masculine for the patois normand. Could all dialect sources be examined. it seems not improbable that agreement between this dialect and some other could be found.

Examples. 1 *ʒ e pø:r dy dɛ̃:d* 2 *ɡard l grot ɔriɲe*[5] *sy la krwezɔ̃* 3 *ɔ̃n*
j'ai peur du dinde regarde le gros araignée sur la cloison on

◡ ɑ̃ bo rəlik də sɛ̃:t ◡:n 4 *v◡ m farfe l gro tarje:r* 5 *mez w◡ sɔ̃ gr◡ set*
a un beau relique de sainte Anne va me chercher le gros tarière mes oies sont gras cet(te)

ɔ'tɔn (f.) 6 *dy ɡɔ:z*
automne du gaze

6. Number. The dialect, ever striving to gain simplicity, has regularly but one form for the singular and one for the plural of nouns, even in those case where

---

[1] Fr. *ui* in the dialect as a rule = *y*, just as in phrase no. 3, *ryso* = Fr. ruisseau; see Special cases, p. 51, 4.

[2] About Quebec: *vɔt ɔrg e py gro:s* (*gro*) *k la nɔt.*

[3] Cf. as regards double forms, foot-note 1. *bɛ̃* may be heard as well as *bɛ̃.*

[4] Of the six words recorded in the list, Professor Rivard, p. 13 of the article referred to (p. 107 *et seq.*, foot-note 5), records *oie**† and *tarière**† among the *Substantifs féminins* (*masculins au Canada*). The following fifteen forms make up the full list: *âcre**, *ancre**, *auge**, *caution, collation, créosote, échappatoire, écritoire, erreur**†, *garantie, garde-robe**, *guide* (*harnais*)†, *nuée, offre**, *ride.*

[5] Quebec *ariɲe*; fem. *la gro:s ariɲe.* The first syllable of the Acadian form appears due to rounding, the reverse of the feature noted p. 23, 6, remark 2: *arɛje* = Fr. oreiller, etc. Cf. also p. 35, no. 9, *ɔriɲe* = Fr. araignée.

standard French has a different form for each. This feature characterizes dialect French of the Center of France and the neighboring region as can be seen by consulting Jaubert's *Glossaire*. Favre, in his *Glossaire du Poitou*, remarks: "Il est très poitevin de mettre le singulier pour le pluriel." etc., also: "L'emploi d'un *s* à la fin des mots pluriels est très rare."[1] The dialect pronunciation of nouns, whose plural in standard French varies from the singular, is here given:

List 69.

1	*le fanal*	les fanaux	7	*le marefal*	les maréchaux
2	*le kanal*	les canaux	8	*le meta:j*[2]	les métaux
3	*le kardinal*	les cardinaux	9	*le sinal*	les signaux
4	*le kristal*	les cristaux	10	*le vezetal*	les végetaux
5	*lez ɔpital*	les hôpitaux	11	*le ʒval*[3]	les chevaux
6	*le mal*	les maux	12	*le ʒurnal*	les journaux

7. These cases are formed on the analogy of the French singular forms, while dialect: *ɑ̃n animo*[4] = Fr. un animal, *ɑ̃ ʒvo* = Fr. un cheval, *ɑ̃ ʒurno* = Fr. un journal, are on the analogy of the French plural forms. The dialect forms *le ba:j* = Fr. les baux, *le kora:j* = Fr. les coraux and *le supira:j* = Fr. les soupiraux are also on the analogy of the French singular forms.

Examples. 1 *me ʒval sɔ̃ grɑ̃* 2 *ʃ sy aprɛ fɛ:r de bɔ̃ kanal sy ma tɛ:r*
mes chevals sont grands je suis après faire des bons canals sur ma terre

3 *l bato ⌣ mi se sinal* 4 *le ʒurnal sɔ̃ p⌣ arive* 5 *le marefal sɔ̃ r⌣:r par*
le bateau a mis ses signals les journals sont pas arrivés les maréchals sont rares par

isit 6 *dɑ̃ mɔ̃ weja:ʒ ʒ e vy do kardinal* 7 *t ⌣ bɛ̃ nɛtwaje te kristal* 8 *ʒ e*
ici dans mon voyage j'ai vu deux cardinals tu as bien nettoyé tes cristals j'ai

pø:r de mal də gɔrʒ 9 *ʒ e vizite plyːjø:r ɔpital* 10 *prɑ̃ (prɛ̃) gard kə mɔ̃n animo*
peur des mals de gorge j'ai visité plusieurs hôpitals prends garde que mon animau

part 11 *mɔ̃ ʒvo ɛ retif* 12 *mɔ̃ ʒurno eti mny?* 13 *le supira:j sɔ̃ti bufe?*
parte mon chevau est rétif mon journau est-il venu les soupirails sont-ils bouchés

14 *ɔ̃n ⌣ truve de bo kɔra:j*
on a trouvé des beaux corails

8. *de narf* = Fr. des nerfs, *dez øf* = Fr. des œufs, *de sarf* = Fr. des cerfs. These words are so pronounced on the analogy of the singular forms. OF. had *f* in the object case singular and no *f* in the subject case; in the plural no *f* in the object case and *f* in the subject. Cf. Phonology, p. 70, 5.

[1] Introduction, p. LVII.

[2] Analogy of forms like Fr. *médaille*.

[3] For voicing of Fr. *ch* in such words, see Phonology, p. 81, 4. and foot-note 1. Cf. also Jaubert, p. XI of introduction to the *Glossaire*: *un chevau, des chevals*, etc.

[4] "Je crois aussi que les gamins de Paris diront toujours *un animau* comme aussi les charretiers *mon chevau*, forme à laquelle il ne manque qu'un *s* à la fin pour représenter exactement le cas sujet singulier de ce mot au XII[e] siècle," Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 134.

ɑ̃ː bø = Fr. un bœuf, is analogy of the French plural. As noted in the Phonology, meaning *beef*, the object old French case which had *f* is retained. Thurot says: "Saint Liens (1580) recommande de prononcer l'*f* dans *du bœuf salé*, mais dès le XVII^e siècle l'*f* est muette devant une consonne." This is interesting by way of explanation both as to the dialect form and the modern French form.

9. French nouns ending in *-eur* are usually represented in the dialect by the termination *ɤ* or very close *o* — Fr. *eur*. As this has been explained in the Phonology, p. 95, the following additional examples may aid completeness: *grɔ̃ːdø* = Fr. grondeur, *plɛdø* = Fr. plaideur, *siflø* = Fr. siffleur, *fɑ̃ːtø* — Fr. chanteur, *vɛjø* = Fr. veilleur.

10. The use of the noun, its position in the sentence, are identical with that of modern French.

The adjective.

§ XLIV. 1. As in standard French the great majority of adjectives have but one form for both genders, so in the dialect this is true to a greater extent,[1] for in most cases where French has two forms, one for masculine and one for feminine, the dialect retains but one.

2. Adjectives ending in *f* in the dialect in the masculine remain as a rule unchanged in the feminine, modern French having *-ve*.

List 70.

1	*kaptɪf*	captive	4	*retɪf*	rétive
2	*masɪf*	massive	5	*tardɪf*	tardive
3	*naɪf*	naïve	6	*vɪf*	vive

3. These forms mentioned in the Phonology, p. 71, 7., under *f*, appear as feminine forms, following the analogy of the vast majority of the adjectives in French, which have like forms for both genders. This happens particularly in these cases because the French feminine ending in *-ve* not being very common and not heard as much as the masculine in *f*, the latter has usurped its place. Take, for example, just the opposite adoption by the dialect, a feminine for the French masculine and feminine forms of the word *vøːv* = Fr. veuf. That *vøːv* in the dialect is always used for both masculine and feminine is undoubtedly due to the preponderance of use of the feminine form, just as in English the word *widow* is far commoner than *widower*.[2] I noted *grɑ̃ bɔ̯ːj* = Fr. grande baille, the *grɑ̃* being apparently influence of such forms as Fr. *grand'-mère*.

[1] Cf. Beyer and Passy, p. 114, § 70.

[2] Agnel for popular rural French about Paris gives *veuve* as the masculine and feminine form: *un homme veuve*: *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 44.

Examples. 1 *i ◡ pɔ̃ a ɛ:t ply kaptif kə ma tã:t ɛ* 2 *ʒ e ʒamɛ vy ən pjɛ:r*
il (y) a pas à être plus captif que ma tante est j'ai jamais vu une pierre

o'si masif 3 *vl◡ ən plã:t kɛ tardif ɑ̃ pø* 4 *i ɛ ply ʃe dəpy ki ɛ vœ:v*
aussi massif voilà une plante qui est tardif un peu il est plus gai depuis qu'il est veuve

5 *si ɑ̃ vœ:v ki fɛ bɛ̃ sɔ̃ vøva:ʒ* 6 *al ɛ si vif*
c'est un veuve qui fait bien son veuvage elle est si vif

4. *nø* = Fr. neuf, so pronounced on the analogy of the French plural (cf. p. 70, 6. for this word):

1 *mɛ tɔ̃ ʃapo nø* 2 *ʒ i ɛ done ɑ̃ pwɛ:l tu nø*
mets ton chapeau neuf je lui ai donné un poêle tout neuf

Jaubert gives *neu* saying: "Le *f* du masculin français et le *v* qui le remplace dans le féminin ont également disparu chez nous." Littré says: "En Normandie *neufs* se prononce *neu*, ce qui est la prononciation ancienne." The Carleton dialect has the feminine form *nøv* = Fr. neuve.

5. *lɔ̃'ʒi* is the word used for Fr. *lent, lente*, like forms for which are not in use in the dialect; for OF. *longis*, see Acadianisms, § LXIII, no. 112:

1 *depɛʃ twa dɔ̃, lɔ̃'ʒi kə t ɛ* 2 *ʒyli ɛ trɔ lɔ̃'ʒi pur puvwɛ:r fɛ:r sɔ̃ trɛ̃ avɑ̃ dine*
dépêche-toi donc (longi) que tu es Julie est trop (longie) pour pouvoir faire son train avant dîner

The word appears to be a dialect form, as Jônain gives *longhis* = Fr. traînard. Littré, however, gives *longis*, citing the dictionary of the Academy 1696: "Terme populaire. Homme extrêmement long à tout ce qu'il fait." "C'est un *longis*, un vrai *longis*." The word certainly is formed from the adjective *long* in the sense, (no. 10 of Littré's definitions) *lent, tardif*. One of many words retained in the dialect from XVIth century French, which standard French has allowed to fall into disuse. Godefroy gives *longis*; see examples § LXIII, Acadianisms, nos. 21 and 112.

6. Among the examples given of final *t* pronounced in the dialect where usually silent tho written in modern French, were the following examples, still illustrating the dialect tendency to adhere to one form (cf. Phonology, p. 73, list 47).

List 71.

1	*adrwɛt*	adroit	7	*kɔ̃plɛt*	complet
2	*ɛ̃'kjɛt, ɛ̃'cɛt*[1]	inquiet	8	*nɛt*	net
3	*dizgrɛt*	discret	9	*plat*	plat
4	*drwɛt*	droit	10	*syʒɛt*	sujet
5	*etrwɛt*	étroit	11	*tut, tu*	tout
6	*frɛt*	froid			

[1] *ɛ̃'cɛt* has also a feminine form *ɛ̃'cɛtø:ʒ*, analogy of forms like Fr. *paresseuse*.

These forms as explained in the Phonology, p. 73, list 47, may be due either to the influence of the feminine forms or to the cases where under certain circumstances a *t* is sounded in French, or to both influences combined.

Examples. 1 *farl ɛ ɛ̃ˑcɛt də sɔ̃ garsɔ̃* 2 *ma tɑ̃ːt ɛ buku*[1] *ɛ̃ˑcɛtøːz* 3 *ty*
Charles est inquiet de son garçon ma tante est beaucoup inquiète tu

pø t fje a st ɔm l◡; i ɛ dizgrɛt 4 *dʒo ɛ syʒɛt a la bwɛsɔ̃*
peux te fier à cet homme-là; il est discret Jo est sujette à la boisson

7. Adjectives ending in *al* in the dialect follow the analogy of nouns in *al*, and have but one form.

1	*brytal*	brutaux	3	*prɛ̃ˑsipal*	principaux
2	*liberal*	liberaux			

Examples. 1 *a vu deˑz◡ rɑ̃ˑkɔ̃ˑtre dez ɛ̃ˑfɛ̃ oˑsi brytal kə sø l◡?* 2 *le*
avez-vous déjà rencontré des enfants aussi brutals que ceux-là les

liberal kabal də s tɛ̃ isɪt 3 *də tu lez ɔm a l asɑ̃ˑble, nɔme mwa le prɛ̃ˑsipal*
liberals cabalent de ce temps ici de tous les hommes à l'assemblée nommez-moi les principals

The indefinite adjective corresponding to Fr. *quelque* is *køk* or *kɛk*; cf. § LI (A).

8. The comparison, position, and use of the adjective is identical with that of modern French.

The numerals.

§ XLV. 1. There are two forms for each cardinal number, just as in French, the tonic or emphatic form (Passy and Beyer's "starke" form)[2] and the atonic or unemphatic form, pronounced as tho a part of the following word (Passy and Beyer's "schwache" form). The numeral for *one* has masculine and feminine forms. In a number of cases, the dialect besides the two forms corresponding to the French has a third when linked; thus the numeral *five* has *sɛ̃, sɛ̃ˑk* and *sɛ̃ˑz*.

	Emphatic	Unemphatic		Emphatic	Unemphatic
1	*ɑ̃, ɔn*[3]	*ɑ̃(n), ɔn*	3	*trw◡, trwa*	*trw◡-z, trwa-z*
2	*də*	*də-z*	4	*kat*	*kat*

[1] A form like Fr. *très* is not in use.

[2] It is interesting to compare the forms here given with those given for popular French by Beyer and Passy, p. 119, § 82.

[3] Noted in Pasbébiac *jɔn*: *ʒ ɑ̃n e jɔn* = Fr. j'en ai une; this arises as much from a desire to emphasize as from any other cause, see Passy, *Etude*, § 529. Professor Rivard adds: "Entendu aussi dans le fr.-can. *ʒ ɑ̃n e jœn*; mais j'attribue *j* au besoin de réduire l'hiatus *e-œ*. Plus souvent on évite cet hiatus par un *t* intercalaire: *ʒ ɑ̃n e t œn*." The forms that differ about Quebec from the above are the following: *œn* = Fr. une; *katœrvɛ̃* = Fr. quatre-vingt; *katœrvɛ̃ dis* = Fr. quatre-vingt-dix, etc. Fr. *mil* does not take the form *milz*; the sound represented above by *ɛ̃* is more accurately represented about Quebec by *ɛ̃*, and *ɑ̃* by *ã*

	Emphatic	Unemphatic		Emphatic	Unemphatic
5	*sɛ̃:k*	*sɛ̃-z*	20	*vɛ̃(t)*	*vɛ̃-z*
6	*sis, sɪs*	*si-z*	21	*vɛ̃·teɶ, -ən*	*vɛ̃·teɶ, -ən*
7	*sɛt*	*sɛ-z*	22	*vɛ̃·tdə*	*vɛ̃·tdə-z*
8	*ɥit, ɥɪt*	*ɥi-z*	30	*trɑ̃:t*	*trɑ̃:t*
9	*nœf*	*nə-z*	40	*karɑ̃:t*	*karɑ̃:t*
10	*dis, dɪs*	*di-z*	50	*sɛ̃·kɑ̃:t*	*sɛ̃·kɑ̃:t*
11	*ɔ̃:z*	*ɔ̃:z*	60	*swɛsɑ̃:t*	*swɛsɑ̃:t*
12	*du:z*	*du:z*	70	*swɛsɑ̃·tdis, -dɪs*	*swɛsɑ̃·tdi-z*
13	*trɛ:z*	*trɛ:z*		*swɛsɑ̃·tedis, -dɪs*	*swɛsɑ̃·tedi-z*
14	*katɔrz*	*katɔrz*	80	*katœrvɛ̃*	*katœrvɛ̃-z*
15	*cɛ̃:z*	*cɛ̃:z*	90	*katœrvɛ̃·dɪs*	*katœrvɛ̃·di-z*
16	*sɛ:z*	*sɛ:z*	100	*sɑ̃*	*sɑ̃-z*
17	*dissɛt*	*dissɛ-z*	200	*də sɑ̃*	*də sɑ̃-z*
18	*dizɥit, -ɥɪt*	*dizɥi-z*	1000	*mil, mɪl*	*mil-z*
19	*diznœf*	*diznə-z*	1 000 000	*miljɔ̃*	*miljɔ̃*

2. Of all sounds linked over in French *z* is the commonest, so the above forms in *z* in the dialect which correspond to forms that do not have this *z* in French, are on the analogy of the majority of forms that do have *z* to be linked over. I have heard at the Falls of Montmorency *karɑ̃·tsɥɪt* = Fr. quarante-huit. Forms like *kat* = Fr. quatre are common in French; mentioned on p. 97. 7. of Morphology. Like Fr. *l* + mute *e* after a consonant, thru lack of force in uttering the sound, it becomes lost. This loss of *l* and *r* in final syllables is particularly easy, the sounds being called "whispered *l*" and "whispered *r*" from the faintness of their utterance.

Examples. 1 *kat ʃarʒ, kat duzɛn, kat haʃ* (quatre charges, quatre douzaines, quatre haches) 2 *ʒ e aʃte sɛ̃:z arpɛ̃* (j'ai acheté cinq arpents de terre) 3 *i ◡ sɛz ɛ̃fɛ̃* (il a sept enfants) 4 *dən mwa ɥiz ɔrɑ̃:ʒ* (donne moi huit oranges) 5 *nœz ɔm sə sɔ̃ nuɛje* (neuf hommes se sont noyés)

Note. The Canadian forms *dos* = Fr. deux, *trwas* = Fr. trois are not in use along the shore of the bay des Chaleurs. For such forms see Legendre, *La langue française*, pp. 49-50.

3. The ordinal numbers. *prəmje* — Fr. premier (before vowels and consonants), *prəmje:r* = Fr. première. *zgɔ̃* (cf. p. 82. 4.), *zgɔ̃:t* (before masculine noun beginning with a vowel), *zgɔ̃:d* are the forms for Fr. *second* and *seconde*. *dozjɛm* is also used = Fr. *deuxième*. The remainder of the ordinal numbers are identical with those of modern French. The usage of both cardinal and ordinal numbers is the French usage.[1]

[1] This is so well and so succinctly stated in Beyer and Passy as to be worth mention here, pp. 121-2-3, *Das gesprochene Französisch*.

The pronoun.

§ XLVI. Weak or unemphatic forms of the personal pronoun.

	1		2		3	
N.	*ʒə, ʒ, ʃ, xə, x*	je, j'	*ty, t*	tu	*i*	il
D.	*mə, m*	me, m'	*tə, t*	te, t'	*ji, j, (ɲi), (ʎi), (zi)*	lui
A.	*mə, m*	me, m'	*tə, t*	te, t'	*lə, l, (le)*	le, l'
N.	*ɔ̃(n)*	on	*vu, vuz*	vous	*i*	ils
D.	*nu, nuz*	nous	*vu, vuz*	vous	*lø, jø, løz, jøz*	leur
A.	*nu, nouz*	nous	*vu, vuz*	vous	*le, lez*	les

	4		5	
N.	*a, al*	elle	*ɔ̃(n)*	on
D.	*ji, j, (ɲi), (ʎi), (zi)*	lui	*sə, s*	se, s'
A.	*la, l*	la, l'	*sə, s*	se, s'
N.	*i*	elles		
D.	*lø, jø, løz, jøz*	leur	*sə, s*	se, s'
A.	*le, lez*	les	*sə, s*	se, s'

1. The *ə* (= so-called French mute *e*) of *ʒə* or *xə* is regularly elided before a following syllable containing an *ə*. This statement applies also to the *ə* of *mə, tə, sə, lə,* and *sə* (= Fr. *ce*).[1] In many cases, too, when no *ə* follows in the next syllable *ʒ* or *ʃ* seems to be more nearly correct: *ʃ sy* = je suis. I find in § 36 of Beyer and Passy *ʃ sɥi* showing also the same popular French usage. The following phrases illustrate at one and the same time the dialect and popular French usage:[2] *ʒ vjɛ̃* = je viens, *ʒ vənɛ* = je venais, *ʒə vnɛ* = je venais, *ʒ dɔn* = je donne, *ʒ parl* = je parle, *ʃ fɑ̃:t* = je chante, *i m dɔn* = il me donne, *i m wa* = il me voit.

nu = Fr. *nous* as subject is not in use in the dialect. For it is substituted *ɔ̃(n)*: *ɔ̃n ɛ kɔ̃:tɛ̃* meaning *nous sommes contents*; *ɔ̃n ɛ mɛ:t fo swa* meaning *nous sommes maîtres chez nous*; *ɔ̃ vu fɛ:r su* meaning *nous allons faire cela.* I am not sure that *ɔ̃(n)* always means *nous,* or when it exactly represents Fr. *on.*[3] Altho the use of dialect *ɔ̃(n)* for Fr. *nous* is Carleton usage, my notes in other Acadian districts lead me to believe that it is not Acadian but decidedly Canadian and is here due to Canadian influence. The Acadian usage is *ʒ* with the first person plural of the verb and can be heard, tho rarely in Carleton, for I have recorded *ʒ avjɔ̃* = j'avions; *ʒ etjɔ̃*

[1] Cf. Legendre, *La langue française,* p. 50: *Le pronom.*

[2] Cf. the extract pp. 151-3 of *Les sons,* 6th edition, many examples, e. g. *ʃ se* = Fr. je sais; *t wa bjɛ̃* = Fr. tu vois bien.

[3] Cf. Jaubert's remark under *on*: "... *on,* en Anjou fréquemment employé pour *je* ou *nous.*" Professor Rivard adds: "Nous avons aussi *j avjɔ̃,* etc. mais on le rencontre surtout dans les milieus acadiens de la Province."

= j'étions. This is a Saintonge feature.[1] *nu* is the object case before consonants; before vowels, the forms with *z* thruout the pronouns are in use. *xə* and *x* are particularly common among the uneducated. Jônain writes *jhe*.

2. *ty, t* (*ty* before consonants, *t* before vowels)[2] = Fr. *tu*. Particularly in and around Carleton the use of *ty* or *t*[3] is noticable on account of its frequency compared with standard French usage, tho perhaps not with provincial usage. Everybody in the little village being related in some degree to almost every one else,[4] the use of *ty* seems natural.

1	*t abit, t abɪt*	tu habites	6	*ty do:r*	tu dors
2	*t* ⌣	tu as	7	*t ekri*	tu écris
3	*t avarti*	tu avertis	8	*t ecydi*	tu étudies
4	*t avɛ*	tu avais	9	*t em*	tu aimes
5	*t aʒi*	tu agis	10	*t u:v*	tu ouvres

tə is object case before consonants, *t* before vowels, so too with the plural forms *vu* and *vuz*.

3. *i* = Fr. *il* before consonants and vowels. (The loss of *l* is explained in the Phonology p. 91, no. 6.) *j* also sometimes before vowels.

1	*i apøl*	il appelle	4	*i* ⌣ *tɔ̃:be, tɑ̃:be*	il a tombé
2	*i aʒøt, aʒɛt*	il achète	5	*i dɑ̃:s*	il dance
3	*i* ⌣ *kɔ̃:sarve*	il a conservé	6	*i ku:r*	ils courent

Cf. also Nisard (p. 260) for popular rural pronunciation about Paris which is identical for the singular (Paris rural plural for *ils* being *il*). Also XVIth century usage for the singular, the plural *ils* having various pronunciations, see Thurot, II, p. 140; p. 78 *et seq.* The Quebec forms for nos. 1 and 2 are: *apɛl, aʒɛt.*

4. *a*[5] and *al* = Fr. *elle* (cf. Phonology p. 21, 4.; also p. 91, no. 1).[6] As remarked (p. 21) the pronoun *a* is not used in the oblique cases:

1	*al* ⌣ *dəmɑ̃:de*	elle a demandé	4	*a parlər*⌣	elle parlera
2	*al* ⌣ *kury*	elle a couru	5	*a plørər*⌣	elle pleurera
3	*al* ⌣ *travaje*	elle a travaillé	6	*a rir*⌣	elle rira

[1] "Un caractère spécial, c'est d'employer *je* à la première personne du pluriel," Jônain, p. 24. Cf. also in regard to this being an Acadian feature M. Pascal Poirier's observations: *Soirées canadiennes*, tome III, p. 63 *et seq.* Also Moisy in the Introduction, p. LXXIII. Also Jaubert, Introduction, p. XI.

[2] Cf. *t a kɔ̃:pri twa?* Beyer and Passy, § 34.

[3] *t* alone before vowels is characteristic of the popular rural French pronunciation heard about Paris. Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 48.

[4] See *Introduction*, p. 3.

[5] "Pour le sujet féminin de la troisième personne du singulier et du pluriel les paysans se servent de *al*, ou simplement *a*," Agnel, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50. True for the singular as regards Carleton usage. Thurot quotes from Bérain (1675) *alle est, a n'est pas*, tome I, p. 22.

[6] Cf. Beyer and Passy's note under § 92 and the example *a vuz ɑ̃:tɑ̃* = Fr. *elle vous entend.*

a, alle are also XVIth century forms, Thurot, I, p. 22.

5. *ji*[1] before consonants, *j* before vowels, *ɟɥi*, (*ɟi*)[2] (not common in the dialect but heard sometimes instead of *ji*) = Fr. *lui*. For the palatalisation of Fr. *l*, see Phonology, p. 89, no. 3 and foot-note 1. A form *zi* is heard in imperatives (analogy of French forms like *donnes-y*).

1 *i ɔ̃ dǝne* 2 *i j ɔ̃ dǝne* 3 *i j ɔ̃ parle* 4 *i j ɔ̃ pardone* 5 *i*
ils ont donné ils lui ont donné ils lui ont parlé ils lui ont pardonné ils

j ɔ̃ defɑ̃·dy; i ji dǝn 6 *dǝn zi pᴗ* 7 *mǝmɑ̃ fɛ dmɑ̃·de si vu ɟɥi prɛtǝre vɔt*
lui ont defendu il lui donne donne lui pas maman fait demander si vous lui preterez votre

bᴗ:j pur lave sɔ̃ bytɛ̃
baille pour laver son butin (linge)

lǝ, l; *la, l* = Fr. *le, l'*; *la, l'* are used respectively just as are the corresponding French forms.

6. *lø*[3] or *jø*[1] = Fr. *leur* before consonants and *løz* or *jøz* = Fr. *leur* before vowels. The pronunciation *ø* = Fr. *eur* has been commented upon (Phonology, p. 95). In this particular case there may be influence of the dialect *ieux* given by Jaubert and = Fr. *eux* being used for Fr. *leur*; thus: *I n'ieux refuse ren* (Fr. *il ne leur refuse rien*). This would still be influence of *ø* endings. Cf. Phonology, p. 89, no. 5, for palatalisation of *l*.

1 *ʒ løz e di* or *ʒ jøz e di* 2 *ʒ lø defɛ̃* or *ʒ jøz defɛ̃* 3 *ʒ løz e*
je leur ai dit je leur ai dit je leur défends je leur défends je leur ai

ede or *ʒ jøz e ede* 4 *ty løz ᴗ dǝne* or *ty jøz ᴗ dǝne* 5 *i løz ᴗ tut o·te*
aidé je leur ai aidé tu leur as donné tu leur as donné ils leur a tout oté

or *i jøz ᴗ tut o·te* 6 *ɔ̃ løz ᴗ bɛ̃ rǝkɔmɑ̃·de* or *ɔ̃ jøz ᴗ bɛ̃ rǝkɔmɑ̃·de* in both
ils leur a tout oté on leur a bien recommandé on leur a bien recommandé

cases meaning *nous leur avons bien recommandé* 7 *vu løz* (or *jøz*) *ave trɔ repete*
vous leur avez trop répété

7. *le* and *lez* = Fr. *les* are used, *le* before consonants and *lez* before vowels, precisely as conjunctive Fr. *les* is used. *le* = modern Fr. *le* and *les* in the imperative after the verb:

1	*dǝn*[4] *le*	donne-le	3	*kɔrize le*	corrigez-les
2	*flat le*	flatte-le	4	*kɔ̃·fɛs le*	confesse-le

[1] "Les paysans emploient pour régime indirect des verbes *y* et *yeu* ou *leu* au lieu de *lui* et *leur*," Agnel, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[2] See *Phonology*, p. 83, no. 6.

[3] Cf. Legendre: "*Leur* fait aussi *leu, leus*: *j' leu dirai, je leus ai parlé*," *La langue française*, p. 51.

[4] The forms in use about Quebec for Fr. *donne* are *dɔne, dɛne, dœne*. Perhaps this latter form should also be noted for Carleton; cf. p. 41, foot-note 4.

5	*kɔ̃·strɥi le*	construis-le	7	*ty le*	tue-les
6	*pɔrt le*	porte-les			

This was quite common in XVIth century French. Thurot, I, pp. 207-8: *lisez lé, faites l'.*

Remark 1. Fr. *le lui* (it to him, to her) is merely expressed in the dialect by *ji* or *j*, thus: 1 *i vo pᴗ ji di:r tut* = il veut pas lui dire tout, I was told meant *il ne veut pas le lui dire tout*; 2 *dit jo* = dites leur, meaning *dites le leur*; 3 *vᴗ t i ji dɔne* = va-t-il lui donner, meaning *va-t-il le lui donner*. The schoolmistress added that in such French phrases there was no exact equivalent in the dialect for *le lui*. This usage is similar to that in old French *li* = modern *le lui*: *L escut li fraint, cuntre le coer li quasset*, l. 3448 *Chanson de Roland*, Müller's edition. Again: *Desur la teste li ad frait e fendut*, line 3604, *ibidem*.

8. *i* = Fr. *ils, elles,* before both consonants and vowels. The form given by Beyer and Passy *iz* (§ 90) as popular before vowels, or that spelled by M. Legendre *is'* (*is' ont marché*), p. 51, *La langue française,* in Canadian-French use, is not in use in the Carleton dialect:

1 *i aftrɔ̃* ils achetront — 2 *i ɔ̃ truve l ivɛ:r rʌf* ils ont trouvé l'hiver "rough" — 3 *i ɔ̃ kɔ̃·sarve lø nɔ̃* ils ont conservé leur nom — 4 *i* ils

bwɛ:v boivent — 5 *i fɑ̃:t bɛ̃* ils chantent bien — 6 *i ɔ̃ sɔme lø bjɛ̃* ils ont semé leur bien — 7 *se pɔm sɔ̃ my:r; i sɔ̃ bɔn* ces pommes sont mûres; elles sont bonnes

8 *se fɑ̃:b sɔ̃ pɛ̃·tyre; i sɔ̃ prɔp*
ces chambres sont peinturées; elles sont propres

Remark 2. In interrogative or exclamatory sentences a *t* is heard between the verb-ending and the pronoun *i* corresponding to the same feature in modern French:

1 *parl t i a vu?* parle-t-il à vous — 2 *vᴗ t i s amyze?* va-t-il s'amuser — 3 *i ᴗ t i de marɛ̃·gwɛ̃ a swɛ:r?* y a-t-il des maringouins à soir — 4 *s ɛt i bɔ̃?* c'est-il bon

The *t* in Fr. *a-t-il*, M. G. Paris clearly proves,[1] is due neither as was long thought to euphony nor to etymology, but to analogy. The same is true of Fr. *voilà-t-il*; one said *chante-t-il*[2] because one said *boit-il, dort-il, court-il, est-il, reçoit-il.* In the Norman dialect, the *l* of the pronoun *il* not being pronounced in such cases as these last, the *ti* came to be regarded, instead of merely the *i*, as the pronoun of the third person; and the dialect went still farther forgetting the personal value of the particle to see in it merely a sign of interrogation. Then it came to be used in the first person as well as the third, thus *j'iré-ti? j' l'ém'-ti?*[3] This, too, is Carleton dialect usage as the following examples will show:

1 *ʃ sy ti a tɛ̃?* je suis ti à temps — 2 *ʒ e ti lə viza:ʒ sal?* j'ai ti le visage sal — 3 *a vᴗ ti mekri:r?* elle va ti m'écrire

Cf. also *ʃ-syi ti a sɛ̃ ʒɛrmɛ̃ isi* (Beyer and Passy, § 166).
je suis ti à Saint-Germain ici

[1] *Romania*, VI, 1877, pp. 438-42.

[2] Cf. Thurot's quotation from Péletier (1549). tome II, p. 141: *dîne ti? ira ti?*

[3] *Romania*, VI, p. 133, Joret, *L'n signe d'interrogation dans un patois français.* This interesting subject of inserted sounds, as regards Canadian-French usage, is adequately treated, with numerous examples, in Professor Rivard's article: *L'hiatus dans notre langage populaire, Bull. du p. f. au Canada*, I, pp. 81-85.

Note. In Quebec I noted a *t* in affirmative sentences, resulting from analogy of the many cases where a *t* is linked in French:

1 *ʃ sy t an fam*	2 *ʒ mə sy t aparsy*	3 *ʃ sy t ɛ̃ˑdepɑ̃ˑdɛ̃*[1]	4 *ʒ e t ɛ̃ gro rym*
je suis t une femme	je me suis t aperçu	je suis t indépendent	j'ai t un gros rhume

5 *ʒ mə sy t ɑ̃ˑnɥije*
je me suis t ennuyé

This is not Carleton usage nor is the use of the auxiliary *être* in such expressions current in Carleton. According to the testimony of De Bèze (1584) and of Van der Aa (1622)[2] such an usage existed for a long time in the provinces; thus before a word beginning with a vowel, the verb (*il*) *a* was pronounced (*il*) *at*; and *va, vat,* hence the expressions which are criticised *il va t à l'église* and *il a t un habit neuf.* See also § LIII, for *ti* interrogative particle, Note.

9. Another intercalation for which parallels are offered in dialect French is that of *l* after a vowel and before another *l*:

1 *ɔ̃ l l emɛ buku*	2 *ɔ̃ l l arɑ̃ʒ*	3 *ɔ̃ l l avɛ ry*
on l' l'aimait beaucoup	on l' l'arrange	on l' l'avait vu

M. Charles Joret, commenting upon *non'* and *on* in Norman French[3] gives on to say that *l* develops precisely in the same way and under the same conditions, that is before *l* followed by a mute *e* which is elided: *nol' l' dit* = Fr. *on le dit.* M. Legendre also mentions this trait,[4] giving as examples *on l' l'aimait, on l' louangeait.* The Canadian usage of intercalating an *l* before a simple verb beginning with a vowel can also be heard: *ɔ̃ l avæ* = on l'avait, meaning *on avait.*[5] Thurot quotes Hindret (1687),[6] who finds fault with those, who pronounce two *l*'s in *le* and *la* when they are put with an apostrophy, before verbs which begin with a vowel; and who instead of saying *je l'ai veüe, tu l'auras, nous l'atraperons bien* say *jellai veue, tul lauras, noul latraperons bien.* Thus the Carleton dialect has something analogous in the above examples. My notes say commoner in the Canadian districts than in the Acadian.

10. *sə* and *s* = *se, s* in French and used just as they are tho rarely, if at all, in the uneducated popular language with the verb *ɛt* = Fr. *être.*[7]

1 *i sə lœːv*[8]	2 *i sə bat*	3 *i s ◡ fɛ mal*	4 *i s ◡ kʊ̯ːse l brʊ̯*
il se lève	ils se battent	il s'a fait mal	il s'a cassé le bras

[1] Quebec, *ɛ̃ˑdepɑ̃ˑdɑ̃.*

[2] Thurot, II, p. 241.

[3] *Romania,* VIII, 1879, p. 102.

[4] *Mémoires de la société royale,* V, 1887, p. 136 (under verbs). As is well known, quite frequent in ordinary familiar French: *ɔ̃ ll aplɛ beːta* = Fr. on l'appelait Béta, *Les sons,* 6th ed., p. 141, 3d line.

[5] *Ibidem,* cf. M. Legendre's examples.

[6] Tome II, p. 382.

[7] This statement would not be true for Canadian French according to M. Legendre who says: "On entend cependant dire, mais bien rarement, *j' m'ai fait battre, ils s'ont fait gronder*" etc., *Mémoires de la société royale,* V, 1887, p. 137.

[8] The Quebec form for the verb in the first sentence is *lœːv.*

§ XLVII. Strong or emphatic forms of the personal pronoun.

	1		2		3	
N.	*mwa*[1]	moi	*twa*[1]	toi	*lɥi*	lui
D.	*mwa*	moi	*twa*	toi	*lɥi*	lui
A.	*mwa*	moi	*twa*	toi	*lɥi*	le, lui
N.	*nu, nuz*	nous	*vu, vuz*	vous	*ø, øz*	eux
D. A.	*nu, nuz*	nous	*vu, vuz*	vous	*ø, øz*	eux

	4		5	
N.	*ɛl, al*[2]	elle	*swa*[1]	soi
D.	*ɛl, al, jal*	elle	*swa*	soi
A.	*ɛl, al, jal*	elle	*swa*	soi
N.	*ɛl, al*[2]	elles	*swa*	soi
D. A.	*ɛl, al, jal*	elles	*swa*	soi

Note. The forms *mwaz* and *twaz* are heard before the preposition *ã* = Fr. *en*:

1 *dɔn mwaz ã* 2 *ramɔ̃s twaz ã*
donne moi en ramasse toi en

analogy of French forms like *offres en*; cf. *dɔn zi pɔ̃*, p. 117, 5.

1. These forms are used just as their French equivalents are, that is alone or at the end of a phrase. In regard to the pronouns in general, that is the weak and the strong forms, the usage is the modern French as will be seen by the examples below, save that in the imperative negative the pronouns regularly are used after the verb, just as when the phrase is affirmative, this analogy prevailing thruout affirmatively and negatively in the dialect. Also it is far more usual, it may be even said it is the rule to add to the strong forms *nuz, vuz, øz* the word *o·t* = Fr. *autres*. This, too, is Canadian-French as M. Legendre records[3] it, comparing with it the Italian *noi altri, voi altri* etc.

2. When the preposition *fø*[1] = Fr. *chez* is used, the dialect form *fø zø* answers to the French forms *chez lui, chez elle, chez eux* and *chez elles*. This form because of its frequency usurping the place of the others. When *fø* is used before one of the strong forms, *o·t* = Fr. *autres* is then in those cases not appended.

3. Examples of the pronouns (both weak and strong forms).

1 *s ɛ mwa ki ji dɔn* 2 *s ɛ twa ki s ã vɔ̃* 3 *s ɛ pur lɥi sol* 4 *i ɛ ʒamɛ*
c'est moi qui lui donne c'est toi qui s'en va c'est pour lui seul il est jamais

[1] Undoubtedly in the forms for Fr. *moi, toi, soi, a* can be heard as well as *a*; cf. p. 59, 3 and 4; also p. 10, foot-note 4; p. 14, list 6. The forms about Quebec are *mwe, twe, swe*.

[2] See p. 21, 4 and foot-note 7 on the same page.

[3] *La langue française*, p. 51, edition of 1890.

[4] For other forms of *fø* see list of prepositions, § LX.

føz ø meaning *chez lui* 5 *al ⌣ parti føz ø* meaning *chez elle* 6 *pur swa mɛːm*
chez eux elle a parti chez eux pour soi-même

7 *s ɛ a jal kə ʒ parl* 8 *s ɛ pur al*[1]
c'est à elle que je parle c'est pour elle

The *j* in *jal* seems to arise from a desire to emphasize as well as to avoid hiatus (cf. p. 113, foot-note 3). In certain cases between vowels a *j* can often be heard as in Fr. *cruel* = *krɥjɛl*, but this feature in *jal* appears more like the pronunciation *fleho* = Fr. *fleau*, where the *h* does arise thru a desire to gain force.[2]

9 *s ɛ a vuz oːt kə ʒ parl* 10 *kurɔ̃ dɔ̃ nuz oːt* 11 *sɛ frɥi*[3] *srɔ̃ pur øz oːt*
c'est à vous autres que je parle courons donc nous autres ces fruits seront pour eux autres

12 *tɛze vu dɔ̃ vuz oːt* 13 *i ɔ̃ tu*[4] *mɑ̃ːxe øz oːt*
taisez-vous donc vous autres ils ont tout mangé eux autres

An expression which *nuz oːt, vuz oːt, øz oːt* calls to mind, but more curious, is that of *nu dø, vu dø, ø dø* = Fr. *nous deux, vous deux, eux deux*:[5]

14 *pɔl, ale dɔ̃ farfe le bø, vu dø farl* 15 *nuz avɔ̃ fɛ lə lavaːʒ nu dø lysi*
Paul, allez donc chercher les bœufs, vous deux Charles nous avons fait le lavage nous deux Lucie

16 *rɛste a la mɛzɔ̃ vu dø lwiːz* (somebody else besides Louise is addressed) 17 *alɔ̃z*
restez à la maison vous deux Louise allons

ø frɛːz nu dø mari 18 *i sə fɛz bat ø dø lwi* 19 *vɔ ⌣ t i pɔ ⌣ tə diːr pur-*
aux fraises nous deux Marie ils se (font) battre eux deux Louis va-t-il pas te dire pour-

kwas ci ⌣ pɔ ⌣ mny[6]
quoi est-ce qu'il a pas venu

4. It will have been noticed already how frequent the linking, or rather insertion, of a *z* which is not standard French usage, as in dialect *mwaz ɑ̃, twaz ɑ̃, don zi* = Fr. *moi en, toi en, donne lui* occurs. *t* also is heard similarly in the dialect sometimes where not in standard French, but not as often as *z*. It is rare that other final consonants than *z* and *t* are used in this way, and where French modern usage in many cases links over its final consonant on to the next word, no such correspondence occurs in the dialect. Under *Liaisons*,[7] Passy states that the trend of

[1] About Quebec *al* in this position is not so used.

[2] Passy, *Étude*, § 529.

[3] Again *ɥi* here in *frɥi* = Fr. *ui* instead of *y* = Fr. *ui* as in *f sy* = Fr. je suis; *ryso* = Fr. ruisseau.

[4] The *t* in Fr. *tout* may be heard sometimes where it is not in standard French, see p. 73, 5.

[5] This looks like provincial French, but I do not happen to find it among the dialect literature of the French provinces. M. Legendre mentions this usage and gives examples of it: *La langue française*, p. 52, edition of 1890. Professor Rivard adds: "Assez souvent ici: *nu dø*; cela veut dire (cf. la phrase no. 14): nous deux, Charles (et moi)."

[6] For *mny* see p. 100, no. 2, top of page. In a phrase like this where several variations from standard French occur, for example the omission of Fr. *ne*, the form *purkwas*, the use of *avoir* with neuter verb in ⌣ *pɔ ⌣ mny*, an effort has been made to give attention to the feature in its proper place.

[7] *Les sons*, p. 117 of 3d edition; p. 129 of 6th edition.

the language being in favor of open syllables, the result has been to cause to disappear a great many final consonants which used to be pronounced. In standard French the letters most frequently linked are *s* (linked as *z*) and *t*, hence they offer more attraction for analogy to work on than other letters do, the effect of which is seen in *les cuirs et les velours*. Passy goes on to say that linking takes place far less frequently in popular parlance than in the literary style. The term "linking" can not well be applied to the dialect which is here transcribed phonetically, but the sounds known as such in French, with the exception of *z* and *t*, are in the dialect rarely heard. In simple language like that of the dialect, this is but natural and what one might expect. The following few examples of pronouns further illustrate the dialect usage as compared with French in this regard.

1 *i mə l dœn p◡* 2 *õ tə l dœn p◡* 3 *derãːʒe vu dõ p◡*, the affirmative order,
il me le donne pas on te le donne pas dérangez-vous donc pas

as stated p. 120, 1, prevailing 4 *prãːz ã p◡* 5 *pœrnez ã p◡* 6 *dit jœz ã*
prends en pas prenez en pas dites leur en

p◡ ɶ̃ mo 7 *depɛːʃ twa dõ p◡ tã* 8 *fɛt ji p◡ tu diːr s◡* 9 *v◡ t ã p◡ a st œːr*
pas un mot dépêche toi donc pas tant faites lui pas tout dire ça va-t-en pas à cette heure

Possessives.

(Two forms.)

§ XLVIII. 1°. Weak forms.[1]

	1		2		3	
m.	*mõ(n)*	mon	*tõ(n)*	ton	*sõ(n)*	son
f.	*ma (mõn)*	ma, mon	*ta (tõn)*	ta, ton	*sa (sõn)*	sa, son
m. f.	*nɔt*	notre	*vɔt*	votre	*lø, løz*	leur
	4		5		6	
m.	*me, mez*	mes	*te, tez*	tes	*se, sez*	ses
f.	*me, mez*	mes	*te, tez*	tes	*se, sez*	ses
m. f.	*no, noz*	nos	*vo, voz*	vos	*lø, løz*	leurs

These forms are used precisely as their almost identical equivalents in French, i. e. with a substantive, and seem to call for no comment otherwise. *lø* — Fr. *leur* has simply followed the majority of the Fr. *eur* termination which as a rule, as already pointed out (Phonology, p. 95), has no *r* in the dialect.

1 *me bɔt* 2 *te pwɛːr* 3 *sez ɛ̃fɛ̃* 4 *lø ʒvo ɛ retif* 5 *lø parɛ̃ etɛ p◡*
mes bottes tes poires ses enfants leur cheval est rétif leurs parents étaient pas

[1] In calling these forms which modern grammars term possessive adjectives, weak forms of the possessive pronouns, I have merely followed Paris, Schwan, and Beyer and Passy.

kɔ̃tɛ̃ 6 *loz ɛ̃fɛ̃ sɔ̃ pᴗ ɔbejisɛ̃* 7 *s e sᴗ mɔ̃n ami, t ᴗ k a wɛːr* meaning *tu*
contents leurs enfants sont pas obéissants c'est ça, mon ami, tu as qu'à voir

n'as qu'à voir.

2°. Strong forms.[1]

	1		2		3	
m.	*l(ə) mjɛ̃*	le mien	*l(ə) cɛ̃*[2]	le tien	*l(ə) sjɛ̃*	le sien
f.	*la mjɛn*	la mienne	*la cɛn*[2]	la tienne	*la sjɛn*	la sienne
	4		5		6	
m.	*l(ə) noːt*	le nôtre	*l(ə) voːt*	le vôtre	*l(ə) lø*	le leur
f.	*la not*	la nôtre	*la vot*	la vôtre	*la lø*	la leur

The usage here, as with the unaccented forms above, is identical with that of French usage, these pronouns being always used alone, (without a substantive):

1 *gard la cɛn* 2 *dɔn nu la noːt* 3 *i ɔ̃ fɑ̃ʒe lə lø avɛk lə voːt*
garde la tienne donne nous la nôtre ils ont changé le leur avec le vôtre

Demonstratives.

§ XLIX. 1°. Weak forms.

m.	*sə, s, s(ə)t, stə*	ce, cet	*se, sez*	ces
f.	*st, stə*	cette	*se, sez*	ces

1°. The *ə* of *sə* is elided regularly before an *ə* in the next syllable as stated p. 115, 1. All of these forms can be heard in popular French.[3] The one most commonly used before consonants regardless of gender is *stə* of which Moisy says:[4] "Quand le mot qui suit l'adjectif a pour initiale une voyelle ou une *h*, on dit *ste* du bas-lat. mérovingien *ste*, substitué à *iste*: *st' effant, st' homme*." Also he goes on to say: "*ste* s'emploie aussi bien au masc. sing. pour *cet* qu'au fem. sing. pour *cette*. Dans ce dernier cas, le mot se rattache au bas-lat. *sta* dit pour *ista*, et il est usité devant tous les substantifs féminins, sans distinction entre ceux qui ont pour initiale une voyelle et ceux commençant par une consonne." Inasmuch as L. *iste, ista* are not retained in French except in composition, these statements can hardly be correct, e. g. L. *ecce istam*, hence *icest, cest, cet*. *ce* (before consonants where final *t* was lost)

[1] Cf. Agnel who says: "Les paysans prononcent *nôt, vôt* pour *nôtre, vôtre*; ils disent *l' mien, l' quin, la quienne* pour *le mien, le tien, la tienne*," *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 51. About Quebec one hears besides *l(ə) noːt* and *l(ə) voːt*, the forms *l(ə) nɔt* and *l(ə) vɔt*.

[2] For the change *kj* = Fr. *ti* + vowel, see the Phonology pp. 86 *et seq.*

[3] Cf. the forms given by Beyer and Passy, § 101.

[4] *Dictionnaire du patois normand*, p. LXIX.

Fr. *cette* is from L. *eccistam*. The plural forms, just as the identical French equivalents, come from L. *eccistos, eccistas*. The usage is identical with French usage:

1 *z dədɑ̃* 2 *z dəgre* 3 *z dɔ:r* 4 *s məlɔ̃* 5 *sə delɔʒmɛ̃* 6 *sə dmi* 7 *sə*
ce dedans ce degré ce dehors ce melon ce délogement ce demi ce

ʃmɛ̃ 8 *sə ʒro* 9 *st ɔm* 10 *st afɛ:r* 11 *st ɛ̃·fɛ̃* 12 *stə bu̯·ri* 13 *stə tab*
chemin ce cheval cet homme cette affaire cet enfant ce baril cette table

14 *se mɛzɔ̃* 15 *sez ɛ̃·fɛ̃*
ces maisons ces enfants

Thus *sə, s* are used before consonants, *s(ə)t, st* before vowels, and *stə* before consonants regardless of gender:

16 *stə bɑ̃ lu̯ ɛ trɔ bu̯* 17 *stə bu̯·ri lu̯ ɛ vid* 18 *stə parsɔn lu̯ rezɔn bɛ̃*
ce banc là est trop bas ce baril là est vide ce personne là raisonne bien

19 *pɔrte stə tab lu̯ dɑ̃ la kyzin* 20 *lez ɛ̃·fɛ̃ də st ekɔl lu̯ sɔ̃ pɔli* 21 *st*
portez cette table là dans la cuisine les enfants de cette école là sont polis cet

ɛ̃·fɛ̃ lu̯ ɛ trɔ parɛsø 22 *vide st ɑ̃·krije*
enfant là est trop paresseux videz cet encrier

Just as in French where *ci* and *là* are used very often after the noun before which either *ce, cet, cette* or *ces* stand to make more specific what is indicated, so in the dialect *sit*[1] or *sɪt* = Fr. *ci*, and *lu̯* = Fr. *là* are correspondingly in use:

23 *stə fɛ̃m sɪt* 24 *sez ɛ̃·fɑ̃ lu̯*
cette femme ci ces enfants là

The Fr. *ce sont* is always rendered by *s ɛ* = Fr. *c'est*, which is identical with popular French usage. Both XVIIth century as well as standard modern French employ well authorized *c'est eux* or *ce sont eux*, but the dialect retains merely the equivalent of the former.

2°. Strong forms.

Masculine		Feminine		Indefinite	
stəlɥi	celui	*søl*	celle	*sə, s*	ce, c'
stəlɥisit (*ɪt*)	celui-ci	*stølsit* (*sølsit*) (*ɪt*)	celle-ci	*su̯*	ça
stəlɥilu̯	celui-là	*stølu̯* (*sølu̯*)	celle-là	(*si*)	(ci)

Masc. plural		Fem. plural	
sø:z	ceux	*sø:z*	used for celles
sø:z sɪt	ceux-ci	*sø:z sɪt*	celles-ci
sø:z lu̯	ceux-là	*sø:z lu̯*	celles-là

[1] *isit* (*isɪt*) = Fr. *ici* is commented on in the Phonology, p. 74, 8. In phrase no. 14, about Quebec, *s mezɔ̃* can be heard for *cette maison*.

1. Examples and comment.

1 *stəlɥi ci fɑ̃:t* 2 *stəlɥi ci vo mni:r* 3 *ʒ prɑ̃drə stəlɥisɪt* 4 *stəlɥisɪt ɛ po bɔ̃*
celui qui chante celui qui va venir je prendrai celui-ci celui-ci est pas bon

Moisy, speaking of the Norman *stici* = Fr. *celui-ci*, says: "de *iste hic*."[1] The Carleton dialect *stəlɥi* is not from any vulgar Latin, for if so there ought to be an old French *stelui*; dialect *stə* (see above § XLIX, 1⁰) instead of *sə* even before consonants, has just been noted, *stə* tending to replace *sə* as adjective; hence the same thing here: *stə* replaces entirely *sə* in *celui* = *s(t)əlɥi*, tho *celui* is not a compound of *ce* and *lui* but is the object case; cf. *cel* = *ecce illum*, *celui* = *ecc' illui* in Vulgar Latin. Another remark of Moisy about Norman *stici* = Fr. *celui-ci*, which may apply here, is the following: "Le second mot entrant dans la composition de *stici* n'est pas l'adverbe *ci*, qui sert à former le pronom français *celui-ci*. *stici* est dit pour *ste ici*; nous verrons, en effet, plus bas, sous le titre 'adverbes de lieu', que *ici* est substitué en patois à *ci*." The H. D. T. *Dictionnaire* under *ci* (adv.) says (Etym.): "Abréviation par aphérèse de *ici*: *ceux-ci*" etc. Moisy gives as derivation of the Norman forms *ichin, icin, ichite, icite* (= Fr. *ici*) L. *ecce hic*, which is the origin of Fr. *ici*.

5 *stəlɥi lo travɑ:j po* 6 *stəlɥi lo m afal* 7 *sœl ci rəgard* 8 *sœl ci ɛ tanɑ̃:t*
celui-là travaille pas celui-là m'achale (m'importune) celle qui regarde celle qui est tannante

The *œ* in *sœl* = Fr. *è* (written *e* before *l* and *r*) is merely a case of rounding due to the *l*; cf. *apœl* = Fr. appelle, *ʒœl* = Fr. gèle.

9 *ʒ ɛm mjø stœlsɪt kə stœlo*
j'aime mieux celle-ci que celle-là

The first *t* in *stœlsɪt* is the same one as already explained in treating the adjective *stə*, § XLIX, 1⁰ and 2⁰ under *stəlɥi*.

sœz used before consonants and vowels corresponds to Fr. *ceux* and *celles*:

10 *sø:z gə vu m ave dœne* 11 *sø:z sɪt sɔ̃ plɥ grɑ̃ kə sø:z lo* (in speaking of horses)
ceux que vous m'avez donné ceux-ci sont plus grands que ceux-là

The *z* is here retained on the analogy of the many forms where it is heard before a vowel as in *fø zø* = Fr. chez eux, *løz ɛ̃fɛ̃* = Fr. leurs enfants, *øz o't* = Fr. eux autres.

sə and *s* = Fr. *ce* and *c'* are used as in French:

12 *sɛ sə ci ɛ vrɛ* 13 *so vo pa*
c'est ce qui est vrai ça va pas

so = Fr. *ça* or *cela*, the *l* just as in the Fr. form *ça* having become entirely vocalized. Beyer and Passy write: *s(əl)a*[2] which almost pictures in itself the phonetic change. A form corresponding to Fr. *ceci* I did not hear, *so* having apparently displaced the

[1] P. LXXVII of the *Dictionnaire*; cf. also the remark quoted, referred to in foot-note 4, p. 122.

[2] *Das gesprochene Französisch*, § 105.

form, certainly if it exists, to a great extent. However, *ci* the French abbreviated form for *ceci* is heard in the expression *kɔm si kɔm sɔ̃* — Fr. comme-ci comme-ça.

2. Canadian forms.[1] From a comparison of French dialects it is seen that they are rich in forms for the demonstrative pronouns. In this connection it is of interest to give for comparison the Canadian forms I noted at the Falls of Montmorency.

Masculine		Feminine		Indefinite	
ləsɥi, sɥi[2]	celui	*lasɛl*[3]	celle-là	*sə, s*	ce, c'
sɥisi(t), stisɪt	celui-ci	*stɛlsi, stɛl(i)sɪt*	celle-ci	*sɔ̃*	ça
sɥilɔ̃, stilɔ̃	celui-là	*stɛllɔ̃*	celle-là		

Masc. plural		Fem. plural	
sø:z	ceux	*sø:z* (for)	celles
søzisɪt, søzsi	ceux-ci	*søzisɪt, søzsi*	celles-ci
søzlɔ̃	ceux-là	*søzlɔ̃*	celles-là

In dialect *ləsɥi* the article Fr. *le* has become attached to the form *s(əl)ɥi* = Fr. *celui*:[4]

1 *ləsɥi ci ʒu* — celui qui joue
2 *ləsɥi ci kri* — celui qui crie
3 *sɥi ci vɔ̃ avɛk vu* — celui qui va avec vous
4 *sɥilɔ̃ ɔ̃ bɔn mɪn* — celui-là a bonne mine
5 *sɥi lɔ̃ dã:s bɛ̃* — celui-là danse bien

lasɛl is merely again the article placed before as in *ləsɥi*:

6 *lasɛl ci parl* — celle qui parle
7 *lasɛl ci ri* — celle qui rie

stɛlsi and *stɛl(i)sɪt*. The *t* in *stɛlsi* is to be explained precisely as the *t* of the Acadian forms *stəlɥi* etc., on p. 125:

8 *stɛlsi parɛ mjø* — celle-ci paraît mieux
9 *ʒ prefɛ:r stɛlisɪt* — je préfère celle-ci
10 *stɛllɔ̃ ʒu bɛ̃ dy pjano* — celle-là joue bien du piano
11 *søzisɪt* — ceux (for celles-ci)
sɔ̃ mwɛ̃ my:r — sont moins mûres
12 *də se pwɛ:r azte vu søzsi u søzlɔ̃?* — de ces poires achetez-vous celles-ci ou celles-là

The weak forms of these pronouns are identical with the Carleton forms.

[1] Cf. Legendre, *La langue française*, p. 52; for weak forms p. 50.

[2] Like the preceding *lasɛl*, *sɥi*, is popular rural French heard about Paris, see Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 113. Beyer and Passy give also *sɥisi* and *sɥila*, p. 130 of *Das gesprochene Französisch*.

[3] A popular form heard in the rural districts about Paris, see Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 276.

[4] Beyer and Passy write *s(əl)ɥi* which well shows the vocalisation of *l*, *Das gesprochene Französisch*, § 102.

Interrogatives.

§ L. 1°. Weak forms: *cəl*[1] = Fr. *quel* and *quelle*; *cəl, cəlz* = Fr. *quels, quelles*. In cases like Fr. que voulez-vous, *kwas* (= Fr. quoi est-ce) is regularly substituted for *que*: *kwas kə sɛ* = Fr. quoi est-ce que c'est, for qu'est-ce que c'est. *ə* in *cəl* = Fr. *è*, cf. *səl* = Fr. *cel*, p. 125, 1, nos. 7, 8.

1 *cəlz ɔm?* 2 *cəl tɛ̃?* 3 *cəl ɛ l ʒuːr d la smɛn?*
quels hommes quel temps quel est le jour de la semaine

2°. Strong forms.

Masculine		Feminine	
ki, ci	qui	*ki*	qui
l(ə)cəl (*kə*,[2] *ki*)	lequel	*lacəl* (*kə*,[2] *ki, ci*)	laquelle
cəl (*kə, ki, ci*) (for)	lequel	*cəl* (*kə, ki, ci*) (for)	laquelle
cəl	quel	*cəl*	quelle

Masc. plural		Fem. plural		Indefinite	
lecəl	lesquels	*lecəl* (*kə, ki*)	lesquelles	*kwas*	quoi-est-ce used for qu'est-ce

The forms *l(ə)cəl, lacəl* and *lecəl* followed by *ki, ci*, or *kə* are heard,[3] but otherwise they are not popular. *ci* represents the pronunciation of the more uneducated; *ki, ci, kə* are apt to show the influence upon them of a following voiced consonant as seen in the examples:

1 *ci ɛ l◡?* 2 *ci ave vu vy?* 3 *ləcəl kə ty vø?* (for lequel veux-tu) 4 *lacəl*
qui est là qui avez-vous vu lequel que tu veux laquelle

cə ty prɛ̃? 5 *lecəl ci ɔ̃ mny?* 6 *cəl kə t ◡ amɔne?* 7 *kwas gi vuz*
que tu prends lesquels qui ont venu quel que tu as amené quoi est ce qui vous

amyːz? 8 *kwas kə sɛ kə s◡?* 9 *kwas gə vu vule?* 10 *də kwas ci parl?*
amuse quoi est ce que c'est que ça quoi est ce que vous voulez de quoi est ce qu'il parle

Note. *cəl*[4] for Fr. *lequel, laquelle* is quite common at the Falls of Montmorency:

də se də pɛːf cəl vule vu? *wɛl◡ plyzjoːr ʃapo, cəl prɔne vu?*
de ces deux pêches quelle voulez-vous voilà plusieurs chapeaux quel prenez-vous

[1] Nisard spells for popular rural Parisian French *queul, Langage populaire*, p. 151.

[2] In such combinations *ɛs* = Fr. *est-ce* has for rapidity been left out: cf. Beyer and Passy's *u' dɔ̃-k t a mi mɔ̃' livːr?* and *d-u-k ty' vjɛ̃* (p. 160).

[3] Cf. Moisy's *qui qu'est venu* for Fr. *qui est venu*, p. LXXVIII of the *Dictionnaire*.

[4] Cf. Legendre's *quel voulez-vous? La langue française*, p. 52 (edition of 1890). As regards Canadian-French pronunciation of the forms above given, Professor Rivard notes: "Partout pour *ki* j'écrirais *ci*; aussi *cœl* et non *cəl*; *ə* dans ces cas est franco-acadien. Dans la phrase no. 7 on entend *kɯaki, kwaʃi* ou même *kɯski, kɯsei*: dans la phrase no. 9 *kwaskə* ou *kɯskə*." Cf. Beyer and Passy, p. 129: *s ɛ syig vu vwaje* = Fr. c'est celui que vous voyez.

That occasionally such forms can be heard in Carleton in place of *l(ə)cəl kə, lacəl kə* may be due to Canadian influence. Forms of interrogation exactly corresponding to Fr. *est-ce* and *est-ce que* are not in use: *s ɛ ti bõ?* for est-ce bon? *s ɛ ti bõ sᴗ?* for est-ce que cela est bon?
c'est-il bon c'est-il bon ça

Relatives.

§ LI. *ki, ci, k, c* (before vowels) = Fr. *qui*. *kə* = Fr. *que*. The usage is identical with that of French:

1 *s ɛ lɥi c ɛ mɛ:t* 2 *s ɛ lɥi c ɛ mõ zgretɛ:r* 3 *s ɛ*[1] *øz o't k õ krije*
c'est lui qui est maître c'est lui qui est mon secrétaire c'est eux autres qui ont crié

4 *s ɛ*[1] *øz o't k õ frape* 5 *l ɔm gə ʒ wa*
c'est eux autres qui ont frappé l'homme que je vois

There are no like forms in the dialect corresponding to Fr. *lequel, laquelle, lesquels* and *lesquelles*; neither is there an exact equivalent for Fr. *dont*, which would be rendered by *kə* = Fr. *que*:

6 *l afɛ:r gə ʒə vu parl* 7 *la maladi kə i ɛ mo:r* 8 *le ʒvo kə ty t ᴗ sarvi*
l'affaire que je vous parle la maladie que il est mort le cheval que tu t'as servi

Indefinite pronouns.

§ LI (A). Those used with *ne* in French take no form corresponding to *ne* in the dialect. As remarked, § LIII, 1°, under 6, even in French the *ne* seems to be wearing away. The indefinite pronouns, which I have recorded as popular, are the following:

1	*ki kə sɛ, ci kə sə*	(qui que ce soit)	6	*parsɔn*[3]	personne
2	*kokã̃*,[2] *kɛkã̃, cokã̃, cɛkã̃*	quelqu'un	7	*plyzjø:r*	plusieurs
3	*kog(ə)zã̃*,[2] *kɛg(ə)zã̃*	quelques-uns	8	*facã̃*	chacun
4	*õ*	on	9	*tu(t)*	tout
5	*pᴗ ã̃*	pas un	10	*rjɛ̃, jɛ̃*[4]	rien

Examples. 1 *kocã̃ m ᴗ di kə vuz etje mala:d* 2 *ave vu vy kogzã̃*
quelqu'un m'a dit que vous étiez malade avez-vous vu quelques-uns

d me parɛ̃? 3 *kwas k õ di?* 4 *parsɔn ᴗ parle d sᴗ* 5 *tut u rjɛ̃*
de mes parents quoi est-ce qu'on dit personne a parlé de ça tout ou rien

[1] For *sɛ* = Fr. *ce sont*, see p. 124, end of 1°.

[2] The forms heard about Quebec are *kɛcɛ̃, kecɛ̃, kœcɛ̃, køcɛ̃*. For vocalization of Fr. *l* see § XXXII, 5. Special cases, no. 4: *køk, køkə*.

[3] P. 20, list 11, no. 56.

[4] For the form *jɛ̃* see no. 4, p. 89.

The French expression *l'un l'autre* has no exact equivalent, the dialect expression being *tu le du* - Fr. tous les deux. The pronunciation *facã* is easily brought about; between palatal *k* and a front vowel, many popular dialects replace *k* by *c*.[1]

The spellings *kéque* and *kéeun* and similar ones are cited by Thurot, II, p. 263, for XVIth century popular pronunciations. This, too, is common in popular spoken French, as Beyer and Passy show by the forms given on p. 133, *Das gesprochene Französisch*. For *kœk* or *kɛk*, cf. § XLIV, end of 7.

The verb.

§ LII. Voice. The active and passive voices in the dialect correspond respectively to those in French.

Moods. The dialect has the same moods as has French, the indicative, subjunctive, imperative and infinitive.

Tenses. The tenses in the dialect and in French correspond precisely with the exception that there is regularly missing in the dialect the tense which exactly corresponds to the French preterit;[2] there is consequently no imperfect subjunctive.[3] A compound tense is heard a little different from anything in standard French, answering in sense to a French compound of the preterit: thus *ʒ e y y* or *ʒ e y jy* (j'ai eu eu).[4] The conjugation of neuter and pronominal verbs is, as a rule, with *awɛːr* = Fr. avoir.

Persons. This has necessarily been touched upon in treating the personal pronouns (§ XLVI, 1), the correspondence being identical or almost so, save that where French uses *nous* subjectively the dialect never does. Fr. *nous* in such cases is rendered by dialect *ɔ̃(n)*. This seems to be a decidedly Canadian feature rather

[1] Cf. Passy, *Étude*, § 407.

[2] This, indeed, is different from Canadian usage of which M. Legendre says: "Le passé défini est très souvent employé," p. 54. "Quand on se sert du passé défini de la première conjugaison, on la termine presque toujours en *is*: *j'aimis*," p. 55, *La langue française*. Such forms as *ʒ emi* = Fr. j'aimai, *ʒə kuri* = Fr. je courus, as well as infinitives ending in *i*, as in *afɛbli* = Fr. affaiblir, are common in the Acadian French of Cheticamp, C. B.; cf. my Paper no. II, *American-French dialect comparison* in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XIII, no. 5, May 1898, foot-note to p. 138, or p. 21 of the *reprint*, Baltimore, 1898. The preterit formation in *i* is still a living phenomenon in several of the French provinces, particularly in Maine; cf. *Bulletin du p. f. au C.*, t. III, p. 157.

[3] Not only is this feature, the loss of these two tenses, a trait of other French dialects like that of Blois (Talbert, p. 271) but characterizes popular spoken French, as Beyer and Passy show: Verbs, p. 135 *et seq.*; and is one of the many signs indicating the standard French and the dialect French to be one and the same, making the proper allowances on each side for variations since the XVIth century.

[4] Cf. M. Legendre's observations on the same feature in Canadian French, p. 54 of *La langue française*. I may mention that I have noticed this same peculiarity shown by an educated Frenchman, who had spent most of his life in Paris, when speaking in an ungarded moment, or in entirely unconscious utterance.

than Acadian, for in the other Acadians regions, which I have visited, more remote from French Canada, the regular form heard is *ʒə* or *ʒ* with the first person plural of the verb. In fact, this is a distinguishing feature of Acadian compared with Canadian French.[1]

Remark 1. In modern French, the *s* of (*tu*) *as*, the *t* of (*ils*) *ont*, and the *z* of (*vous*) *avez* are heard in linking. The dialect has no such sound before vowels, remaining just as before consonants, in which case the correspondence to French is exact. Cf. the remarks on linking: § XLVII, 4.

Note. Inasmuch as the preterit tense is wanting in the dialect, the usual scientific arrangement of the verb according to the radical has been abandoned and that, very nearly, of Beyer and Passy followed. This seems most practical here not only because of the simplicity of this arrangement in itself but because of the close similarity between the dialect verb and that of popular French. It seems best, too, just as Beyer and Passy have done, to give the auxiliary verbs at the outset, as their irregularities render them less easily subject to classification.

Remark 2. Agnel notes: "Le passé défini n'est pas usité dans le langage des paysans," *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 54.

§ LIII. 1°. Auxiliary *awɛːr* = Fr. avoir; pres. part. *ejã* = Fr. ayant; past part. *y, jy* = Fr. eu.

Present		Imperfect		Future	
ʒe, ɔe	j'ai	*ʒ avɛ*	j'avais	*ʒ are*	j'aurai
t ◡	tu as	*t avɛ*	tu avais	*t ar◡*	tu auras
i ◡	il a	*i avɛ*	il avait	*i ar◡*	il aura
al ◡	elle a	*al avɛ*	elle avait	*al ar◡*	elle aura
ɔ̃n ◡	on a	*ɔ̃n avɛ*	on avait	*ɔ̃n ar◡*	on aura
vuz ave	vous avez	*vuz arje*	vous aviez	*vuz are*	vous aurez
i ɔ̃	ils ont	*i avɛ*	ils avaient	*i arɔ̃*	ils auront
i ɔ̃	elles ont	*i avɛ*	elles avaient	*i arɔ̃*	elles auront

Conditional		Subjunctive		Imperative	
ʒ arɛ	j'aurais	*kə ʒ eːj(ə)*	que j'aie	*e*	aie
t arɛ	tu aurais	*kə t eːj(ə)*	que tu aies	*eːjɔ̃*	ayons
i arɛ	il aurait	*c i eːj(ə)*	qu'il ait	*ɛje*	ayez
al arɛ	elle aurait	*k al eːj(ə)*	qu'elle ait		
ɔ̃n arɛ	on aurait	*k ɔ̃n eːj(ə)*	qu'on ait		
vuz arje	vous auriez	*kə vuz eːje*	que vous ayez		
i arɛ	ils auraient	*c i eːj(ə)*	qu'ils aient		
i arɛ	elles auraient	*c i eːj(ə)*	qu'elles aient		

1. All the compound tenses of this verb are formed as in French by simply adding on the past participle *y* = Fr. *eu*, thus: *ʒ e y, ʒ avɛ y, ʒ are y*, etc. Old

[1] M. Pascal Poirier says almost as much: ". . . l'emploi du pronom indéfini *on* pour Fr. *nous* est bien moins répandu qu'au Canada," *Soirées canadiennes*, III, p. 63 *et seq.*

people pronounce *jy* for Fr. *eu*. That a *j* should arise between vowels is a common occurrence, probably from a desire to emphasize in this case just as in *jon* = Fr. *un* (§ XLV).

The use of a compound *ʒ e y y* or *ʒ e y jy* = Canadian *ʒ e y* or *ʒ e y-ʒ-y* (see § LII, under Tenses), where the sense seems about like Fr. *j'eus eu,* is quite common. It can be heard in uneducated popular speech in the country around Paris, and as showing this, it may be worth while to quote a passage from Alphonse Daudet where in popular parlance it is used: "Eh bien, quand ma femme *a eu trouvé* une place, elle a donné son enfant à une vieille pour le ramener au pays."[1] Other examples, like this last from Daudet, which I have noted in Carleton, are:

1 *kɑ̃:t ʒ i e y di sᴗ, i ᴗ kɔ̃pri* 2 *kɑ̃:t i ᴗ y fɛ sᴗ, i ᴗ pᴗ y rəgrɛ* 3 *kɑ̃:t*
quand je lui ai eu dit ça, il a compris quand il a eu fait ça, il a pas eu regret quand

l prɛ:t ᴗ y fini də prɛ∫e 4 *kɑ̃:t i ᴗ y fini də muje*
le prêtre a eu fini de prêcher quand il a eu fini de mouiller

2. As implied in § LII, while I believe the forms: *ʒ avɔ̃, ʒ avjɔ̃, ʒ arɔ̃, ʒ arjɔ̃* and *kə ʒ ejɔ̃* are the true Acadian representatives of *nous avons, nous avions, nous aurons, nous aurions* and *que nous ayons,* nevertheless they are not in popular use in this particular dialect, but they can be heard. This peculiarity was current in XVIth century French as the quotations from Palsgrave show,[2] and has been retained in various provinces.[3]

3. *ʒ avɛ* = Fr. j'avais, pronounced by the Canadians *ʒ ave* (cf., however, p. 16, foot-note 4, and p. 68, foot-note 6). The Canadian sound then may be considered more open than the Fr. *è* sound in *j'avais.* Indeed, the French philologists call this sound "ouvert", while, "dans *pâte* l'*a* est fermé et long" (see p. 15, foot-note 2). The Canadian forms are found in Favre (p. LXII),[4] *j'avas,* etc. There is no *z* sound heard — Fr. final *s* linked in imperfects, nor is there, as a rule, in the verb endings any sound heard — Fr. final *s,* i. e. a *z* sound linked over on to the following vowel.

4. The pronunciation indicated for the future and conditional will be found also in other French dialects.[5] They occur continually in old French.[6] The old

[1] *La belle Nivernaise.* In a note on this passage in the American Book Co. edition (N. Y. 1901), Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins says: "The popular rejection of the preterite *eut* in favor of the present perfect *a eu* is thus extended to those cases where the preterite occurs as auxiliary verb" (p. 101).

[2] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVIe siècle en France,* p. 273.

[3] Cf. Talbert, *Du dialecte blaisois,* p. 288, 4°; also note in other respects the similarity of the Blois forms to those of the Carleton dialect.

[4] *Glossaire du Poitou.*

[5] Jaubert, edition of 1864 (p. 56, under *avoir*); Talbert, p. 292; I noted it in Cheticamp C. B. Moisy gives the Norman forms *j'airai, t'airas,* etc. saying that they probably came from earlier *arai, aras,* etc., pp. LXXXII and LXXXIII.

[6] See Bartsch, *Chrestomathie,* p. 503; Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVIe siècle en France,* p. 240; Thurot, I, p. 432, note 4.

French form appear as *avr, aur,* and *ar,* which probably represent just the successive changes undergone, the *u* in its unaccented position finally losing its identity: cf. *sare* Fr. saurai, § LVII, 2⁰, no. 8. Nisard, for popular rural French about Paris, spells *aroit* and *saroit.*[1]

5. *kə ʒ e:j(ə)* = Fr. que j'aie is also common in dialect French[2] and is retained from the old XVIth century pronunciation given by Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, p. 241: "*que j'aie,* prononcez *a-ye* ou *éye.*" Professor Rivard notes: "En fr.-can., le subjonctif *kə ʒ e:jə*, etc. ne serait pas correct. Ici, on dit plutôt: *kə ʒ ɛj, kə t ɛj,* etc. (c.-à-d. ɛ bref), mais *kə vuz eje.*"

6. The verb conjugated negatively is identical with French negative conjugation, save that no *ne,* or form corresponding to Fr. *ne,* is heard. Even in popular French it is quite apparent that the *ne* is wearing away. Interrogatively the conjugation of the present tense will furnish a paradigm for interrogative conjugation of verbs generally. It is done by means of the particle *ti* (fully explained in the Note on pp. 133, 134):

ʒ e ti	j'ai ti	*ɔ̃n ◡ ti*	on a ti
◡ ty	as-tu	*ave vu, a vu*	avez-vous
i ◡ ti	il a ti	*i ɔ̃ ti*	ils ont ti
al ◡ ti	elle a ti	*i ɔ̃ ti*	elles ont ti

a vu = avez-vous can be heard; it is merely a contraction of Fr. *avez-vous* of which Thurot[3] says: "much used in the XVIth century as also *sa vu* = Fr. *savez-vous.*" It is also popular rural French about Paris as Agnel shows, *Langage des environs de Paris,* pp. 111, 112, *av'ous, sav'ous. a vu* is quite frequent in old French-Canadian popular songs: *Qu'a vous à tant pleurer?*

2⁰. Auxiliary *ɛ:t* = Fr. être; participles *etã, ete* = Fr. étant, été.

Present		Imperfect		Future	
ʒ sy, ʃ fy, fy	je suis	*ʒ etɛ*	j'étais	*ʒ fre, ʃ fre, fre*	je serai
t ɛ	tu es	*t etɛ*	tu étais	*ty sr◡*	tu seras
i ɛ	il est	*i etɛ*	il était	*i sr◡*	il sera
al ɛ	elle est	*al etɛ*	elle était	*a sr◡*	elle sera
ɔ̃n ɛ	on est	*ɔ̃n etɛ*	on était	*ɔ̃ sr◡*	on sera
vuz ɛ:t	vous êtes	*vuz etje*	vous étiez	*vu sre*	vous serez
i sɔ̃	ils sont	*i etɛ*	ils étaient	*i srɔ̃*	ils seront
i sɔ̃	elles sont	*i etɛ*	elles étaient	*i srɔ̃*	elles seront

[1] *Langage populaire de Paris,* p. 169.

[2] Talbert writes *qu'j'eye, que t'eyes,* etc., which I take to be like the Carleton pronunciation. The same is true also for Cheticamp, C. B.

[3] Tome I, p. 118.

Conditional		Subjunctive		Imperative	
ʒ frɛ, ʃ frɛ, frɛ	je serais	*kə ʒ swɛ:j(ə)*	que je sois	*swa*	sois
ty srɛ	tu serais	*kə ty swɛ:j(ə)*	que tu sois	*swɛ:jɔ̃(z)* or	
i srɛ	il serait	*c i swɛ:j(ə)*	qu'il soit	*sɛ:jɔ̃(z)*	soyons
a srɛ	elle serait	*k a swɛ:j(ə)*	qu'elle soit	*swɛ:je* or *sɛ:je*	soyez
ɔ̃ srɛ	on serait	*k ɔ̃ swɛ:j(ə)*	qu'on soit		
vu srje	vous seriez	*kə vu swɛ:je*	que vous soyez		
i srɛ	ils seraient	*c i swɛ:j(ə)*	qu'ils soient		
i srɛ	elles seraient	*c i swɛ:j(ə)*	qu'elles soient		

The Subjunctive has double forms: *kə ʒ sɛ:j(ə)* and *kə ʒə swɛ:j(ə)*.

kə ʒ sɛ:j(ə)	que je sois	*kə ɔ̃ sɛ:j(ə)*	qu'on soit
kə ty sɛ:j(ə)	que tu sois	*kə vu sɛ:je*	que vous soyez
c i sɛ:j(ə)	qu'il soit	*c i sɛ:j(ə)*	qu'ils soient
k a sɛ:j(ə)	qu'elle soit	*c i sɛ:j(ə)*	qu'elles soient

The compound tenses are formed precisely as in French with the addition of the past participle *ete* = Fr. été to the tenses of *awɛ:r* = Fr. avoir. Thus *ʒ e ete* = j'ai été; *ʒ avɛ(z) ete* = j'avais été; *ʒ are ete* = j'aurai été, etc.

1. For loss of whispered Fr. *r* in *ɛ:t*, so common in popular French also, see p. 97, 7. *ʒ sy* = Fr. je suis, explâined p. 51, 4. *ʒ ʃy*[1] = Fr. je suis, due to influence of *ʒ* = Fr. je on the *s* as explained on p. 80, 4, Special cases, no. 3: *ʒ fre* = Fr. je serai and *ʒ frɛ* = Fr. je serais are to be explained in the same manner.

kə ʒ swɛ:j(ə) and *kə ʒ sɛ:j(ə)* = Fr. que je sois. These old pronunciations are repeatedly given in XVIth century works (see p. 62, 3. *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*).[2] Thurot[3] cites Douchet (1762) who speaking of *oy* says: "Les uns prononcent par l'*e* ouvert simple; et les autres par le double son *ouè*." Fr. *oi* is a later development. Moisy spells,[4] *que je seis, que tu seis, qu'i seit,* which I take to be nearly identical with the dialect pronunciation *kə ʒ sɛ:j(ə)*. For Canadian-French, Professor Rivard gives: *kə ʒə swɛj, kə ʃ swɛj.*

Note. It is of interest here to give an example of *ɛ:t* = Fr. être used interrogatively. As remarked in § L (end of 2°) there is no exact equivalent for Fr. *est-ce* or *est-ce que* and as such a form as *suis-je* is hardly popular in French, one would not expect it to be in the dialect and it is not. The popular forms in use interrogatively for the present indicative of Fr. *être* are as follows:

[1] Cf. Beyer and Passy's *ʃ syi* (p. 163), where the *s* of *syi* has unvoiced the *j* of Fr. *je*.

[2] In foot-note 6 on p. 58 I have already made use of and referred to Suchier's article in the *Grundriss*. Since then, in his new grammar: *Altfranzösische Grammatik*, I. *Die Schriftsprache*, Lief. 1, *Die betonten Vokale*, pp. 48-52, there is some additional new material aiding the study of the history of Fr. *oi* from earlier *ei* and Norman *oi* from *ei*.

[3] Tome I, p. 382.

[4] *Dictionnaire*, p. XCIX.

ʒ sy ti[1] */sy ti*	je suis ti	*al ɛ ti*	elle est ti	*i sɔ̃ ti*	ils sont ti
ɛ ty	est-tu	*ɔn ɛ ti*	on est ti	*i sɔ̃ ti*	elles sont ti
i ɛ ti	il est ti	*ɛt vu*	êtes-vous		

This *t* (originally) which, as M. Paris has shown, crept in where it did not belong: *voilà-t-il, chante-t-il* on the analogy of the forms where it was etymological: *dort-il, court-il* (as explained § XLVI, 8, Remark 2) uniting with the *i* = Fr. *il* produced *ti*. Forms like OF. *aim' il, dir' elle,* on account of their want of clearness, were gradually given up in favor of forms with a *ti*, which were looked upon quite apart from the third persons *t-il*, and the *ti* thus became regarded as a sign of interrogation. This turn of the phrase is most natural as because of it the speaker saves inversion, or has no need of resorting to the periphrase *est-ce que*, which has the disadvantage of coming before what he particularly wants to come first. It will be observed that in the 2d persons singular and plural the *ti* is not used, naturally because these forms can be used just as they are, so the need of a *ti* was not felt in those persons. I have, however, heard the *ti* in all the persons in Cheticamp: nevertheless it is not popular in the 2d persons singular and plural. M. Paris[2] implies the same thing in what he says about *t'as ti bu? vous passerez-ti par là.* The introduction of the *ti* all thru shows how strongly analogy can work.[3] (See the following examples under 3°.) Cf. Thurot, II, p. 141 *dine ti? ira ti?* etc. Popular French, also, as the following example, already cited (§ XLVI, 8, Remark 2) from Beyer and Passy, shows:

f-syi' ti a sɛ̃ʒɛr'mɛ̃ isi
je sui ti à Saint-Germain ici

Körting, while referring to M. G. Paris' *lichtvolle Darlegung in Romania VI, 438,* has himself given some good observations on *j'aime ti*, etc., p. 106 of his *Formenbau des französischen Verbums.*

3°. Auxiliary *ale, jale* (after a vowel) = Fr. aller; pres. part. *alã* = Fr. allant; past participle: a form exactly corresponding to Fr. *allé* is not in use. For this is substituted the past participle *ete* = Fr. été. Consequently the compound tenses of the verb are formed with the auxiliary *awɛːr* = Fr. avoir and the past participle *ete* = Fr. été.

Present		Imperfect		Future		Conditional	
ʒ vo̯,mo̯	je vais	*ʒ alɛ*	j'allais	*ʒ jire*	j'irai	*ʒ jirɛ*	j'irais
ty vo̯	tu vas	*t alɛ*	tu allais	*ty jiro̯*	tu iras	*ty jirɛ*	tu irais
i vo̯	il va	*i alɛ*	il allait	*i jiro̯*	il ira	*i jirɛ*	il irait
al[4] *vo̯*	elle va	*al alɛ*	elle allait	*i jiro̯*	elle ira	*i jirɛ*	elle irait
ɔ̃ vo̯	on va	*ɔn alɛ*	on allait	*ɔ̃ jiro̯*	on ira	*ɔ̃ jirɛ*	on irait
vuz ale	vous allez	*vuz alje*	vous alliez	*vu jire*	vous irez	*vu jirje*	vous iriez
i vɔ̃	ils vont	*i alɛ*	ils allaient	*i jirɔ̃*	ils iront	*i jirɛ*	ils iraient
i vɔ̃	elles vont	*i alɛ*	elles allaient	*i jirɔ̃*	elles iront	*i jirɛ*	elles iraient

[1] "Assez souvent le *ti* interrogatif devient *ty*. Ainsi, j'entends assez souvent, et très clairement: *i je ty*, pour (*il est ti* =) *est-il?* ou encore, ce qui est plus clair: *tɔ̃ frɛːr vjɛ̃ tsy? = ton frère, vient-il?* C'est un curieux phénomène, produit, je pense, par l'étymologie populaire." Comment in regard to Canadian usage by Professor Rivard.

[2] *Romania,* VI, p. 442.

[3] Cf. Suchier in Gröber's *Grundriss,* (p. 610, § 47) "Mundarten haben aus diesem *til* ein Fragewort gebildet, welches ein Gegenstück zu dem antwortenden *oïl* bildet" (or Monet's translation, p. 104, § 47).

[4] *a vo̯* and not *al vo̯* is the Canadian French usage, i. e. *a* before consonants and *al* before vowels generally; likewise the Canadian usage is *a vo̯ ti* instead of *al vo̯ ti.*

Subjunctive		(For Fr. *je suis allé*)		Imperative	
kə ʒ al	que j'aille	*ʒ e ete*	j'ai été	*vᴗ*	va
kə t al	que tu ailles	*t ᴗ ete*	tu as été	*alɔ̃*	allons
c i al, jal	qu'il aille	*i ᴗ ete*	il a été	*ale*	allez
k al al, jal	qu'elle aille	*i ᴗ ete*	elle a été		
k ɔ̃n al, k ɔ̃ jal	qu'on aille	*ɔ̃ ᴗ ete*	on a été		
kə vuz alje	que vous alliez	*vuz ave ete*	vous avez été		
c i al, jal	qu'ils aillent	*i ɔ̃ ete*	ils ont été		
c i al, jal	qu'elles aillent	*i ɔ̃ ete*	elles ont été		

Interrogatively present

ʒ mᴗ (vᴗ) ti[1]	je vais ti	*ɔ̃ vᴗ ti*	on va ti
vᴗ ty	vas-tu	*ale vu*	allez-vous
i vᴗ ti	il va ti	*i vɔ̃ ti*	ils vont ti
al[2] *vᴗ ti*	elle va ti	*i vɔ̃ ti*	elles vont ti

See the Note on pp. 133, 134 for the explanation of *ti,* and for examples see below.

The negative forms of the verb, omitting anything corresponding to Fr. *ne* before the verb, simply add *pᴗ* = Fr. *pas* directly after the affirmative or interrogative form, thus: *ʒ mᴗ pᴗ* = Fr. je vais pas; *ʒ mᴗ ti pᴗ?* — Fr. je vais ti pas, i. e. ne vais-je pas.

1. *ʒ vᴗ* is of course popular in ordinary conversational French, influence of the second and third persons on the first. *ʒ mᴗ* seems to result from bilabial *v* under influence of forms like Fr. *me* and *moi* in the speakers mind for the first person.[3]

2. The future and conditional forms with *j* and likewise the infinitive form *jale* are likely due to the influence of the adverb Fr. *y* so much used with this verb.

3. *ʒ e ete* used for *je suis allé, ʒ avɛ ete* for *j'étais allé,* and so on thruout, is merely French analogy where these forms may be used instead of *aller* when return is implied. In standard French the preterite indicative of *être* can. at times be heard for that of *aller,* e. g. *je fus la voir* for *j'allais la voir.*[4]

4. *kə ʒ al* = Fr. que j'aille is formed from the infinitive stem. Jaubert (under *aller*) gives what I take to be forms identical with these, i. e. *que j'alle, que*

[1] "Dans l'interrogation on entend souvent *mᴗ ti* pour *ʒ mᴗ ti* ou *ʒ vᴗ ti.* On supprime le *ʒ*: *mᴗ ti vu peje?* est-ce que je vais vous payer? (à la 1re personne seulement)," Rivard, commenting on Canadian usage.

[2] See p. 134, foot-note 4.

[3] The Canadian expression *ʒ mə syi ãn ale* = Fr. je me suis en allé (cf. Beyer and Passy, p. 33, l. 13, *i s-ɛt-ãnaˈle*) is never used in Carleton. M. Legendre says: "*j' mas te payer, j' mas partir* pour: je m'en vais te payer, je m'en vais partir." Inasmuch as *ã* = Fr. *en* can be perfectly well used as in the *ʒ mə syi ãn ale* just quoted, I do not see that it is all clear that *j' mas te payer, j' mas partir* is for je m'en vais te payer, je m'en vais partir. See p. 57, *La langue française* (edition of 1890).

[4] *Paul et Virginie* (Bernardin de St Pierre), edition Hachette, 1883, p. 5, l. 20.

t'alles etc. Cf. *c i fal*, § LVII. 2°. (2). no. 4. The following forms can be heard in Canadian-French: *kə ʒ a:l* and *kə ʒ ja:l, kə ty a:l* and *kə ty ja:l, c i a:l* and *c i ja:l, l ɔn a:l* and *k ɔ̃ ja:l.*

Examples.

1 *ʒ mwa l fɛ:r mwa* 2 *ʒ mwa tə bat si ty fɛ sa* 3 *ʒ mwa ti kɔmɑ̃:se par isɪt*
je vais le faire moi je vais te battre si tu fait ça je vais ti commencer par ici

4 *va ti mni:r mə kri?* 5 *ʒ sy ti ɑ̃ tẽ?* 6 *al a ti parti?* 7 *a ti arive?*
va-t-il venir me quérir je suis ti en (à) temps elle a-t-elle partie a-t-il arrivé

8 *ɔ̃ va ti jale* meaning est-ce que nous allons? 9 *i vɔ̃ ti kɔmɑ̃:se avɑ̃ nuz o:t*
on va ti aller ils vont ti commencer avant nous autres

10 *ʒ lez ai ti søz la!* 11 *i sɔ̃ ti stypi:d!* 12 *sɔ̃ ti bɛ:t!* (in this instance
je les hais ti ceux-là ils sont ti stupides sont-elles bêtes

feminine) 13 *ʒ e ti le suje sal?* 14 *me mɑ̃ sɔ̃ ti nɛt?* 15 *i m a ti fɛ*
j'ai ti les souliers sals mes mains sont-elles nettes il m'a ti fait

mal ɔ bra! 16 *kɑ̃:t ʒ e y fini ma dʒɔb, ʒ m ɑ̃ e ete* 17 *kɑ̃:t i m a y ɛ̃sylte,*
mal au bras quand j'ai eu fini ma "job", je m'en ai été quand il m'a eu insulté,

i s ɑ̃ a ete 18 *al s ɑ̃ a ete apre supe* 19 *i s ɑ̃ ɔ̃ ete* 20 *apre la veje*
il s'en a été elle s'en a été après souper il s'en ont été après la veillée

i s ɛ̃ ɔ̃ ete fakɑ̃ fyz ø
il s'en ont été chacun chez eux

It is interesting here to give a sample of the present indicative of *ale* interrogatively in the Acadian dialect of Cheticamp, C. B. by way of comparison with the Carleton forms:

ʒ va ti	je vais ti	*ʒ alɔ̃ ti*	j'allons ti
va ty or rarer *ty va ti*	vas-tu	*ale vu*	allez-vous
i va ti	il va ti	*i alɔ̃ ti*	ils allons ti
a va ti	elle va ti	*i vɔ̃ ti*	ils vont ti
ɔ̃ va ti	on va ti		

4°. Auxiliary *fɛ:r* = Fr. faire; pres. part. *f(ə)zɑ̃* = Fr. faisant; past part. *fɛ* Fr. fait. A form exactly corresponding to Fr. fem. past part. *faite* is not in use. (Cf. § LVII, 2°, (2), no. 3.)

Present		Imperfect		Future	
ʒ fɛ	je fais	*ʒ f(ə)zɛ*	je faisais	*ʒ fre*	je ferai
ty fɛ	tu fais	*ty f(ə)zɛ*	tu faisais	*ty fra*	tu feras
i fɛ	il fait	*i f(ə)zɛ*	il faisait	*i fra*	il fera
a fɛ	elle fait	*a f(ə)zɛ*	elle faisait	*a fra*	elle fera
ɔ̃ fɛ	on fait	*ɔ̃ f(ə)zɛ*	on faisait	*ɔ̃ fra*	on fera
vu f(ə)ze	vous faites	*vu fəzje*	vous faisiez	*vu fre*	vous ferez
i fɛz	ils font	*i fəzɛ*	ils faisaient	*i frɔ̃*	ils feront
i fɛz	elles font	*i fəzɛ*	elles faisaient	*i frɔ̃*	elles feront

Conditional		Subjunctive		Imperative	
ʒ frɛ	je ferais	*kə ʒ fɛ:z*	que je fasse	*fɛ*	fais
ty frɛ	tu ferais	*kə ty fɛ:z*	que tu fasses	*f(ə)zɔ̃*	faisons
i frɛ	il ferait	*c i fɛ:z*	qu'il fasse	*f(ə)ze*	faites
a frɛ	elle ferait	*k a fɛ:z*	qu'elle fasse		
ɔ̃ frɛ	on ferait	*k ɔ̃ fɛ:z*	qu'on fasse		
vu fərje	vous feriez	*kə vu fəzje*	que vous fassiez		
i f(ə)rɛ	ils feraient	*c i fɛ:z*	qu'ils fassent		
i f(ə)rɛ	elles feraient	*c i fɛ:z*	qu'elles fassent		

Examples.

1 *la klɔty:r kə ʒ e fɛ ɛ bɔn* 2 *fze dɔ̃ pᴗ tɑ̃ də trɛ̃* 3 *kᴗa s kə vu fze*
la clôture que j'ai fai(te) est bonne faites donc pas tant de train quoi est-ce que vous faites

lᴗ? 4 *i fo kə ty fɛ:z sᴗ* 5 *s ɛ mᴗᴗ ci lə frᴗ* 6 *s ɛ pᴗ mᴗa ci ɛ kupa:b*
là il faut que tu fasses ça c'est moi qui le fera c'est pas moi qui est coupable

frᴗ and *ɛ* in nos. 5 and 6 are used because of analogy of the commoner third person forms after *ki, ci* = Fr. *qui* when referring to a third person.

1. The forms in the pres. indic. plural *f(ə)ze* and *fɛ:z* follow the analogy of most verbs in the French language, i. e. the 2d person plural ending in *ez* dialect *e*, and the 3d plural form being the root of the verb itself in this case Fr. (*fɛ:z*).

2. The subjunctive forms are on the analogy of the many verbs whose present subjunctive is the same as the root, *dire, croire* etc.

lɛse = Fr. laisser, has in the dialect, as in French, usually the same constructions as *fɛ:r*.

vəni:r = Fr. venir, used with *də* = Fr. de, forms, as in French, a kind of auxiliary to indicate an immediate past.

General view of the dialect verb-endings.

§ LIV. As stated in the Note on p. 128 it has seemed simplest to classify the verbs taken as a whole according to the infinitive. Knowing the infinitive and also the stem, which in most case is to be got from the 3d person plural indicative of the present tense, the verbs can all be conjugated by adding the endings. They thus fall into three classes, the inf. endings of which are: *e* (as in *done*), *i:r* (as in *fini:r*), *r* not preceded by *i* (e. g. *wɛ:r* = Fr. voir), as well as verbs whose infinitive and stem are alike, like *bat* = Fr. battre, that is, verbs not comprised in the *fini:r* and *wɛ:r* classes.

Infinitive *e, iːr, ɛːr* (or like the stem); present part. *ãː*; past part. *e, i, y.*

Present		Imperfect		Future		Conditional		Subjunctive		Imperative	
—	—	*ɛ*	-ais	*e*	-ai	*ɛ*	-ais	—	—	—	—
—	—	*ɛ*	-ais	◡	-as	*ɛ*	-ais	—	—	*ɔ̃*	-ons
—	—	*ɛ*	-ait	◡	-a	*ɛ*	-ait	—	—	*e*	-ez
—	—	*ɛ*	-ait	◡	-a	*ɛ*	-ait	—	—		
e	-ez	*je*	-iez	*e*	-ez	*je*	-iez	*je*	-iez		
—	—	*ɛ*	-aient	*ɔ̃*	-ont	*ɛ*	-aient	—	—		

Verbs of the first class.

§ LV. Infinitive *dəne* = Fr. donner; pres. part. *dənã* = Fr. donnant; past part. *dəne* = Fr. donné, *dən* = Fr. donne; imperative *dənɔ̃* = Fr. donnons. *dəne* = Fr. donnez.

Present		Imperfect		Future	
ʒ dən	je donne	*ʒ dənɛ*	je donnais	*ʒ dənre*	je donnerai
ty dən	tu donnes	*ty dənɛ*	tu donnais	*ty dənr◡*	tu donnera
i dən	il donne	*i dənɛ*	il donnait	*i dənr◡*	il donnera
ɔ̃ dən	on donne	*ɔ̃ dənɛ*	on donnait	*ɔ̃ dənr◡*	on donnera
vu dəne	vous donnez	*vu dənjez*	vous donniez	*vu dənez*	vous donnerez
i dən	ils donnent	*i dənɛ*	ils donnaient	*i dənrɔ̃*	ils donneront

Conditional		Subjunctive	
ʒ dənrɛ	je donnerais	*kə ʒ dən*	que je donnes
ty dənrɛ	tu donnerais	*kə ty dən*	que tu donnes
i dənrɛ	il donnerait	*c i dən*	qu'il donne
ɔ̃ dənrɛ	on donnerait	*k ɔ̃ dən*	qu'on donne
vu dənrje[1]	vous donneriez	*kə vu dənje*	que vous donniez
i dənrɛ	ils donneraient	*c i dən*	qu'ils donnent

The forms *dʌne, ʒ dʌn, ʒ dʌnɛ*, etc. are rarer. See the Phonology, p. 41, § XA.

1. Special traits of some verbs belonging to the first class:

1	*amne*	amener	4	*eple*	épeler
2	*aple*	appeler	5	*l(ə)ve*	lever
3	*detle*	dételer	6	*mne*	mener

[1] Also *dənərje*; this *ə* can be heard in this tense and person in all three classes of the verb; cf. Legendre, *La langue française*, p. 55: "... on élide très souvent l'*e* muet, *j'aim'rai* ... excepté devant les terminaisons *-rions, -riez* et *-ions, -iez* ..."

7	*p(ə)ze*	peser	10	*sup(ə)ze*	soupeser
8	*raple*	rappeler	11	*ʒ(ə)le*	geler
9	*sulve*	soulever			

These verbs have in the present tense of the indicative and subjunctive thruout the singular and in the third person plural, and in the second person singular of the imperative *ø*, and thruout the future and conditional the vowel *ə* = Fr. *è* or *e*. This is simply on the analogy of the unaccented *ə* in the infinitive, i. e. this slight transitory sound was likely heard before dropping entirely, as indeed it can now be heard at times, so that it is perplexing whether to record *amənc, apəle* or *amnc, aple.*[1] The stressed vowel for Fr. *è* or *e* appears as *ø*, the unstressed as *ə*, so that the dialect forms have, as it were by leveling, been reduced to great regularity:

Present		Subjunctive		Imperative	
ʒ amøn	j'amène	*kə ʒ amøn*	que j'amène	*amøn*	amène
t amøn	tu amènes	*kə ty*[2] *amøn*	que tu amènes	*amnɔ̃*	amenons
i amøn	il amène	*c i amøn*	qu'il amène	*amne*	amenez
ɔ̃n amøn	on amène	*k ɔ̃ amøn*	qu'on amène		
vuz amne	vous amenez	*kə vuz amnje*	que vous amenez		
i amøn	ils amènent	*c i amøn*	qu'ils amènent		

Future *ʒ amənre* = Fr. j'amènerai, etc.; conditional *ʒ amənrɛ* = Fr. j'amènerais, etc.

It is of interest here to compare the older French *mener,* pronounced *mənər.* The present ran thus: *mein, meines, meine, menons, menez, meinent*; hence in modern French, infinitive *m'né,* and pres. indic. *mèn'* perhaps directly from old French *meine* (cf. *reine*), and in the dialect leveling under the influence of the form where the stem is unaccented *mənə* and later *mnə*: *mən* (= *mən*). For French perhaps this dialect stage once existed: cf. *levare* and *levat* = OF. *lever, lieve,* but modern French *lever, lève.*

2. Following the same general principle brought out by the above verbs, it follows naturally that such dialect verbs like *kaʃte* = Fr. cacheter and *ʒ(ə)te* = Fr. jeter, corresponding to French verbs in *-eter,* which double the *t* before a "mute *e*", just as the verbs ending in *-eler* usually double the *l* before "mute *e*", and such verbs as *aʒte*[3] = Fr. acheter, which when followed by a "mute *e*" have *è* in French, are conjugated just like the preceding verbs in the same persons and tenses, i. e. they have *ø* where French has *e* + two *t*'s or two *l*'s or *è* before a "mute *e*" and in the remaining cases where the French vowel is the so-called "mute *e*", the dialect has *ə* or no sound whatever.

[1] Cf. Beyer and Passy for such forms as *lvɛ, lvɔ̃, l(ə)vã,* etc., § 124; see also § 43 in *Das gesprochene Französisch.*

[2] Canadian-French: *kə t amɛn.*

[3] For the *ʒ*, see p. 81, 5. Special cases.

Infin. *ʒ(ə)te, ʃte* = Fr. jeter: pres. part. *ʒ(ə)tã, ʃtã* = Fr. jetant: past part. *ʒ(ə)te, ʃte* = Fr. jeté; pres. *ʒ ʒøt* = Fr. je jette; imperf. *ʒ ʒ(ə)tɛ* = Fr. je jetais; fut. *ʒ ʒøtrɛ* = Fr. je jetterai; condit. *ʒ ʒøtrɛ* = Fr. je jetterais; subjunct. *kə ʒ ʒøt* = Fr. que je jette; imperat. *ʒøt* = Fr. jette, *ʒ(ə)tõ* = Fr. jetons, *ʒ(ə)te* = Fr. jetez.

c. epuste = Fr. épousseter has in the present tense:

ʒ epust	j'époussète	*õ epust*	on époussète
t epust	tu époussètes	*vuz epuste*	vous époussetez
i epust	il époussète	*i epust*	ils époussètent

Fut. *ʒ epustre* = Fr. j'épousseterai;[1] condit. *ʒ epustrɛ* = Fr. j'épousseterais; subj. *kə ʒ epust* = Fr. que j'époussète; imperat. *epust* = Fr. époussète, *epustõ* = Fr. époussetons, *epuste* = Fr. époussetez.

The word being long and the glide or transitory *ə* less distinctly heard than in other similar forms, has become completely lost as also in popular Parisian.

føjte = Fr. feuilleter is conjugated on the analogy of the above verb.

Examples.

1 *ʒ epust le mœ:b* 2 *t epust pᴗ bɛ̃* 3 *fœ:jt dõ pᴗ tõ li:v* 4 *ʒ pø:z plys kə*
j'époussète les meubles tu époussètes pas bien feuillette donc pas ton livre je pèse plus que

twa 5 *apøl dõ l mõ:d pur dine* 6 *kã:t õ bali e pi k õ vø pᴗ kə la pusje:r*
toi apelle donc le monde pour dîner quand on balaye et puis qu'on veut pas que la poussière

vɔl, õ ʒøt d la muly də si sy l plã·fe[2] 7 *pɔlit ʒu bɛ̃ d l akɔrdjõ; i ʒu*
vole, on jette de la moulure de scie sur le plancher (Hip)polite joue bien de l'accordéon; il joue

ase bɛ̃ kə sᴗ sulø:v 8 *ʒ pø:z plys kə twa* 9 *supø:z wɛ:r sᴗ kɔm sᴗ pø:z*
assez bien que ça soulève je pèse plus que toi soupèse voir ça comme ça pèse

3. Special cases.

List 72.

1	*ã·vale*	avaler	5	*kjabõ·de, cabõ·de* (tenir bon)
2	*ã·wɛje*	envoyer	6	*sã·ble* sembler
3	*ekydje, ecydje*	étudier	7	*sɔɲe* soigner
4	*ɛskwe*	secouer	8	*u·te* ôter

No. 1 *ã·vale* = Fr. avaler, due to analogy of forms like Fr. *envoler, envier,* etc.

No. 2 Infin. *ã·wɛje* = Fr. envoyer; pres. part. *ã·wɛjã* = envoyant; past part. *ã·wɛje* = envoyé; pres. *ʒ ã·wɛ:j(ə)*[3] = j'envoie; imperf. *ʒ ã·wɛjɛ* = j'envoyais; fut.

[1] The only Fr. verb not doubling the *t* before a "mute *e*", for which the Academy indicates the future: Bescherelle Ainé, *L'art de conjuger*; cf. Littré who says: "La prononciation vulgaire et fautive est *j'épouste, j'épousterai,*" which I take to be almost exactly if not quite the dialect pronunciation.

[2] For this phrase see Phraseology, § LXIII, Acadianisms, no. 130.

[3] Cf. Beyer and Passy's popular forms *ʒə pɛ:j* or *ʒə pɛ* = Fr. je paye, tho not parallel, very similar. § 126.

ʒ ãːwɛj(ə)re (for) = j'enverrai; condit. *ʒ ãːwɛj(ə)rɛ* (for) = j'enverrais; subjunct. *kə ʒ ãwɛj(ə)*[1] = que j'envoie; imperat. *ãwɛːj(ə)*[1] = envoie, *ãːwɛjõ* = envoyons, *ãːwɛje* = envoyez. For Fr. *r* before *oi* lost, see pp. 68, 69, list 45; for Fr. *oi* = *wɛ*, see pp. 61, 62. The future and conditional dialect forms do not represent exactly the modern Fr. *j'enverrai* and *j'enverrais*, but answer to older Fr. *envoierai, envoierais* which was pronounced as tho spelled in Fr. *j'envairai-s*, which forms afterwards came to be written *j'enverrai-s.*[2]

No. 3 *ecydje*, see p. 85, 5. Special cases, no. 3. The palatal *k*, (*c*) = Fr. *t*, in this particular case, seems due to the analogy of forms in the dialect like *kjɛ̃* or *cjɛ̃* = Fr. tiens where Fr. *t* before a front vowel becomes *k* + *j* or *c* in the dialect, cf. pp. 86, 87, list 54. This verb has a subjunctive form *ecydɪs* corresponding to Fr. étudie, influenced likely by analogy of verbs of the second class, as for instance by the subjunctive form *finɪs* = Fr. finisse, which the *i* in *ecydi* = Fr. étudie may suggest:

vule vu kə ʒ ecydɪs ma grãːmer avɛk flɪp
voulez-vous que j'étudie ma grammaire avec Philippe

No. 4 *ɛskwe* = Fr. secouer. A transitory sound has become prefixed to the *s* just as in such cases as *ɛstaty*, for which a key to the explanation is mentioned on p. 64, in the foot-note 8, referring to Siever's *Grundzüge der Phonetik.*

No. 5 *kjabɔ̃ːde*[3] or *cabɔ̃ːde* is more particularly a Bonaventure than a Carleton form. It is heard among the school children, in spite of efforts on the part of the teachers to suppress it. I failed to recognize it for some time. As a specimen of curious Acadian, the forms seem well worth giving. The infinitive appears to be formed on the analogy of words like Fr. *abonder.* Infin. *kjabɔ̃ːde* = (tenir bon); pres. part. *kjabɔ̃ːdã* = (tenant bon); past part. *kjabɔ̃ːdy* = (tenu bon); pres. *ʃ kjabɔ̃* = je (tiens bon), *ty kjabɔ̃* = tu (tiens bon), *i kjabɔ̃* = il (tient bon), *ɔ̃ kjabɔ̃* = on (tient bon), *vu kjabɔ̃ːde* = vous (tenez bon), *i kjabɔ̃ːd* = ils (tiennent bon); imperf. *ʒ kjabɔ̃ːdɛ* = je (tenais bon). The future and conditional forms are not from *kjabɔ̃ːde* but are supplied from *kjɛ̃ːd* corresponding to Fr. *tenir*, thus: *ʃ kjɛ̃ːdre bɔ̃* = je tiendrai bon, and *ʃ kjɛ̃drɛ bɔ̃* = je tiendrais bon. The pres. subj. has either *kə ʒ kjabɔ̃ːd* or *kə ʒ kjɛn bɔ̃*; the past participle also has the form *kjɛ̃ bɔ̃* as well as *kjabɔ̃ːdy*, which latter has evidently been influenced by the analogy of such participles as Fr. *répondu.* The imperative is formed regularly from the infinitive stem: *kjabɔ̃* = (tiens bon), *kjabɔ̃ːdɔ̃*

[1] See foot-note 3 on p. 140.

[2] In the imperative this verb is used where modern French uses *aller*: thus, *ʒɛn twa pɔ, ãːwɛːj foːr!* = gêne toi pas, envoie fort! said in urging a person to sing. *bɔ̃! a st or, ãːwɛːj forː!* = bon! à cette heure, envoie fort! (in playing cards, play higher). Cf. Legendre, *La langue française*, p. 58.

[3] M. Rivard comments: "J'ai noté le verbe *quienbondre*, relevé dans un des patois de France. Il n'est donc pas d'invention purement acadienne. Ici en fr.-can., il n'est guère connu que dans les formes suivantes: pr. ind. *ʃ cɛ̃ bɔ̃* = je tiens bon, *ty cɛ̃ bɔ̃* = tu tiens bon, *i cɛ̃ bɔ̃* = il tient bon; passé déf. *ʒ cɛ̃ bɔ̃* = j'ai tenu bon; imp. *cɛ̃ bɔ̃* = tiens bon; part. passé *cɛ̃ bɔ̃* = tenu bon. En fr.-can. c'est plutôt la locution verbale *tenir-bon*: *cɛ̃d bɔ̃* sans désinence spéciale. Ainsi là où l'acadien dit *i cabɔ̃ːd*, le fr.-can. dit *i cɛnbɔ̃.*" For cancalais: *quinbondre*, see *BPFC.*, IV, p. 157.

— (tenons bons), *kjabɔ̃·de* · · (tenez bons). Thruout *e* may be substituted for *kj* and generally is.

No. 6 *sɑ̃·ble* is used much thus, personally:

ʒ mə sɑ̃·b kɔ ʒ ruz e de·ʒ◡ vy ɑ̃ cə·k p◡:r
je me semble que je vous ai déjà vu en quelque part

No. 7 *sɔɲe* (see Phonology, p. 40, Note) = Fr. soigner, has the same origin etymologically as Fr. *besoin* (*sōnĭŭm, K.$_2$ 8878). Fr. *besogne* may possibly have influenced for the pronunciation *ɔ*. Agnel gives *sognó*, popular pronunciation in rural districts about Paris, p. 14, ***Langage des environs de Paris.***

No. 8 *u·te* (see Phonology, p. 48, no. 16). Etymologically rather from *obstare* than from **haustare* (K.$_2$ 4522). Provençal *ostar* and *obstare* gives *ɔ*, at least under the accent.

Examples.

1 *ɛsku tɔ̃ tablə̃je pur wɛ:r si tɔ̃ ɛgɥ:j ɛ p◡ d dɑ̃* 2 *ɛsku dɔ̃ p◡ la tab* 3 *s ɛ*
secoue ton tablier pour voir si ton aiguille est pas dedans secoue donc pas la table c'est

mwa ki sɔɲ le vaʃ 4 *s ɛ ti a mwa a sɔɲe u a twa?* 5 *u·t s◡ d l◡*
moi qui soigne les vaches c'est-il à moi à soigner ou à toi ôte ça de là

Remark. *pwẽ·te*, perhaps *pwẽte* (Fr. pointer), is the dialect form for Fr. *poindre*, arising likely from confusion with Fr. *pointer*, *point* in Fr. *le point du jour* for which particular expression, however, the dialect says *la pwẽ·t dy ʒu:r*. The meanings of Fr. *point* and *pointe* render confusion very easy. *la b◡:r dy ʒu:r* = la barre du jour is also very popular; *pointe du jour* is given by Jônain as also *pointer* for Fr. *poindre*. *pwẽ·te* is inflected thruout like a verb of the first class.

kɑ̃·t ʒ m e lɔve, l ʒu:r kɔmɑ̃·se a pwẽ·te (or *pwẽte*)
quand je m'ai levé, le jour commençait à pointer (poindre)

føse = Fr. fesser (see p. 44, 9. Special cases, no. 1) is far more popular than *frape* = Fr. frapper:

le mɔrso d grɛl fɔs dɑ̃ le vit
les morceaux de grêle fessent dans les vitres

Verbs of the second class.

§ LVI. Infinitive in *-i:r*, stem is *-is*. 1°. Infin. *fini:r* = finir; pres. part. *finisɑ̃* = finissant; past part. *fini* = fini; imperat. *fini* = fini, *finisɔ̃* = finissons, *finise* = finissez.

Present		Imperfect		Future	
ʃ fini	je finis	*ʃ finisɛ*	je finissais	*ʃ finire*	je finirai
ty fini	tu finis	*ty finisɛ*	tu finissais	*ty finir◡*	tu finiras
i fini	il finit	*i finisɛ*	il finissait	*i finir◡*	il finira
ɔ̃ fini	on finit	*ɔ̃ finisɛ*	on finissait	*ɔ̃ finir◡*	on finira
vu finise	vous finissez	*vu finisje*	vous finissiez	*vu finire*	vous finirez
i finis	ils finissent	*i finisɛ*	ils finissaient	*i finirɔ̃*	ils finiront

Conditional		Subjunctive	
ʃ finirɛ	je finirais	*kə ʃ finɪs*	que je finisse
ty finirɛ	tu finirais	*kə ty finɪs*	que tu finisse
i finirɛ	il finirait	*c i finɪs*	qu'il finisse
ɔ̃ finirɛ	on finirait	*k ɔ̃ finɪs*	qu'on finisse
vu finirje	vous finiriez	*kə vu finisje*	que vous finissiez
i finirɛ	ils finiraient	*c i finɪs*	qu'ils finissent

All verbs of this class are conjugated, as a rule, exactly like the above. As may be seen, from the infinitive may be found the past participle by simply dropping the *r*; the future and conditional may also be formed from the infinitive by simply adding to it the usual endings (see p. 138); the other forms are to be got from the stem of the verbs by adding thereto the endings. In the sing. pres. indic. and imper. the *s* of the stem is left out. The stem of many verbs like *dɔrmi:r* = Fr. dormir, *sarvi:r* = Fr. servir, which are merely one syllable root forms (*dɔrm, sarv*) differ from that of verbs like *fini:r* with stems ending in *-is*. The forms made from the root of the type *dɔrmi:r* and *sarvi:r* have one syllable less than the verbs have, whose forms can be made up like *fini:r* by adding the usual endings to the *-is* stems.

Examples of verbs conjugated like *fini:r* having the infinitive in *-i:r* and the stem in *-is* are:

bɔ̆ti:r	bâtir	*pyni:r*[1]	punir	*fwɛzi:r*	choisir
nuri:r	nourrir	*rɑ̃pli:r*	remplir		
ɔbeji:r	obéir	*sɛzi:r*	saisir		

Examples of verbs of this class not having an *-is* stem but merely a root form to which the usual terminations are attached are:

dɔrmi:r	dormir	*parti:r*	partir	*sɑ̃ti:r*	sentir
mɑ̃ti:r	mentir	*sarvi:r*	servir	*sɔrti:r*	sortir

E. g. infin. *dɔrmi:r* = dormir; pres. part. *dɔrmɑ̃* = dormant; past part. *dɔrmi* = dormi; pres. *ʒ do:r* = je dors; imperf. *ʒ dɔrmɛ* = je dormais; fut. *ʒ dɔrmire* = je dormirai; condit. *ʒ dɔrmirɛ* = je dormirais; subjunct. *kə ʒ dɔrm* = que je dorme; imperat. *do:r* = dors, *dɔrmɔ̃* = dormons, *dɔrme* = dormez. The root forms of these verbs are respectively *dɔrm, mɑ̃:t, part, sarv, sɑ̃:t* and *sɔrt*. It will be observed that in the singular present, just as with *ʒ do:r* = Fr. je dors, the final root consonant is lost. This is regularly the case with all such verbs, just as in French. This has the effect, precisely as in French, of lengthening the preceding vowel. Beyer and Passy write *ʒə do:r.*[2]

[1] The past participle in popular use of *pyni:r* is *pynise*, see § LIX, 1°, example to no. 10. Of course, analogy of first conjugation past participles. "En fr.-can., *saisir* se prononce plutôt *sezi:r*; *obéir* plutôt *obeji:r*, mais aussi *ɔbeji:r*," Rivard.

[2] *Das gesprochene Französisch*, § 130.

From the paradigms just given it must be evident that the dialect verbs of this second class, taken as a whole, correspond very closely indeed, to the same ones in use in popular French. Those which differ either in form or usage from their French equivalents or seem to be noteworthy will now be noted and commented.

2°. 1 *ābɛlzi:r* = embellir; 2 *blɛmzi:r* = blemir; 3 *blœzi:r* = bleuir; 4 *brɛnzi:r* = brunir; 5 *ʒɔnzi:r* = jaunir are interesting dialect forms. Nos. 3, 4, 5 are given by Jaubert and Jônain. Jaubert spells *bleudzir, brunezir, jaunezir*; Jônain *blleud'zi, brun'sî, jhaunesi*. Jaubert (p. 708 of the *Glossaire*) says: "L'épenthèse du *z* dans les infinitifs en *ir* (propre à la langue romane, voy. Raynouard, *Lexique*) est très répandu aux environs de la Châtre . . . Le *z* n'entre pas pourtant dans tous les verbes en *-ir*; par exemple, on ne l'emploie jamais dans *finir, dormir, bâtir, mourir, sortir, tenir*, etc.; mais on dit toujours *abâtardezir, grandezir, aigrezir, brunezir, tiédezir, jaunezir, meûrezir* (*mûrir*), *rajeunezir, vieillezir*, etc. Le *z* se conserve dans tous les temps, dans toutes les personnes de ces derniers verbes." The *z* in the Carleton words is evidently this dialect retention. I find in Raynouard *brunezir* and *fredezir*.[1]

3°. The following verbs of this class offering noteworthy features either as varying from the paradigms above given or when compared with the modern French forms corresponding to them are taken up in alphabetical order.

1. Infin. *asi:r*[2] [3] D. 510, K.$_2$ 968 ăs-sid-ēre = OF. assire (Godefroy), not to be confounded with modern French *asseoir* = L. sĕdere, K.$_2$ 8569;[4] pres. part. *s asizɑ̃* = s'asseyant; past part. *s asi* = s'assis; pres. *ʒ m asi* = je m'assieds, *ty t asi* = tu t'assieds, *i s asi* = il s'assied, *ɔ̃ s asi* = on s'assied, *vu vuz asize* = vous vous asseyez, *i s asi:z* = ils s'asseyent; imperf. *ʒ m asize* = je m'asseyais; fut. *ʒ m asire* = je m'assiérai; condit. *ʒ m asirɛ* = je m'assiérais; subjunct. *kə ʒ m asi:z* = que je m'asseye; imperat. *asi tuca* = assieds-toi, *asizɔ̃ nu*[5] = asseyons-nous, *asize vu* = asseyez-vous. Cf. *Bulletin du p. fr. au Canada*, II, pp. 210-11.

The verb is conjugated on the analogy of a common verb like dialect *di:r* = Fr. dire, which in the plural of the present indicative has 2d person *dize*, 3d person *di:z* and in the pres. subj. *dizje* and *di:z*. The *z* in the imperfect indicative and pres.

[1] In Bonaventure, the verb *ekri:r* = Fr. écrire has a past participle *ekrizi* = Fr. écrit.

[2] Most of the Carleton dialect forms are also found in the dialect of Blois as alternatives for forms which Talbert gives as the common ones, i. e. if I judge rightly by the spellings; see the note 1, p. 316, *Du dialecte blaisois*. M. Rivard notes: "Tout ce que vous dites sur *asi:r* s'applique aussi bien au fr.-can. qu'à l'acadien."

[3] Cf. the interesting remark of Beyer and Passy, that the popular speech of to-day tends to make over third class verbs into the first or second, *aswa:r* being given as an example, § 145.

[4] As Dunn seems to have done, p. 11 of the *Glossaire*: "*assire*, transformation vraiment comique du verbe *asseoir*."

[5] It may be of interest here to give an example of the pres. tense of *s asi:r* conjugated interrogatively in a region more purely Acadian, Cheticamp, C. B.: *ʒ m asi ti* = est-ce que je m'assois, *t asi ti* = t'assois-tu, *i s asi ti* = est-ce qu'il s'assoit, *al s asi ti* = est-ce qu'elle s'assoit, *ʒ nu(z) asizɔ̃ ti* = est-ce nous nous asseyons, *vuz asize vu* = vous asseyez vous, *i s asizɔ̃ ti* = est-ce qu'ils s'asseyent, *i s asizɔ̃ ti* = est-ce qu'elles s'asseyent. *ʒ vɔ ti m asi:r* is popular in both Carleton and Cheticamp.

subjunctive as well as in the pres. indic. and imperative is also due to a like analogy. Jaubert gives *assidre, s'assidre* (the *r* not being pronounced), pres. indic. *j'assis, t'assis, il assit.* Jônain and Favre spell the infinitive *assire* (*s'*). Eveillé[1] spells *assir* (*s*) and quotes from Ronsard: *Assisons nous sur ceste molle couche.* Godefroy quotes *assizent* (= besiege), pres. indic.; cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 210.

Examples.

1 *asize vu, vuz ave l tɛ̃* 2 *vu̯ t asiːr* 3 *ʒ m e asi dãz ɔn grãːd fɛːʒ*
asseyez-vous, vous avez le temps va-t-asseoir je m'ai assis dans une grande chaise

4 *i u̯ ete ɔblize də s rasiːr*
il a été obligé de se rasseoir

2. Infin. *ajiːr*[2] = haïr; pres. part *ajisã* = haïssant; past part. *aji* = haï; pres. *ʒ aji* = je hais, *t aji* = tu hais, *i aji* = il hait, *ɔ̃ aji* = on hait, *vu ajise* = vous haïssez, *i ajis* = ils haïssent; imperf. *ʒ ajisɛ* = je haïssais; fut. *ʒ ajire* = je haïrai; condit. *ʒ ajirɛ* = je haïrais; subjunct. *kə ʒ ajis* = que je haïsse; imperat. *ai* = hais, *aisɔ̃* = haïssons, *aise* = haïssez.

Note. *haiːr* can be heard but is rare.

This verb has evidently become assimilated to the French so-called regular verbs in *-iːr* thruout. Beyer and Passy[3] do not even mention the standard French forms *je hais, tu hais, il hait,* merely remarking that the verb is inflected like the paradigm given *finir.* They spell, however, *hais* (= the root, or 3d pers. plur. of the indic.). No *h* whatever is heard in the Carleton dialect verb and in this respect the agreement with Center of France French is perfect: "*haïr*, l'*h* ne s'aspire point, mais le tréma se conserve dans tous les temps de ce verbe."[4] The insertion of consonantal *j* between vowels has been repeatedly mentioned in the Carleton dialect forms, and, as Passy observes, implies a slight exaggeration of the transitory sound more or less distinctly heard in passing from one vowel to another.[5] Most of the dialect as well as the modern French forms can be found in what Thurot quotes[6] from XVIth century authors.

Examples.

1 *ʒ aji ase st parsɔn lu̯ kə ʒ pø pu̯ la wɛːr* 2 *ʒ se bɛ̃ c i m aji*
je hais assez cette personne là que je peux pas la voir je sais bien qu'il me hait

See example no. 10, p. 136. Agnel gives for popular rural French about Paris *j'aïs* for 1st pers. sing. of pres.[7]

[1] A. Eveillé, *Glossaire saintongeais*, 1887, Paris et Bordeaux.

[2] The Cheticamp, C. B. form is *ejiːr*, the verb beginning with *e* thruout (analogy of the Fr. sing. indic. pres.). M. Rivard notes: "J'ai entendu souvent: *ɛjiːr*; *ʃ t ɛji* = je te hais; *i s ɛjis st efrɛjã* = ils se haissent, c'est effrayant, c.-à-d. beaucoup."

[3] § 130, *Das gesprochene Französisch.*

[4] Jaubert, *Glossaire*, p. 357; cf. also the note on p. 356 (referred to in foot-note 2 on p. 103).

[5] *Etude*, § 529.

[6] Tome I, pp. 500-1, *haï, -ïs, -ït.*

[7] *Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 75.

3. *diːr* — Fr. dire, while regular as a dialect verb, offers compared with its French equivalent one or two points of interest: Pres. *ʒ diː* = je dis, *ty diː* = tu dis, *i diː* = il dit, *ɔ̃ diː* = on dit, *vu dize* = vous (dites), *i diːz* = ils disent; imperat. *diː* = dis, *dizɔ̃* = disons, *dize* = (dites). The dialect forms are on the analogy of the majority of verb-endings of this class, which have in the second person plural *e* = Fr. *ez*, while Fr. *dites* goes back to old French *dites* (for **diz*) on the analogy of the first person *dimes*, just as *faites* for **faiz* (*fakitis*) and *estes* for **ests*, **ez* have followed their first person plural's analogy.[1]

4. *dɔrmiːr* — Fr. dormir has in the present, according to the Phonology p. 37, 2., and wherever the *r* following the *o* is final in the dialect: *oː*, *ʒ doːr* = Fr. je dors, etc.

5. *kijiːr, cijiːr* = Fr. cueillir; for *i* = Fr. *ue* (= *ø*) see Phonology, p. 35, Special cases, no. 5; *kiji, ciji* = Fr. cueilli. These forms appear to be semi-learned for they are uncommon, the word in popular use being *kʊːse* = Fr. casser:

kʊːs dɔ̃ stə roːz lʊ
casse donc cette rose là

6. *kri*[2] = Fr. quérir. This infinitive in *i* does not properly belong here. It is the only one in *i* in this Acadian dialect that I have recorded, tho in Cheticamp I noted several. *kri* is also Canadian:[3] indeed, it is popular thruout Canada in both Acadian and Canadian districts where I have been. It is of interest as showing a stage of development of the French language during the XVIIth century, which did not succeed in holding its own in modern French and traces of which now appear in dialects. It was with French verbs in *-ir* precisely as with those in *-er*, that is the *r* became silent under the same conditions as it did with the verbs in *-er*. This latter feature of not pronouncing the *r* held its ground in modern French, while the former in the case of verbs in *ir* did not.[4] Thurot gives both *kri, qʼri* and *crir, qʼrir* in citing authorities.[5] Latin *quaerere* gave regularly *querre* just as *currere* gave *courre* (*courre* "le cerf", XVIIIth century). According to Littré, the modern French form arose by a change of accent which took place during the XVth century. Jônain gives *queri*; Moisy *quʼri*; Jaubert says "prononcez *kʼri*." These dialect forms then are merely the word without the final *r* and contracted as pronounced in XVIIth century French. In Carleton the word is only used in the infinitive.[6]

Examples: 1 *i ʊ ete kri sɔ̃ bo* 2 *vʊ l kri*
il a été quérir son bœuf va le quérir

[1] Cf. Schwan, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* (2d edition), § 426, Anm. 1, 2; or Schwan-Behrens, § 339, 2), Anm. 1.

[2] In regard to silent *r* in XVIIth century infinitives, and other cases as well, see Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*, p. 118.

[3] Legendre, *La langue française*, p. 58.

[4] Thurot, II. pp. 151-62.

[5] *Ibidem*, tome I, p. 154.

[6] "En fr.-can., aussi, le verbe *kri* n'est usité qu'à l'infinitif," Rivard.

7.[1] *kuri:r* courir | *li:r* lire | *ɔfri:r* offrir
kuvri:r couvrir | *muri:r* mourir | *uvri:r* ouvrir

follow the analogy of the verbs of this class (like the paradigm *dɔrmi:r*, p. 143) and consequently have past participles in *i*:[2] *kuri, kuvri, li, muri, ɔfri, uvri.* The adjective forms corresponding to *kuvri* and *uvri* are *kuvart* and *uvart* (p. 18, list 10), *muri:r* has also a participle *mo:r*, following French analogy, and a form *mury*, analogy of verbs in French, or in the dialect, whose past participle ends in *y*, as *mny* = Fr. venu.

Present		Subjunctive		Imperative	
ʒ mu:r	je (meurs)	*kə ʒ mu:r*	que je (meure)	*mu:r*	(meure)
ty mu:r	tu (meurs)	*kə ty mu:r*	que tu (meures)	*murɔ̃*	mourons
i mu:r	il (meurt)	*c i mu:r*	qu'il (meure)	*mure*	mourez
ɔ̃ mu:r	on (meurt)	*k ɔ̃ mu:r*	qu'on (meure)		
vu mure	vous mourez	*kə vu murje*	que vous mouriez		
i mu:r	ils (meurent)	*c i mu:r*	qu'ils (meurent)		

These regular dialect forms are of course analogical with the unaccented radical of the infinitive, or made like the majority of the forms of this verb. The French forms can be heard: *ʒ mœ:r* etc. but, it seems probable, they are due to learned influence, the others being far more popular.

Examples.

1 *ʒe m mu:r d fatik* 2 *i ɛ mo:r avɑ̃:z jɛ:r* 3 *i m ◡ p◡ ɑ̃:sɔrmɛ̃*[3] *ɔfri*
je me (meure) de fatigue il est mort avant hier il m'a pas (enseurrement = même) (offert)
ɔn fɛ:z 4 *mamzɛl, vudre vu ɑ̃:wɛje mɔ̃ pti garsɔ̃ kɑ̃:t i ar◡ li sa lsɔ̃?*
une chaise mademoiselle, voudrez-vous envoyer mon petit garçon quand il aura (lu) sa leçon

8. *mudi:r* = Fr. maudire; for *u* = Fr. *au*, see p. 48, no. 7 and the foot-note 1, and *eklu*, p. 46, list 34, no. 1.

9. *pursɥi:r* and *pursɥi* = Fr. poursuivre and poursuivi. Jônain gives *poursuire*, part. *poursuit, poursuie*; Moisy: *poursuir* and *porsui* (also the verb *suir*, part. *sui*); Jaubert: *poursuire, poursuir*, part. *poursui.*

Examples of Carleton usage:

1 *si ty pɛ p◡, ɔ̃ v◡ t pursɥi:r* 2 *vl◡ tru◡ fwa c i ɛ pursɥi*
si tu payes pas, on va te poursuivre voilà trois fois qu'il est poursuivi

See Godefroy: *porsuir*, Corblet: *poursuire.*

[1] Centre de France forms found in Jaubert are *couvri, couri, ouvri, offri*, for the past participles; the *r* of the French infin. forms in the Centre de France dialect is not heard; of interest, as I have noted, is this trait in Cheticamp, C. B. Jaubert notes the use of the French forms in the pres. indic., but records also *je mours, tu mours* for the pres. indic. and *que je moure* for the pres. subj. This latter usage is identical with Carleton dialect usage.

[2] Forms like *ouvri, couvri, offri* and *souffri* are common in popular rural French about Paris, Nisard. p. 234.

[3] Cf. § LIX, 3°, no. 2 *ɑ̃:sɔrmɛ̃.*

Note 1. The Bonaventure forms for the simple verb were *syi:r, syivã, syi,* fut. *ʒ syire,* condit. *ʒ syiri,* the remaining parts being identical with French.

poursuir and *poursui* are the forms given by Agnel for popular rural French about Paris, *Langage des environs de Paris,* p. 81.

10. *ri:r* = Fr. rire. The pres. indic. is as follows:

ʒ ri	je ris	*i ri*	il rit	*vu rje*	vous riez
ty ri	tu ris	*ɔ̃ ri*	on rit	*i ri:z*	ils rient

The third plural is on the analogy of forms like *di:z, li:z*; one might well expect for second person plural *rize,* on the analogy of the second person of these same verbs, but in this particular case Fr. *riez* has prevailed. The pres. subj. likewise follows the *li:z* or *di:z* type:

kə ʒ ri:z	que je rie	*c i ri:z*	qu'il rie	*kə vu rizje*	que vous riiez
kə ty ri:z	que tu rie	*k ɔ̃ ri:z*	qu'on rie	*c i ri:z*	qu'il rient

The forms not given are identical with the French forms, the imperf. indic. and pres. part. not being formed as usually from the third plural pres. ind. form *ri:z.*

Note 2. I noted a form in Bonaventure *i rihɛ* = Fr. ils riaient.

11. *mni:r, vni:r* = Fr. venir; infin. *vni:r* or *mni:r* = venir; pres. part. *vnã* or *mnã* = venant; past part. *vny* or *mny* = venu; pres. *ʒ vjɛ̃* = je viens: imperf. *ʒ vnɛ* or *mnɛ* = je venais; fut. *ʒ vɛ̃:dre* = je viendrai; condit. *ʒ vɛ̃:drɛ* = je viendrais; subjunct. *kə ʒ vjɛn* = que je vienne; imperat. *vɛ̃* = viens, *vnɔ̃* or *mnɔ̃* = venons, *vne* or *mne* = venez.

Note 3. About Quebec, where a pret. indic. and an impf. subj. are in use, the latter runs as follows: *kə ʒ vɛ̃:s, kə ty vɛ̃:s, c i vɛ̃:s, k ɔ̃ vɛ̃:s, kə vu vɛ̃:sje, c i vɛ̃:s.* Such expressions as the following are frequently recorded: *i ɔrɛ vuly kə ʒə vɛ̃:s a j ale* = il aurait voulu que je vinsse à y aller; *i fu̯lɛ c i vɛ̃:s a peje* = il fallait qu'il vinsse à payer; . . . *də pœ:r c i vɛ̃:s a z bat* = . . . de peur qu'ils vinssent à se battre.

The forms with *m* are due to the influence of the *n* following.[1] The verb is conjugated with *awe:r,* as are all neuter verbs, as a rule, in the dialect:

al ⌣ mny isɪt a matɛ̃[2]
elle a venu ici à matin

A dialect form exactly corresponding to Fr. *fuir* is not in use. The expression is *s sove* = Fr. se sauver:

1 *i s ⌣ sove kɔm ɑ̃ vɔlœ:r* 2 *so:v tu̯a*
il s'a sauvé comme un voleur sauve-toi

[1] Passy, *Etude,* § 434, and see the Phonology, p. 100, no. 2, top of page.

[2] In regard to the provincial expression *a matɛ̃,* cf. Prof. Bôcher's note in Holt's edition of *La petite Fadette,* no. 79: "*à cette fois*; the preposition *à* is here redundant; it is very often thus used by the peasants of central France in expressions of time; as *à ce soir* for *ce soir.*"

Likewise no exact form for Fr. *vétir* is heard; *abije* is common:

1 *st etrɑ̃ʒe ɛ bɛ̃ abije* 2 *i s abij a la mɔd*[1]
cet étranger est bien habillé il s'habille à la mode

Verbs of the third class.

§ LVII. Comprising the verbs not belonging to the other two classes. The past participle generally ends in *y*, not always, however, and must therefore be given. The infinitive may end in *r* preceded by a vowel (but not *i*): *bwɛ:r, wɛ:r*; or the infinitive may end in some other consonant: *bat, vɑ̃:d*, in which case the third person plural of the present indicative is in many cases identical with it. The future and conditional forms are from the infinitive, the remaining ones can be got from the third plural of the present indicative; the singular of the present indicative and second person singular of the imperative when losing the final consonant of the root: *pɛrd, pe:r*; *mɔrd, mo:r*, have the vowel lengthed just as in French and as with like verbs of the second class mentioned on p. 143: *sɔrt, so:r*.

1°. (1) Verbs with infinitives ending in a consonant other than *r*: Infin. *bat* = Fr. battre; pres. part. *batɑ̃* = battant; past part. *baty* = battu; imperat. *bᴗ* = bats, *batɔ̃* = battons, *bate* = battez.

Present		Imperfect		Future	
ʒ bᴗ	je bats	*ʒ batɛ*	je battais	*ʒ batre*	je battrai
ty bᴗ	tu bats	*ty batɛ*	tu battais	*ty batrᴗ*	tu battras
i bᴗ	il bat	*i batɛ*	il battait	*i batrᴗ*	il battra
ɔ̃ bᴗ	on bat	*ɔ̃ batɛ*	on battait	*ɔ̃ batrᴗ*	on battra
vu bate	vous battez	*vu batje*	vous battiez	*vu batre*	vous battrez
i bat	ils battent	*i batɛ*	ils battaient	*i batrɔ̃*	ils battront

Conditional		Subjunctive	
ʒ batrɛ	je battrais	*kə ʒ bat*	que je batte
ty batrɛ	tu battrais	*kə ty bat*	que tu battes
i batrɛ	il battrait	*c i bat*	qu'il batte
ɔ̃ batrɛ	on battrait	*k ɔ̃ bat*	qu'on batte
vu batrje	vous battriez	*kə vu batje*	que vous battiez
i batrɛ	ils battraient	*c i bat*	qu'ils battent

Like this paradigm the following verbs in the Carleton dialect are conjugated:

defɑ̃:d	défendre	*pɛrd*	perdre	*rɔ̃:p*	rompre
dəsɑ̃:d	descendre	*mɔrd*	mordre	*vɑ̃:d*	vendre

[1] The *ɔ* in *mɔd* and the *i* in *abij* are short.

(2) The following verbs not having an infinitive in *r*, tho in some cases conjugated precisely like the paradigm *bat*, nevertheless when compared with modern French equivalents, present dialect differences which it seems worth while to give as fully as practicable.

List 72 (A).

1	*apsu:d*	absoudre	8	*ɔpcẽ:d*	(obtenir)
2	*kɔnɛ:t*	connaître	9	*parɛ:t*	paraître
3	*ku:d*	coudre	10	*prã:d*	prendre
4	*cẽ:d*	(tenir)	11	*repɔ̃:d*	repondre
5	*mɛt*	mettre	12	*su:d*	(souder)
6	*mu:d*	moudre	13	*vi:v*	vivre
7	*nɛ:t*	naître			

No. 1 *apsu:d* = Fr. absoudre. For assimilation of Fr. *b* before unvoiced *s*, see p. 67, list 44. The verb presents no new peculiarities of inflection as the French verb does; thus a synopsis of the dialect forms runs as follows: Infin. *apsu:d* = absoudre; pres. part. *apsudã* = absolvant; past part. *apsude* = absolu; pres. *ʒ apsu* = j'absous; imperf. *ʒ apsudɛ* = j'absolvais; fut. *ʒ apsudre* = j'absoudrai; condit. *ʒ apsudrɛ* = j'absoudrais; subjunct. *kə ʒ apsud* = que j'absolve; imperat. *apsu* = absous, *apsudɔ̃* = absolvons. *apsude* = absolvez. The past participle has undergone the influence of past participles of verbs of the first class; perhaps here, that particularly of dialect *su:d* = Fr. souder, which has for a past participle the form *sude* = Fr. soudé.

No. 2 *kɔnɛ:t* = Fr. connaître, 7 *nɛ:t* = Fr. naître, and 9 *parɛ:t* = Fr. paraître have in the dialect forms identical with their equivalents in modern French. They are merely given as examples of verbs of this class whose infinitive and third person plural of present indicative are not alike. but just as in French, as are also their past participles *kɔny, ne,* and *pary.*

No. 3 *ku:d* (*kʊ:d*) = Fr. coudre like *apsu:d* above has no peculiarities as in French, the forms being simply: Infin. *ku:d* = coudre; pres. part. *kudã* = cousant; past part. *kudy* = cousu; pres. *ʃ ku* = je couds; imperf. *ʃ kudɛ* = je cousais; fut. *ʃ kudre* = je coudrai; condit. *ʃ kudrɛ* = je coudrais; subjunct. *kə ʃ ku:d* = que je couse; imperat. *ku* = couds, *kudɔ̃* = cousons, *kude* = cousez.

No. 4 *cẽ:d* for Fr. tenir, is made to conform to such verbs in this class as *plẽ:d* (*plẽ:d*), *ʒwẽ:d* (*ʒwẽ:d*). For *c* = Fr. *t* before *i* + vowel, see p. 86, list 54. The forms in the dialect are the following: Infin. *cẽ:d* = (tiendre); pres. part. *tnã* = tenant; past part. *cẽ* = (tient) tenu; imperf. *ʃ tənɛ* = je tenais; fut. *ʃ cẽ:dre* = je tiendrai; condit. *ʃ cẽ:drɛ* = je tiendrais; subjunct. *kə ʃ cɛn* = que je tienne; imperat. *cẽ* = tiens, *tnɔ̃* = tenons, *tne* = tenez.

Present	*ʃ cẽ*	je tiens	*ɔ̃ cẽ*	on tient
	ty cẽ	tu tiens	*vu tne*	vous tenez
	i cẽ	il tient	*i cɛn*	ils tiennent

Examples.

1 *fo kə ʒ l cɛn rāfɔrme* 2 *ʒ l e cɛ̄ tu la nɥi*[1] *dā me brᴗ* 3 *a pø*
faut que je le tienne renfermé je l'ai (tenu) (toute) la nuit dans mes bras elle peut

ɔpcɛ̄:d tu s k a vø 4 *ʒ e ɔpcɛ̄ kə ty rɛs*[2]
(obtenir) tout ce qu'elle veut j'ai (obtenu) que tu restes

ɔpcɛ̄:d, (no. 8 in the above list) of which the last two phrases have examples, is conjugated precisely like its simple verb *cɛ̄:d*. The *p* just as in *apsu:d* above is merely assimilation.

No. 5 *mɛt* = Fr. mettre, in every respect like *bat*, save the past participle which is *mi* = Fr. mis, the dialect forms being identical with the respective French ones. No. 10 *prā:d* = Fr. prendre has also the past participle *pri* = Fr. pris. Just as in French, it is an example of a verb having two stems, a strong stem under the accent: *prɛn*, and a weak one in the unaccented syllable: *prɔne*, *prɔnā*. Its forms in the dialect are identical with the corresponding French ones: thus the forms of the present are:

f prā	je prends		*i prā*	il prend	*vu prɔne* vous prennez
ty prā	tu prends		*ɔ̄ prā*	on prend	*i prɛn* ils prennent

The nasal sounded to me more like *prɛ̄*, or *prē*, than *prā* in many instances. Cf. for singular, *f plē*, § LVII, 1⁰. (3).

No. 6 *mu:d* (*mʊd*) = Fr. moudre. Perfectly regular according to the model given for the dialect *bat*; the forms are parallel to those of *ku:d* = Fr. coudre and run thus: Infin. *mu:d* = moudre; pres. part. *mudā* = (moulant); past part. *mudy* = (moulu); pres. *ʒ mu* = je mouds; imperf. *ʒ mudɛ* = je (moulais); fut. *ʒ mudre* = je moudrai; condit. *ʒ mudrɛ* = je moudrais; subjunct. *kə ʒ mu:d* = que je (moule); imperat. *mu* = mouds, *mudɔ̄* = (moulons), *mude* = (moulez), so that as with *ku:d* the French peculiarities do not appear in the dialect.

Examples.

1 *i e ti mudy? nɔ̄* 2 *i fo kə ʒ l mu:d stə nɥi*
il est (ti) (moulu) non il faut que je le (moule) cette nuit

Cf. the pres. and imperf. of this verb *j' mou*, etc. and *j' moudais* etc. as given by Agnel, i. e. identical with the dialect forms, save that French popular rural dialect says for the 1st pers. plur. *j' moudon* and *j' moudions* (*Langage des environs de Paris*, p. 74).

Nos. 7, 8, and 9 have been mentioned under nos. 2 and 4.

No. 11 *repɔ̄:d* = Fr. répondre, in every respect like the model *bat*, and identical with the equivalent French forms save that the past participle is *repɔ̄*, following the analogy of those verbs in the dialect like *ʒwɛ̄:d* (*ʒwɛ̄:d*), whose infinitive and past participle are alike, saving that the participle loses the final consonant of the infinitive:

[1] For *tu la nɥi*, see p. 74, under list 48.

[2] For cases like *rɛs*, see p. 78, list 51.

ty repɔ̃ a sa lɛt? ʒ i e pɔ̃ ãkɔːr repɔ̃
as-tu répondu à sa lettre j'y ai pas encore (répondu)

Note. About Quebec, a somewhat rare past part., *repɔne* can be heard.

No. 12 *suːd* = Fr. souder may have been influenced by the infinitive *apsuːd* (no. 1); it in turn has given its past participle *sude* to *apsuːd*. In all but the infinitive its forms are identical with what the forms of a verb *sude* = Fr. souder (of the first class) would be; that is pres. *f suːd* = je soude; imperf. *f sudɛ* = je soudais; fut. *f sudre* = je soudrai, etc.

No. 13 *vivː* = Fr. vivre. Its forms are like those of *bat*, or identical with the corresponding ones of the French verb, save that the past participle is *vi*, after the analogy of *ri, di, mi* and such like forms:

i ɔ̃ vi lɔ̃tɛ̃
il a (vécu) longtemps

Remark. A form exactly corresponding to Fr. *attendre* is not in use in the dialect. Instead, *ɛspere* = Fr. espérer is used: *ɛspɛr mwa isit* = espère-moi ici. As is well known, *espérer* in this sense is old French and so used also in Normandy, Maine, Berry, and Saintonge.

A form corresponding precisely to Fr. *croître* is not in use. Instead, *puse* = Fr. pousser is generally heard: *le patat ɔ̃ puse buku dəpy køk tɛ̃*
les patates ont poussé beaucoup depuis quelque temps

The verb *prɔfite* = Fr. profiter is used in a somewhat similar sense = perhaps more like Fr. *grandir*: *stə ptit fiːj prɔfit buku*
cette petite fille profite beaucoup

(one can hear also *ptit* and *prɔfit*).

(3) In the following verbs corresponding to those in French ending in *-aindre, -eindre, -oindre* (the infinitive and the third person plural of the present indicative differing), the forms of which like the equivalent French forms can be got just as the forms of the above verbs are (as stated on p. 149 under § LVII), the nasal in the dialect corresponding to Fr. *ain, ein, oin* seems to be rather that of *e* (= *ẽ*) than *ɛ̃*. (It may be *ɛ̃* sometimes, but generally I have recorded *ẽ*.) The past participle, as a rule, in the dialect is like the infinitive with the loss of its final consonant: Infin. *ʒwẽːd* = Fr. joindre; past part. *ʒwẽ* = Fr. joint. The verb *plẽːd* = Fr. plaindre, will serve as a model for like forms containing the nasal *ẽ*: Infin. *plẽːd* = plaindre; pres. part. *plɛɲã* = plaignant; past part. *plẽ* = plaint; imperat. *plẽ* = plains, *plɛɲɔ̃* = plaignons, *plɛɲe* = plaignez.

Present		Imperfect		Future	
f plẽ	je plains	*f plɛɲɛ*	je plaignais	*f plẽdre*	je plaindrai
ty plẽ	tu plains	*ty plɛɲɛ*	tu plaignais	*ty plẽdrɔ*	tu plaindras
i plẽ	il plaint	*i plɛɲɛ*	il plaignait	*i plẽdrɔ*	il plaindra
ɔ̃ plẽ	on plaint	*ɔ̃ plɛɲɛ*	on plaignait	*ɔ̃ plẽdrɔ*	on plaindra
vu plɛɲe	vous plaignez	*vu plɛɲe*	vous plaigniez	*vu plẽdre*	vous plaindrez
i plɛɲ	ils plaignent	*i plɛɲɛ*	ils plaignaient	*i plẽdrɔ̃*	ils plaindront

Conditional		Subjunctive	
ʃ plẽ:drɛ	je plaindrais	*kə ʃ plɛɲ*	que je plaigne
ty plẽ:drɛ	tu plaindrais	*kə ty plɛɲ*	que tu plaignes
i plẽ:drɛ	il plaindrait	*c i plɛɲ*	qu'il plaigne
ɔ̃ plẽ:drɛ	on plaindrait	*k ɔ̃ plɛɲ*	qu'on plaigne
vu plẽ:drje	vous plaindriez	*kə vu plɛɲe*	que vous plaigniez
i plẽ:drɛ	ils plaindraient	*c i plɛɲ*	qu'ils plaignent

There is no feminine form corresponding to Fr. *plainte,* the masculine, as very generally in the dialect, serving also for the feminine:

a s ◡ plẽ tu la nɥi[1]
elle s'a plaint tout la nuit

1. While such verb forms as those given for *plẽ:d* can be heard in the Carleton dialect, in such verbs as *etẽ:d* = Fr. éteindre, *fẽ:d* = Fr. feindre, *kɔ̃plẽ:d* = Fr. complaindre, *kɔ̃trẽ:d* = Fr. contraindre, and *ʒwẽ:d* = Fr. joindre, they can hardly be said to be in popular use, owing their existence probably to learned influence. Perhaps the remarks on the following verbs may help to bring out more plainly the force of this observation.

2. A form corresponding to Fr. *craindre* is not in popular use. The expression commonly heard is *awɛ:r pœ:r* = Fr. avoir peur:

1 *ʒ e pœ:r c i muj* 2 *ʒ e pœ:r c i m repɔ̃:d pɷ*
j'ai peur qu'il mouille j'ai peur qu'il me réponde pas

3. While *etẽ:d* and *etẽ* were pronounced to me several times while I was endeavoring to make out just what the nasal vowel was, nevertheless the common expression heard continually: *tɥe la lã:p* = Fr. tuer la lampe (for *éteindre la lampe*), convinced me that *etẽ:d,* together with all its forms, was not popular. About Quebec, however, *etẽ:dy* is quite popular: *l fø et etẽdy* = le feu est (éteint).

4. A form exactly corresponding to Fr. *peindre* is not in use. The verb in use is *depẽ:d* = Fr. dépeindre, and the forms are as follows: Infin. *depẽ:d* = dépeindre; pres. part. *depẽ:dã* = (dépeignant); past part. *depẽ:dy* = (dépeint); imperf. *ʒ depẽ:dɛ* = je (dépeignais), etc., i. e. with *d* thruout; fut. *ʒ depẽ:dre* = je dépendrai; condit. *ʒ depẽ:drɛ* = je dépeindrais; subjunct. *kə ʒ depẽ:d* = que je (dépeigne); imperat. *depẽ* = dépeins, *depẽ:dɔ̃* = (dépeignons), *depẽ:de* = (dépeignez).

Present	*ʒ depẽ*	je dépeins	*ɔ̃ depẽ*	on dépeint
	tu depẽ	tu dépeins	*vu depẽ:de*	vous (dépeignez)
	i depẽ	il dépeint	*i depẽ:d*	ils (dépeignent)

Thus the verb has evidently undergone the influence of Fr. *entendre,* or verbs in French, or in the dialect, conjugated like it.

[1] Cf. p. 151, foot-note 1.

Examples.

1 *ʒ j e tu depẽ:dy la plas* 2 *kã mɛ:m kə ʒ kɔnɛsɛ pᴗ mɔ̃n ɔ̃:k, ʒ*
j'y ai tout (dépeint) la place (i. e. the floor) quand même que je connaissais pas mon oncle, je

l e rkɔny tu d sɥit, ɔ̃ m l avɛ si bɛ̃ depẽ:dy
l'ai reconnu tout de suite, on me l'avait si bien (dépeint)

Note. In the second example *depẽ:dy* represents Fr. *dépeint*, being merely a dialect past participle, while in the first example, it stands for Fr. *peint*.

5. *tẽ:d* = Fr. teindre presents precisely the same features as dialect *depẽ:d*; a past participle *tẽ*, used adjectively may be heard.

Examples.

1 *gard dɔ̃ si ʒ e le mã nwɛ:r, ʒ e tẽ:dy nwɛ:r stə smɛn* 2 *ma ʃap vart* ᴗ
(regarde) donc si j'ai les mains noires, j'ai (teint) noir cette semaine mon écharpe verte a

bɛ̃ tẽ
bien (teinte)

2°. Verbs whose infinitives end in *r*, preceded by a vowel, (but not *i*), (see p. 149, under § LVII). Some of these verbs like *prã:d* (p. 151, no. 10) have two stems, one weak in the unaccented syllable and one strong under the accent: 1 *bwɛ:r* = Fr. boire has a strong stem *bwɛ:v* = Fr. boiv-, and a weak *buv* = Fr. buv-; 2 *d(ə)wɛ:r* = Fr. devoir has a strong stem *dwɛ:v* = Fr. doiv-, a weak *dəv* = Fr. dev-; 3 *puwɛ:r* = Fr. pouvoir has a strong stem *pœ:v* = Fr. peuv-, weak *puv* = Fr. pouv-; 4 *rsəwɛ:r* = Fr. recevoir, a strong stem *r(ə)swɛ:v* = Fr. reçoiv-, weak *rsəv* = Fr. recev-; 5 *vulwɛ:r* = Fr. vouloir, a strong stem *vœl* = Fr. veul-, weak *vul* = Fr. voul-.

(1) As any further attempt at classification of the verbs under this heading appears to defeat the object, simplicity, it seems most practical to take up each verb separately and bring out the points of interest by recording the forms and commenting upon them. *krwɛ:r* = Fr. croire may perhaps serve for as regular a paradigm of the dialect verb with infinitive in *r* preceded by a vowel (but not *i*) as can be found. The future and conditional as usual can be got from the infinitive, the other forms from the third person plural of the present indicative:

Infin. *krwɛ:r* = croire; pres. part. *krwɛjã* = croyant; past part. *kry* = cru; imperat. *krwᴗ* = crois, *krwɛjɔ̃* = croyons, *krwɛje* = croyez.

Present		Imperfect		Future	
ʃ krwᴗ[1]	je crois	*ʃ krwɛjɛ*	je croyais	*ʃ krwɛre*	je croirai
ty krwᴗ	tu crois	*ty krwɛjɛ*	tu croyais	*ty krwɛrᴗ*	tu croiras
i krwᴗ	il croit	*i krwɛjɛ*	il croyait	*i krwɛrᴗ*	il croira
ɔ̃ krwᴗ	on croit	*ɔ̃ krwɛjɛ*	on croyait	*ɔ̃ krwɛrᴗ*	on croira
vu krwɛje	vous croyez	*vu krwɛjie*	vous croyiez	*vu krwɛre*	vous croirez
i krwɛ:j	ils croient	*i krwɛjɛ*	ils croyaient	*i krwɛrɔ̃*	ils croiront

[1] Canadian *je cré* ou *je crois*, Legendre, *La langue française*, p. 60. I noted *ʃ kre* at the Falls of Montmorency, also in Pasbébiac; the 2d pers. plur. of the pres. subj., about Quebec, is *kə vu krɛjje*.

Conditional		Subjunctive	
f krwɛrɛ	je croirais	*kə f krwɛ:j*	que je croie
ty krwɛrɛ	tu croirais	*kə ty krwɛ:j*	que tu croies
i krwɛrɛ	il croirait	*c i krwɛ:j*	qu'il croie
ɔ̃ krwɛrɛ	on croirait	*k ɔ̃ krwɛ:j*	qu'on croie
vu krwɛrje	vous croiriez	*kə vu krwɛjje*	que vous croyiez
i krwɛrɛ	ils croiraient	*c i krwɛ:j*	qu'ils croient

For *wa* and *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*, see pp. 59-61, also for *f krwᵕ*, what is said under list 6, pp. 14-15.

(2) The dialect verbs that I have noted as presenting interesting features under this division of verbs of the third class, are:

List 73.

1	*bwɛ:r*	boire	8	*sawɛ:r, asawɛ:r*	savoir
2	*d(ə)wɛ:r*	devoir	9	*tɛ:r*[1]	taire
3	*fɛ:r*[1]	faire	10	*volwɛ:r*	valoir
4	*folwɛ:r*	falloir	11	*vulwɛ:r*	vouloir
5	*plɛ:r*	plaire	12	*wɛ:r*	voir
6	*puwɛ:r*	pouvoir	13	(*eklu:r*)	éclore
7	*rsəwɛ:r*	recevoir			

No. 1 Infin. *bwɛ:r* = Fr. boire; pres. part. *byvã* = buvant; past part. *by* = bu; imperf. *ʒ byvɛ* = je buvais; fut. *ʒ bwɛre* = je boirai; condit. *ʒ bwɛrɛ* = je boirais; imperat. *bwa* = bois, *byvɔ̃* or *bwɛvɔ̃* = buvons, *byve* or *bwɛve* = buvez.

Present		Subjunctive	
ʒ bwa	je bois	*kə ʒ bwɛ:v*	que je boive
ty bwa	tu bois	*kə ty bwɛ:v*	que tu boives
i bwa	il boit	*c i bwɛ:v*	qu'il boive
ɔ̃ bwa	on boit	*k ɔ̃ bwɛ:v*	qu'on boive
vu byve or		*kə vu byvje*	que vous buviez
vu bwɛve[2]	vous buvez	*c i bwɛ:v*	qu'ils boivent
i bwɛ:v	ils boivent		

The forms with *wɛ*, where French has *u*, are of course on the analogy of the many *wɛ* forms.[2] Notwithstanding, I was told that they were rare, the fact that they are heard from the most illiterate tends to show that the *y* forms (not including the past participle) are due to school influence. Excepting, then, the forms arising from weak *by* stem, the verb follows *krwɛ:r* with regularity; (see, however, remark to no. 7 *rsəwɛ:r*).

[1] About Quebec *fe:r* and *te:r*.

[2] For similar dialect forms compare Behren's remarks on *boire* in the important article: *Unorganische Lautvertretung innerhalb der formalen Entwickelung des französischen Verbalstammes*, *Französische Studien*, III. Bd., 1882, p. 19.

No. 2 *d(ə)wɛ:r* = Fr. devoir presents nothing noteworthy save the feature already mentioned on p. 154 under 2°, strong form *dwɛ:r* appearing in the accented forms, just as *swɛ:r* in the verb *rsəwɛ:r* (no. 7), weak *dər* (just as *sər* in *rsəwɛ:r*) in the unaccented ones. The future and conditional are identical with those tenses respectively in French that is *d(ə)vre* and *d(ə)vrɛ* = Fr. *devrai* and *devrais*, the verb throughout its forms being treated just like *rsəwɛ:r*, which, saving dialect *wɛ* = Fr. *oi*, is merely modern French. (For dialect *wɛ* = Fr. *voi*, see pp. 68-69, list 45).

No. 3 *fɛ:r* = Fr. faire presents forms precisely analogous to the ones given for *krwɛ:r* above, save that the past participle retains as in French the form which the Latin *factum* (dialect *fɛ* or Fr. *fait*) has produced. The parts then of *fɛ:r*, noteworthy as contrasted with the equivalent French forms are the present tense of the indicative, the imperative, and the present subjunctive, the other dialect forms being identical with their equivalents in modern French (cf. p. 136, 4°).

Present		Subjunctive		Imperative	
ʃ fɛ	je fais	*kə ʃ fɛ:z*	que je (fasse)	*fɛ*	faites
ty fɛ	tu fais	*kə ty fɛ:z*	que tu (fasses)	*fəzɔ̃*	faisons
i fɛ	il fait	*c i fɛ:z*	qu'il fasse	*fəze*	faites
ɔ̃ fɛ	on fait	*k ɔ̃ fɛ:z*	qu'on fasse		
vu fəze	vous (faites)	*kə vu fəzje*	que vous fassiez		
i fɛ:z	ils (font)	*c i fɛ:z*	qu'ils fassent		

A form exactly corresponding to the feminine past participle in French (*faite*) is not heard. This general dialect feature of having the feminine participle like the masculine (mentioned on pp. 152-53, under (3). *plẽ* for Fr. plainte) is quite natural, following the analogy of the majority of past participles in French, whose masculine and feminine forms are alike.

Examples.

1 *la klɔty:r kə ʒ e fɛ ɛ bɔn* 2 *fəze dɔ̃ pɔ̃ tã d trɛ̃*
la clôture que j'ai (faite) est bonne (faites) donc pas tant de train

No. 4 *folwɛ:r* = Fr. falloir. Influence of *i fo* = Fr. il faut. The verb as in French is used impersonally, the forms being: Pres. *i fo* = il faut; imperf. *i folɛ* = il fallait; fut. *i fodrɔ̃* = il faudra; condit. *i fodrɛ* = il faudrait; subjunct. *c i fal* = qu'il (faille); past part. *foly* = fallu.

The *d* in the future and conditional forms is merely French analogy where the *d* was intercalated originally between the *l* and the *r* for euphony. In the present subjunctive, perhaps *c i fol* might be looked for, after the stem *fɔl* in the other forms. It seems likely that forms like dialect *c i al, c i val* have here influenced. Cf. p. 135, 4, and the dialect forms given by Jaubert *qu'il alle, qu'il falle* and *que je vale*. Quebec forms are *fɔlwɛ:r, i fɔlɛ, fɔly*.

No. 5 *plɛ:r* = Fr. plaire (*plɛzã* = Fr. plaisant), *ply* = Fr. plu. With the exception of the infinitive, past participle, and third person singular of the present

indicative (*plɛ*), the other forms identical with their French equivalents are not in use, existing only as learned forms.

Example: *plɛ ti msjø* (for *ti*, see pp. 133-34, Note).
plaît (ti) monsieur

No. 6 *puwɛ:r* = Fr. pouvoir, mentioned on p. 154 under 2⁰, as a verb with two stems just as in French. A form corresponding precisely to the third French stem *puis* is not in use. The forms are as follows: Infin. *puwɛ:r* = pouvoir; pres. part. *puvã* = pouvant; past part. *py* = pu; imperf. */ puvɛ* = je pouvais; fut. */ pure* = je pourrai; condit. */ purɛ* = je pourrais.

Present		Subjunctive	
/ pø	je peux	*kə / pø:v*	que je (puisse)
ty pø	tu peux	*kə ty pø:v*	que tu (puisses)
i pø	il peut	*c i pø:v*	qu'il (puisse)
ɔ̃ pø	on peut	*k ɔ̃ pø:v*	qu'on (puisse)
vu puve	vous pouvez	*kə vu puvjc*	que vous (puissiez)
i pø:v	ils peuvent	*c i pø:v*	qu'ils (puissent)

The future and conditional, which are identical with the French forms, have the same origin, that is of futures originally in *-drai*, the first consonant being assimilated to the second.

No. 7 Infin. *rsəwɛ:r*[1] = Fr. recevoir; pres. part. *rsəvã* = recevant; past part. *r(ə)sy* = reçu; imperf. *zə rsəvɛ* = je recevais; fut. *zə rsəvre* = je recevrai; condit. *zə rsəvrɛ* = je recevrais; imperat. *r(ə)swa* = reçois, *rsəvɔ̃* = recevons, *rsəve* = recevez.

Present		Subjunctive	
zə r(ə)swa	je reçois	*kə zə r(ə)swɛ:v*	que je reçoive
tu r(ə)swa	tu reçois	*kə ty r(ə)swɛ:v*	que tu reçoive
i r(ə)swa	il reçoit	*c i r(ə)swɛ:v*	qu'il reçoive
ɔ̃ r(ə)swa	on reçoit	*k ɔ̃ r(ə)swɛ:v*	qu'on reçoive
vu rsəve	vous recevez	*kə vu r(ə)səvjc*	que vous receviez
i r(ə)swɛ:v	ils reçoivent	*c i r(ə)swɛ:v*	qu'ils reçoivent

This verb, as mentioned on p. 154 under 2⁰, has as in French a strong stem dialect *r(ə)swɛ:v* = Fr. reçoiv used in the accented syllables and a weak stem *r(ə)səv* in the unaccented. It is then like *bwɛ:r* except that the future and conditional are formed directly from the weak stem *rsəv*, while the future and conditional of *bwɛ:r*

[1] In regard to the *ə*, as a rule, the usage seems to me what Beyer and Passy describe: § 43, for French (*z-lə vwa* or *zə-l vwa*) and as Legendre also remarks, *La langue française*, p. 50: "Quand l'*e* muet reste à l'adjectif, il disparait dans le nom et réciproquement: *ce ch'val* ou *c' cheval*."

come from the infinitive which happens to be the strong stem of this verb (OF. *herrai*). Of course in Fr. *boire* this is modern and exceptional, inasmuch as in the French future and conditional the rule is to find the vowel of the unaccented stem.

No. 8 *savɛ:r* = Fr. savoir. *asavɛ:r* (= Fr. prep. *à* which has become prefixed) see § LX, preposition *a*. Pres. part. *savã* = (sachant); past part. *sy* = su; imperf. */ sarɛ* = je savais; fut. */ sare* = je saurai; condit. */ sarɛ* = je saurais; imperat. *se* = sais, *savɔ̃* = (sachons), *save* = (sachez).

Present		Subjunctive	
/ se	je sais	*kə / sa:v*	que je (sache)
ty se	tu sais	*kə ty sa:v*	que tu (saches)
i se	il sait	*c i sa:v*	qu'il (sache)
ɔ̃ se	on sait	*k ɔ̃ sa:v*	qu'on (sache)
vu save	vous savez	*kə vu savje*	que vous (sachiez)
i sa:v	ils savent	*c i sa:v*	qu'ils (sachent)

The forms having *sav-* where French has *sache* (LL. *sapya*) are due to the influence of the other forms where *sav-* appears both in the dialect and in French. Old French has *savrai, saverai* and *sarai,*[1] the verb forming its future precisely as Fr. *avoir* has, cf. p. 131, 4, and the form *sarai* being preserved in other dialects, Saintonge,[2] Centre de France, Normandy.

Examples.

1 */ sare si sə k t ⌣ di ɛ vrɛ u nɔ̃* — je saurai si ce que tu as dit est vrai ou non

2 *i fo apsəlymɛ̃ kə ʒ l sa:v* — il faut absolument que je le (sache)

3 *ã savã sə⌣, i pø p⌣ s trãpe* — en (sachant) ça il peut pas se tromper

No. 9 *tɛ:r* = Fr. taire; pres. part. *tɛ:zã* = taisant; past part. *tɛ:ze, tɛ* = tu; pres. */ tɛ* (as in French) = je tais; imperf. */ tɛ:zɛ* = je taisais; fut. */ tɛ:re* = je tairai; condit. */ tɛ:rɛ* = je tairais; subjunct. *kə / tɛ:z* = que je taise; imperat. *tɛ:s twa* = tais-toi. *tɛzɔ̃ nu* = taisons-nous, *tɛze vu* = taisez-vous.

The participle *tɛze* arises thru influence of verbs of the first class *done* = Fr. donné, whose past participles end in *e*. The participle *tɛ* has undergone influence of such participles as *fɛ* = Fr. fait. In the imperative *tɛ:s twa* is heard as tho influenced by an infinitive form *tɛze* (I find in Favre and Jaubert *taiser*) and in rapid utterance instead of *tɛ:z twa*, which the infinitive *tɛze* would point to, the *t* of *twa* has apparently unvoiced the voiced *z* before it thus making the form *tɛs twa*.[3]

Examples.

1 *sez ɛ̃fɛ̃ sɔ̃ p⌣ ãkɔ:r tɛze* — ses enfants sont pas encore (tus)

2 *kãt i s ⌣ y tɛ, ɔ̃n ⌣ pu parle* — quand il s'a eu (tu) on a pu parler

[1] See Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, p. 513, *savoir*.

[2] Chabaneau mentions this in his *Conjugaison française*, (1878), p. 123.

[3] Passy, *Étude*, § 392: "Assimilation régressive".

No. 10 Infin. *volwɛːr* = Fr. valoir; pres. part. *volã* = valant; past part. *voly* = valu; imperf. *ʒ valɛ* = je valais; fut. *ʒ vodre* = je vaudrai; condit. *ʒ vodrɛ* = je vaudrais; imperat. *vo* = vaux, *valɔ̃* = valons, *vale* = valez.

Present		Subjunctive	
ʒ vo	je vaux	*kə ʒ vol*	que je (vaille)
ty vo	tu vaux	*kə ty vol*	que tu (vailles)
i vo	il vaut	*c i vol*	qu'il (vaille)
ɔ̃ vo	on vaut	*k ɔ̃ vol*	qu'on (vaille)
vu vale	vous valez	*kə vu volje*	que vous valiez
i val	ils valent	*c i vol*	qu'ils (vaillent)

Cf. p. 156, no. 4 *folwɛːr* = Fr. falloir and like *folwɛːr*, the forms with *o* in *volwɛːr* are on the analogy of the forms where it occurs originally, as in the present indicative *i vo* (valet). The subjunctive, just as with *alɛ* or *folwɛːr* in the dialect, shows no palatalisation, being simply formed from the radical *vol*, just as *al* (= Fr. aille) from the root *al* (p. 135 under 4). The forms with *a* (= Fr. *a*) simply follow the French corresponding forms.

No. 11 *vulwɛːr* = Fr. vouloir. This verb like nos. 1, 2, 6, 7 (*bwɛːr, d(ə)wɛːr, puwɛːr,* and *rsəwɛːr*) has a weak stem *vul* in the unaccented forms and a strong stem *vøl* in the accented, the forms in the dialect, excepting the present subjunctive, being identical with the corresponding ones in French, the verb being precisely like dialect *puwɛːr* = Fr. pouvoir, no. 6, save that the future *rudre* and conditional *rudrɛ* (originally in old French *vouldrai*) retain the *d* owing to the preceding consonant *l* (even after the vocalization of *l*) while the original *d* in *poudrai*, not having a consonant behind it, became assimilated to the following consonant *r*. The forms then are: Infin. *vulwɛːr* = vouloir; pres. part. *vulã* = voulant; past part. *vuly* = voulu; pres. *ʒ vø* = je veux; imperf. *ʒ vulɛ* = je voulais; fut. *ʒ vudre* = je voudrai; condit. *ʒ vudrɛ* = je voudrais; imperat. *vø* = veux, *vulɔ̃* = voulons, *vule* = voulez.

Subjunctive			
kə ʒ vøl	que je (veuille)	*k ɔ̃ vøl*	qu'on (veuille)
kə ty vøl	que tu (veuilles)	*kə vu vulje*	que vous vouliez
c i vøl	qu'il (veuille)	*c i vøl*	qu'ils (veuillent)

Just as with *ale, folwɛːr,* and *volwɛːr* no palatalization takes place in the present subjunctive, the strong forms being made with the stem *vøl*.

No. 12 Infin. *wɛːr* = Fr. voir; pres. part. *wɛjã* = voyant; past part. *vy* = vu; imperf. *ʒ wɛːjɛ* = je voyais (like *krwɛːr*, p. 154); fut. *ʒ wɛːre* = je (verrai); condit. *ʒ wɛːrɛ* = je (verrais); subjunct. *kə ʒ wɛːj* = que je voie; imperat. *wa* = vois, *wɛːjɔ̃* = voyons, *wɛːje* = voyez.

Present				
	ʒ wa	je vois	*ɔ̃ wa*	on voit
	ty wa	tu vois	*vu wɛːje*	vous voyez
	i wa	il voit	*i wɛːj*	ils voient

For loss of Fr. *r* before *oi* = dialect *wɛ* or *wa*, see pp. 59-63. The verb is conjugated in all its forms precisely like dialect *krwɛ:r* = Fr. croire, p. 154. The *a* of the forms ending in that vowel has not so much of the ◡ quality as that in *krwɛ◡*. Likewise, in French, Passy and Beyer make a distinction writing the *a* in *croire* as *a*, and that in *voir* as *a* (*Das gesprochene Französisch*, pp. 147-8). The future and conditional forms cannot be Fr. *verrai* and *verrais*, but correspond to Fr. *voirai* and *voirais*; or, like so many of the dialect verbs which form the pres. subj., as shown in no. 11, directly from a frequently heard stem, so here *wɛ:r* has been taken and the future terminations added. Cf. *bwɛ:r*, p. 155, and remark under *rsəwɛ:r*, p. 157. The Norman form of the future from infin. *veir* is *voirai* (Moisy). A common expression heard much about Carleton is: *t ◡ k a wɛ:r* = tu (n')as qu'à voir.

No. 13 (*eklu:r*) = Fr. éclore, differing from the other verbs in the list in having *u* before the final *r* (see p. 46 for *eklu* and *eklu:r*). These two forms of this verb are the ones in every-day use.

Examples.

1 *le pulɛ sɔ̃ eklu* — les poulets sont éclos

2 *la pul r◡ eklu:r bɛ̃ vit* — la poule va éclore bien vite

(a) A form exactly corresponding to Fr. *mouvoir* is not in use, the word in popular use being *gruje* = Fr. grouiller.

Examples. 1 *gruje p◡* — grouillez pas

2 *i fɛ gruje la tab* — il fait grouiller la table

I find in Jaubert: "Il ne peut plus *se grouiller*." Molière uses the word in Acte III, Scène V of the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*: ". . . la tête lui grouille-t-elle déjà."

(b) A form exactly corresponding to Fr. *pleuvoir* is not in use.[1] The word is *muje* = Fr. mouiller. Both, A. Eveillé (*Glossaire saintongeais*) and Jônain give *mouiller* = Fr. pleuvoir.

Exclamatory, negative, and interrogative forms.

§ LVIII. (1) This topic having been quite fully discussed in treating of the auxiliary: p. 132, 6; p. 133, *ti*; p. 135, *ʒ m◡ ti* = Fr. je vais ti, need only be referred to here. The exclamatory form is like the interrogative, see p. 136, examples 11, 13, and 15. For completeness an example of a pronominal verb conjugated interrogatively is added.[2]

[1] Cf. for almost identical usage Legendre, *La langue française*, p. 57.

[2] Cf. p. 144, foot-note 5.

ʒ m løːv ti	je me lève (ti)	*ɔ̃ s(ə) løːv ti*	on se lève (ti)
tə løːv ty	te lèves tu	*vu løve vu*	vous levez-vous
[rarer *ty t(ə) løːv ti*	tu te lèves (ti)]	*i s(ə) løːv ti*	ils se lèvent (ti)
i s(ə) løːv ti	il se lève (ti)	*i s(ə) løːv ti*	elles se lèvent (ti)
a s(ə) løːv ti	elle se lève (ti)		

Note. The Quebec form is *lœv* thruout.

The passive verb.

(2) Infin. *ɛːt ɛme* = être aimé; pres. part. *etɑ̃ ɛme* = étant aimé; past part. *ete ɛme* = été aimé; pres. *ʃ sy ɛme* = je suis aimé; imperf. *ʒ etɛ ɛme* = j'étais aimé; fut. *ʃ ʃre ɛme* = je serai aimé; condit. *ʃ ʃrɛ ɛme* = je serais aimé; subjunct. *kə ʃ swa ɛme* = que je sois aimé. The forms thruout corresponding with their French equivalents seem to call therefore for no further comment.

Pronominal verbs.

(3) As may be seen from the conjugation of *s(ə) løve* under (1) just above, the correspondence between the dialect and French is the same: *s kuʃe* = se coucher, *s løve* = se lever, *s abije* = s'habiller. These verbs are in the popular language invariably[1] conjugated with *awɛːr*.

Examples.

1 *ʒ m e abije a la kurs*
je m'ai habillé à la course

2 *ʒ m e prɔm(ə)ne tut søl jɛːr swɛːr*
je m'ai promené tout seul hier soir

3 *ʒ m arɛ*
je m'avais

trɔ̃ːpe (trɑ̃ːpe) t fɑ̃ːb
trompé de chambre

Neuter verbs.[2]

(4) Neuter verbs are almost invariably conjugated with *awɛːr* = Fr. avoir; the forms of *ɛt* = Fr. être are sometimes used, due, I suspect, to learned influence, *awɛːr* forms being far more popular. M. Legendre, speaking of Canadian neuter verbs,[3] says that some are conjugated indifferently with *être* or *avoir*, but a state is meant when *être* is used, while action is implied when *avoir* is used. The teacher in

[1] This is a trait which distinguishes to a certain extent Acadian from Canadian. Cf. again Legendre (p. 56) who says: "Les verbes réfléchis, à part les accidents de prononciation, ne prêtent à aucune remarque spéciale. On entend cependant dire, mais bien rarement: *je m'ai fait battre, ils s'ont fait gronder*, etc."

[2] Agnel, speaking of the conjugation of neuter verbs in popular rural French about Paris, says: ". . . les paysans se servent plus fréquemment de l'auxiliare *avoir*. Par exemple ils disent: *il a arrivé hier*," etc., *Langage des environs de Paris*, pp. 76-7.

[3] *La langue française*, p. 56.

Carleton assured me that the local dialect there made no such distinction. The following examples illustrate Carleton usage:

1 *ʒ e tɑ̃:be* 2 *ʒ e arive* 3 *ʒ e parti* 4 *ʒ e mny* 5 *ʒ e sɔrti* 6 *t ◡*
j'ai tombé j'ai arrivé j'ai parti j'ai venu j'ai sorti tu a
rɛste 7 *i ◡ ɑ̃:tre* 8 *kɑ̃:t ʒ e y fini d ezarbe*[1] *mɔ̃ ʒardɛ̃, ʒ e rɑ̃:tre a la mɛzɔ̃*
resté il a entré quand j'ai eu fini d'(esherber) mon jardin, j'ai rentré à la maison

Impersonal verbs.

(5) The correspondence of the dialect forms to the respective French forms is nearly the same. I recorded the following slight variations in the popular speech:

1. *sɑ̃·ble* = Fr. sembler is used personally thus *ʒ m sɑ̃·b* for Fr. il me semble (see p. 142, no. 6).

2. *muje* = Fr. mouiller is the popular form as stated above, p. 160, (b) for Fr. *pleuvoir*.

3. Fr. *faire des éclairs* has no exact equivalent, the simple *eklɛre* = Fr. éclairer, being invariably used.

4. Fr. *il me tarde,* or an identical dialect expression, is not popular. *ʒ e ◡:t* = Fr. j'ai hâte, is what is used.

5. The common French expression *il s'agit de* has no exact equivalent: *de quoi est-ce qu'il s'agit* is rendered by *kwas kə sɛ* = Fr. quoi est-ce que c'est.

6. Instead of a form like Fr. *il s'en faut, i s ɑ̃ mɑ̃:k* = Fr. il s'en manque, is always used:

1 *i s ɑ̃ mɑ̃:k kə st ivɛ:r ɛ(:)j ete o·si dy:r kə l ivɛ:r p◡·se* 2 *i s ɑ̃ mɑ̃:k*
il s'en manque que cet hiver ait été aussi dur que l'hiver passé il s'en manque
k a sɛ(:)j o·si vajɑ̃:t kə sa sø:r 3 *i s ɑ̃ mɑ̃:k kə ʒ ɑ̃ ɛ(:)j o·tɑ̃ k øz o·t*
qu'elle soit aussi vaillante que sa sœur il s'en manque que j'en aie autant qu'eux autres

Examples of usage of impersonal verbs.

1 *i fɛ bo tɛ̃* 2 *j ɛ trwaz o:r* 3 *i tɔn* 4 *i nɛ:ʒ* 5 *i grɛl* 6 *i eklɛ:r ti*
il fait beau temps il est trois heures il tonne il neige il grêle il éclaire (ti)
œ̃ po! 7 *i vɑ̃ (vɛ̃) ti fo:r o·xordyi!* 8 *i folɛ*[2] *kə ʒ swɛ(:)j l◡ a matɛ̃* 9 *i mu:j*
un peu il vent (ti) fort aujourd'hui il fallait que je sois là (ce) matin il mouille
a vars dəpy jɛ:r swɛ:r 10 *i ʒɔl*[3] 11 *s◡ kɔ̃·rjɛ̃ p◡ d sɔrti:r l swɛ:r* 12 *kwas*
à verse depuis hier soir il gêle ça convient pas de sortir le soir quoi est-ce
c j ◡? 13 *j ◡ c i ro p◡ m rɑ̃:d mɔ̃ liv*
qu'il y a il y a qu'il veut pas me rendre mon livre

[1] See p. 19, foot-note 6, and for *ʒ e y fini*, p. 131, top.

[2] See p. 156, no. 4.

[3] See p. 139, no. 11.

Adverbs.

§ LIX. 1°. Adverbs of time.

1	*alo:r*	alors
2	*a matɛ̃ (matã)*	for (ce matin)
3	*astø:r*	à cette heure
4	*avã·zjɛ:r*	avant-hier
5	*ã·ko:r*	encore
6	*ãn ən sœl fwa*	en une seule fois
7	*ã·syit (ã·syit)*	ensuite
8	*beto*	bientôt
9	*dabo:r*	d'abord
10	*də bɔn ø:r*	de bonne heure
11	*dəmɛ̃, dəmã*	demain
12	*dəpy (dəpi)*	depuis
13	*de·ʒ◡*	déjà
14	*dɔ̃*	donc
15	*drɛ astø:r*	dès à cette heure
16	*kã:s*	quand est-ce
17	*kã:t*	quand
18	*kɔkfwa, cɔkfwa*	quelquefois
19	*lɔ̃·tɛ̃*	longtemps
20	*o·xordyi, o·ʒordyi*	aujourd'hui
21	*o·tørfwa*	autrefois
22	*pi*	puis
23	*pyto*	plutôt
24	*suvɛ̃*	souvent
25	*talo:r*	tout à l'heure
26	*t◡:r*	tard
27	*təʒu, təʒu:r*	toujours
28	*jɛ:r*	hier

No. 1 *alo:r* = Fr. alors. *o* = Fr. *ò*, see p. 37, list 25, no. 2. Examples seeming to call for no comment will simply be passed over.

No. 2 *a matɛ̃, a matã* used for Fr. ce matin. Jaubert says: "*à matin* ou *à ce matin* pour *ce matin*." Professor Bôcher's comment in his note no. 79 (Holts' edition of *La petite Fadette*) à propos of *à cette fois* will be found quoted on p. 148, footnote 2. *a sə swɛ:r* is also a Carleton expression.

No. 3 *astø:r* = Fr. à cette heure. This expression found in the dialect dictionaries and spelled in a half dozen different ways (see Favre, Moisy, Jaubert) is used for Fr. *maintenant,* a like form for which the dialect does not have. It is very common; cf. the note on *a matɛ̃* just above: *i fɛ bo astø:r* = Fr. il fait beau à cette heure. Dunn cites it in *Amyot and Montaigne*; cf. Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVI^e siècle en France,* § 258.

No. 4 *avã·zjɛ:r* = Fr. avant-hier, due to influence of the numerous forms where *z* is heard between two words (cf. p. 114, 2., also p. 121, 4.); and as Professor Bôcher remarks in note 132 of *La petite Fadette* (see no. 2 above) this is quite common, in all parts of France, by the uneducated: *i ɛ mo:r avã·zjɛ:r* = Fr. il est mort avant-hier.

No. 5 *ã·ko:r* = Fr. encore, see no. 1 *alo:r* above.

No. 6 *ãn ən sœl fwa* = Fr. en une seule fois, I was told, replaced Fr. *à la fois,* for which an exact equivalent is not in use. Also *dã ən sœl fwa.*

No. 7 *ã·syit* = Fr. ensuite. This *i* can be heard before almost any final consonant; cf. pp. 34-35, list 22.

No. 8 *beto* = Fr. bientôt. There is no exact form for Fr. *tôt* used alone, it only appears in the dialect in composition. This is merely *bɛ̃·to* with loss of nasality and pronounced a little higher up, which change does not seem altogether remarkable

in an unaccented syllable. The Quebec forms usually heard are *bəto* and *bœto*; but also *bɛto* and *beto*.

mɔ̃ ɔk vu fɛ dmɑ̃:de si vu vule ale fyz ø betɔ
mon oncle vous fait demander si vous voulez aller chez eux bientôt

or, as the Carleton teacher translated: *tantôt*; the *fyz ø* here means *chez-lui*, but *fyz ø*, being so much more frequently heard, is here so used: see p. 120, 2.

No. 9 *dabo:r* = Fr. d'abord, see nos. 1 and 5 above.

No. 10 *də bɔn œ:r* = Fr. de bonne heure, used where *tôt* is the common word in French: *si vuz arive pᴗ ply d bɔn œ:r, vu sre pynise*[1]
si vous arrivez pas plus de bonne heure, vous serez (puni)

No. 11 *dəmẽ, dəmɑ̃*. The Quebec forms are "*dəmẽ* ou *dəmɑ̃* ou peut-être quelque chose comme *dəmæ̃*," Rivard.

No. 12 *dəpy* Fr. depuis (*y* = Fr. *ui*, see p. 51, 4. Special cases, no. 2), *dəpi* can be heard, due to neglect of rounding.

No. 14 *dɔ̃* = Fr. donc. So pronounced simply on the analogy of forms where the *c* in French, in certain positions, is silent. See Lesaint, p. 132, bottom, for examples in French.

No. 15 *drɛ astœ:r* meaning about the same as Fr. dès à cette heure:

1 *si vu vule, ʒ mᴗ vu peje drɛ astœ:r*
si vous voulez, je vais vous payer (dès) à cette heure

2 *vule vu awɛ:r vɔt bytẽ nɛt*
voulez-vous avoir votre butin (linge) net

drɛ astœ:r?
dès à cette heure

Roquefort gives: "*drès*: *dès*, à l'instant, de ce moment-là, directe." The word *drɛ* taken by itself is a preposition; see § LX, no. 20.

No. 16 *kɑ̃:s* is merely a contraction of Fr. quand est-ce, due to rapidity of utterance; cf. *kɔmɑ̃:s* or *kɔmẽ:s* = Fr. comment est-ce, § LIX, 2⁰, no. 5.

No. 17 *kɑ̃:t* = Fr. quand (see Phonology, p. 75, no. 4):

kɑ̃:t ty vjɛ̃:drᴗ, ʒ ire t wɛ:r kɑ̃:t ʒ are fini
quand tu viendras, j'irai te voir quand j'aurai fini

No. 18 *kokfwa, cokfwa* = Fr. quelquefois. For vocalization of Fr. *l*, see p. 91, no. 4.

No. 20 *o:xordyi, oʒordyi* = Fr. aujourd'hui. Explained on p. 39, no. 8, as regards the vowel. For the Saintonge *x*, cf. Jônain's *jhour, avant-jhour, au-jhour*, etc., and see p. 104, list 66, no. 29.

No. 21 *o:tørfwa* = Fr. autrefois. See p. 93, list 57, no. 21.

No. 22 *pi* = Fr. puis. See no. 12 above.

No. 23 *pytɔ* = Fr. plutôt. Cf. *pɥi* = Fr. pluie, *pɪrizi* = Fr. pleurésie, and see explanation p. 92, nos. 11 and 12.

No. 25 *talœ:r* = Fr. tout à l'heure. Cited by Dunn who says: "Picard, Champaigne, and Lorraine form for Fr. tout à l'heure." The accented syllable so

[1] For *pynise*, see p. 143, foot-note 1.

preoccupies the attention, that the unaccented vowel fails to be heard; the *t* which precedes it becoming one and the same with the following *t*.

i ◡ pɔ̆·se talœ:r Cf. Passy's: *ʃ:ãte mn ami* (*Étude*, § 271)
il a passé tout à l'heure je suis enchanté mon ami

Corblet spells *taleure*: "De même en Lorrain, Champagne et Ronchi."

No. 26 *tɔ̆:r* = Fr. tard. See p. 15, list 7, no. 24.

No. 27 *təʒu* = Fr. toujours. See p. 33, Special cases, no. 5. *ʒ e təʒu frɛ:t* = Fr. j'ai toujours froid. The final *r* appears to be lost thru enfeeblement.

No. 28 *jɛ:r* = Fr. hier. The insertion of *j* between two syllabic vowels has been repeatedly noted (cf. *pøpølje* = Fr. peuplier, *tabølje* = Fr. tablier, pp. 91, 92, nos. 9 and 14) and is common in French, the difficulty in cases like Fr. *hier* being to avoid its creeping in. Indeed, Passy writes *prije* (*Étude*, § 529) usual pronunciation for Fr. *prier*. In dialect *jɛ:r*, the *i* has become palatalized and blended with the palatal *j*. Michaelis-Passy give *ijɛ:r* = *jɛ:r*.

There is no exact form corresponding to Fr. *jadis*; *ã:sjɛnmɛ̃* = Fr. anciennement is the popular expression.

For Fr. *désormais*, the dialect says *a l av(ə)nir* = Fr. à l'avenir.

For Fr. *bientôt*, *bɛ̃ vit* = Fr. bien vite is commonly heard.

There is no equivalent for Fr. *naguère*.

2º. Adverbs of quantity.

1	*ase*	assez	6	*mwɛ̃*	moins
2	*ã mas*	en masse	7	*o·tã*	autant
3	*bɛ̃*	bien	8	*pø*	peu
4	*buku*	beaucoup	9	*ply, plys*	plus
5	*kɔmɛ̃:s*	comment est-ce used for combien	10	*tã*	tant
			11	*trɔ*	trop

No. 1 *ase* = Fr. assez:

1 *ʒ e ase pœ:r pur ã muri:r* 2 *ʒ e jy ase pœ:r kə ʒ e kazimɛ̃ mury*
j'ai assez peur pour en mourir j'ai eu assez peur que j'ai quasiment (mort)

No. 2 *ã mas* = Fr. en masse:

ave vu ase d ars? ◡, wi, ʒ ãn e ã mas
avez-vous assez de (place) ah, oui, j'en ai en masse

No. 3 *bɛ̃* = Fr. bien:

ʒ ire vu wɛ:r bɛ̃ vit
j'irai vous voir bien vite

This contraction is caused by loss of accent, the word becoming, as in the example just given, a proclitic. When, however, the word is used as a noun it is pronounced as in French: *bjɛ̃*:

i ◡ pardy sɔ̃ bjɛ̃
il a perdu son bien

No. 4 *bʌku* = Fr. beaucoup. See Phonology, p. 47, list 35, no. 3. A form like Fr. *très* not being in use, *bʌku* is used in the dialect corresponding to Fr. *très*:

1 *i fɛ bʌku fɔ* 2 *lɔːz ekard sɔ̃ pɔ̃ bʌku bɔn* 3 *vuz ave bʌku d patat*
il fait beaucoup chaud leurs écardes sont pas beaucoup bonnes vous avez beaucoup de patates

No. 5 *kɔmɛ̃ːs* = Fr. comment est-ce, besides being used as in French, is also used for Fr. *combien*, for which the dialect does not have a like form:

kɔmɛ̃ːs kə t ɔ̃ peje sɔ̃
comment est-ce que tu as payé ça (meaning *combien*)

Cf. *kɑ̃ːs* = Fr. quand est-ce, p. 164, no. 16.

No. 9 *plys* = Fr. plus (so pronounced when the word marks quantity, analogy of the many cases in French where the *s* is sounded):

1 *ʒ e plys d pɔm kə twa* 2 *mne ply mə wɛːr*
j'ai plus de pommes que toi (ne) venez plus me voir

3°. Other adverbs.

1	*aljəːr*	ailleurs	9	*i*	y
2	*ɑ̃ːsərmɛ̃*	(même)	10	*isɪt, isit, sɪt*	ici
3	*ɛ̃ːsi*	ainsi	11	*lɔ̃*	là
4	*dədɑ̃*	dedans	12	*mɛːm*	même
5	*dəoːr*	dehors	13	*prɛsk*	presque
6	*dəsuːr, dəsu*	dessous	14	*purkwas*	pourquoi est-ce
7	*dəsyːr, dəsy*	dessus			
8	*eju, ejus, us*	et où, où est-ce, et où est-ce			

No. 1 *aljəːr* = Fr. ailleurs. This is one of the few cases where dialect *l* corresponds to Fr. palatalized *ill*. *al* stands for Fr. *aille* (p. 135, 4) tho the sources of the dialect and of the French forms are different. That such a pronunciation as that of Carleton existed in XVIth century French, the spellings which Thurot[1] gives might lead one to believe: *allieurs*, etc. There was some confusion in regard to the pronunciation of *li* and *lh* for Thurot remarks: "A Paris . . . on substituait *li* à *lh*." A propos of *aille*, Jaubert says: "prononcé comme *a-gl* (*gl* mouillé)" and he writes *ailleurs*. While the form Jaubert gives represents a XVIth century pronunciation of the word which became palatalized later in modern French, the Carleton form also indicates an earlier stage which has been preserved in its dialect:

ale vuz ɑ̃ aljəːr k isɪt
allez vous en ailleurs qu'ici

No. 2 *ɑ̃ːsərmɛ̃* in the sense of "even", "in addition to", was translated to me by Fr. *même*. It seems to be etymologically the old French word which I find in Godefroy and Roquefort: *ensement* = "en même temps, aussi", etc. I find what I take to be the same word in Favre (*Glossaire du Poitou*) spelled *ensrement* = Fr. seulement.

[1] Tome II, p. 300.

Fr.-Can. *ɑ̃:sœrmɑ̃* = Fr. uniquement. The following examples will show how it is used in the Carleton dialect:

1 *ɑ̃:sœrmɛ̃ i ◡ pɔ◡ y l co:r d mni:r m wɛ:r* 2 *prɛ̃ (prɑ̃) dɔ̃ de pilyl; prɑ̃z*
(enseurrement) il a pas eu le cœur de venir me voir prends donc des pilules; prends

ɑ̃ ɑ̃:sœrmɛ̃ dø e pi ty wɛr◡ kə bjɛ̃ s◡ r◡ t fɛ:r 3 *kɔm t ◡ de pɔm, dɔn*
en (enseurrement) deux et puis tu verras que bien ça va te faire comme tu as des pommes, donne

mwɑz ɑ̃ ɑ̃:sœrmɛ̃ dø e f fre kɔ̃:tɛ̃
moi en (enseurrement) deux et je serai content

No. 6 *dəsu:r* = Fr. dessous. For *r*, cf. p. 98, no. 6.

ty dwa awɛ:r frɛt avɛk stə ptit blu:z l◡? nɔ̃, ʒ e mi ɑ̃: ko:r dəsu:r
tu dois avoir froid avec cette petite blouse là? non, j'ai mis un corps[1] dessous

No. 8 *eju* = Fr. et où. That this slight transitory sound at the beginning may be the conjunction *et* seems not unnatural. The same with *ejus* = Fr. et où est-ce. The insertion of a *j* in such cases has been repeatedly mentioned (cf. p. 165, no. 28). *us* is, of course, Fr. où est-ce.

ejus kə ty v◡?
et où est-ce que tu vas?

No. 10 *isit, sɪt.* I have recorded *isit* on p. 73, list 47, no. 10; *sɪt* is merely a shortened form occasioned by rapidity. For the *t*, no explanation occurs. Moisy: *icite*; Jaubert: *icit.*

No. 14 *purkwas* = Fr. pourquoi est-ce:

purkwas kə ty trava:j p◡? a ko:z kə t ◡ p◡ mny avɑ̃
pourquoi est-ce que tu travailles pas à cause que tu as pas venu avant

4°. Adverbs are formed also as in French by adding the termination *mɛ̃* (*mɑ̃*) = Fr. -ment to the fem. form of the adjective, which, however, may not be the feminine of the modern French form:

dusmɛ̃	doucement	*sartɛnmɛ̃*	certainement
ørøzmɛ̃	heureusement	*vifmɛ̃*	vivement

(a) Just as in French, so, too, in the dialect, adjectives are used adverbially, for example:

fɛ:r	cher	*bɔ◡*	bas
fo	faux	*ʒys*	juste
o	haut	*fo:r*	fort

Examples. 1 *a fɑ̃ fo* (elle chante faux) 2 *i ʒu fo:r* (il joue fort) 3 *i parl bɔ◡* (ils parlent bas)

Other adjectives so used can be heard:

ʒ l e atrape ʒɔli
je l'ai attrapé joli

[1] = gilet de laine.

5⁰. Other adverbial expressions.

1	*a py prɛ*	à peu près	4	*o·tã kɔm o·tã*	autant comme autant
2	*a tu bʊt t fã*	à tout bout de champ	5	*tɛt bɛ̃ k wi*	peut-être bien que oui
3	*d lwɛ̃z ã lwɛ̃*	de loin en loin			

No. 1 *a py prɛ*[1] = Fr. à peu près (Phonology, p. 51, no. 1). Moisy (*Dictionnaire normand*) gives: "*à pü près,* loc. adv. à peu près."

kɔmã·s kə vuz ɛ:t d rɔt gaŋ (E. gang)*?* *ɔ̃n ɛ a py prɛ trɛ:z*
comment est-ce que vous êtes de votre "gang" on est à peu près treize

kɔmãs = Fr. combien, as stated on p. 166, no. 5. The *ɔ̃n ɛ* is clearly here for Fr. nous sommes.

No. 2 *a tu bʊt t fã* = Fr. à tout bout de champ, ordinarily has the meaning: *à chaque instant, continuellement.* For the *t* in *bʊt,* see p. 73, list 47, no. 4.

No. 3 *d lwɛ̃z ã lwɛ̃* = Fr. de loin en loin. For the *z,* see pp. 121-22, 4.

No. 4 *o·tã kɔm o·tã* has ordinarily the meaning of *très souvent.*

No. 5 *tɛt bɛ̃ kə wi* for Fr. peut-être bien que oui is like *talø:r* for Fr. tout à l'heure, p. 164, no. 25.

6⁰. The adverbs of negation most commonly heard are *pᴗ* = Fr. pas; *ply* or *py* = Fr. plus; *ʒamɛ* = Fr. jamais; *o·cynmɛ̃* = Fr. aucunement; *jɛ̃ kə* or *rjɛ̃ kə* = Fr. rien que; *jɛ:r* = Fr. guère (but hardly popular). All of these forms are used, as has been repeatedly noted, in examples already given (cf. also p. 132, 6) without any form corresponding to Fr. *ne.*

For *py,* in a case like *ʒ ãn e py* = Fr. j'en ai plus, see p. 92, no. 10. Normandy and Center of France. Dunn notes *pus.*

1. Forms corresponding exactly to Fr. *ne . . . que* are not popular; *rjɛ̃* or *jɛ̃ . . . kə* is the popular expression:

1 *komɛ̃·s kə ʒ vᴗ fɛ:r sᴗ? t ᴗ rjɛ̃ k a wɛ:r* 2 *s ɛ ti malɛze a fɛ:r sᴗ?*
comment est-ce que je vais faire ça tu as rien qu'à voir c'est-il malaisé à faire ça

nɔ̃, ɔ̃n ᴗ rjɛ̃ k a wɛ:r
non, on a rien qu'à voir

2. There is no exact form for Fr. *point, pᴗ* = Fr. pas doing duty in such cases.

3. The particles *wi* and *nɔ̃* are identical with Fr. *oui* and *non*; *si,* as a negative, is not used alone, the expression being invariably *si fɛ* = Fr. si fait. *sart* = Fr. certes, is much used.

4. An exact form for Fr. *assurément* is not heard, *syrmɛ̃* = Fr. sûrement, being quite popular.

5. The form corresponding to Fr. *pas du tout* is *p ã tut* = Fr. pas en toute.

[1] Manseau notes this expression, giving examples of its use: *Dictionnaire canadien,* p. 68. In the example, *ŋ* = *ng* in E. *thing.*

6. A form like Fr. *dans peu* or *sous peu* is not heard. *dã po d tã* (*tɛ̃*) = Fr. dans peu de temps, is common.

7. Fr. *à bon marché* is expressed popularly: *a grã marʃe* = Fr. à grand marché.

8. Fr. *tout à coup* has no exact equivalent; *tu d œ̃ ku* = Fr. tout d'un coup, is what is commonly heard; also common about Quebec, where *a ku* (= à coup) and *d a ku* (= d'à coup) are also used in the same sense as *tu d œ̃ ku*.

9. There is no exact corresponding form for Fr. *de temps à autre*; *d tãz* (*tɛ̃z*) *ã tã* (*tɛ̃*) = Fr. de temps en temps, is the expression in current use.

Prepositions.

§ LX.

1	*a*	à	20	*drɛ*[2]	dès
2	*a kote də*	à coté de	21	*dyrã*	durant
3	*a ko:z də*	à cause de	22	*kã:t e*	quand et
4	*a l ã:tu:r də*	à l'entour de	23	*kɔ̃:t*	contre
5	*a l egɔ:r də*	à l'égard de	24	*malgre, margre*	malgré
6	*amɔ̃*	amont	25	*o ljø:r də*	au lieu de
7	*a pɔ:r də*	à part de	26	*oprɛ də*	auprès de
8	*aprɛ*	après	27	*o rɔ də*	au ras de
9	*a rəbu:r də*	à rebours de	28	*o:r*	hors
10	*avã*	avant	29	*pa(:)r, pɑ(:)r*	par
11	*avɛk, avɛk,*[1] *avɛ*	avec	30	*parmi*	parmi
12	*ã*	en	31	*pãnã*	pendant
13	*ã:t*	entre	32	*prɛ də*	près de
14	*ãvɛ:r*	envers	32a	*pu(:)r*	pour
15	*dã*	dans	33	*sã*	sans
16	*d(ə)*	de	34	*su(:)r*	sous
17	*darje:r*	derrière	35	*sy*	sur
18	*dəpy, dəpi*	depuis	36	*sy, ʃø, ʃøz, ʃy, ʃyz*	chez
19	*dəvã*	devant	37	*vɛ:r*	vers

Note. The quantity is indicated as usual in the above words where it may possibly appear. As these words, however, almost invariably appear unaccented in the phrase, the quantity distinction there is not apparent and therefore is not recorded.

No. 1 *a* = Fr. à: *s ɛ la fɛ:t a papɔ*
c'est la fête à papa

For like expressions, see the dialect dictionaries (Norman, Saintonge, and Centre de la France); they show how common this use of *à* is in the provinces; cf. also Manseau

[1] About Quebec the forms are *avɛk* and *avɛk*, the former being perhaps the more generally popular.

[2] About Quebec invariably *dre*.

(*Dictionnaire canadien*): *a la rəry* = Fr. à la revue, popular for Fr. *au revoir*; cf. also Dunn: *a matī, a matā* = Fr. à matin, *a swɛ:r* = Fr. à soir, *a stœ:r* = Fr. à cette heure, for Fr. *ce matin, ce soir, à cette heure, maintenant*; cf. the note on *a matī, a matā*, p. 163, no. 2 and p. 148, foot-note 2; *a la mɛ̃* = Fr. à la main, meaning Fr. *commode*. Littré under ‖ 9° gives *à la main* in the dialect sense. The Norman phrase, according to Moisy, is *à main*; he gives a quotation from Froissard: XIII, 96, and XVI, f. 38, (taken from *Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye*, tome VII, p. 221, under 2 *main, expressions*, 4°: "Ce voyage ne nous est pas bien à la main") showing *à la main* to be used in old French just as in the dialect. "*à main* se trouve dans le patois normand où il a le même sens qu'au Canada." *BPFC.* I, p. 149. Because of the commonness of the preposition *à*, in the French dialects in France as well as in the Carleton, it not infrequently becomes attached to words as: *a sawɛ:r* = Fr. à savoir (p. 158, no. 8), *a trap* = Fr. à trappe, influence likely of Fr. *attraper* (see p. 20, list 12, no. 8).

A curious use seems the following:

se ro:z l◡ sā ti a bɔ̄!
ces roses - là sentent (ti) à bon

I find in Jônain: "*senti à* = Langue d'Oc: sentir le ou la; '*tu sens à l'ail* = tu sens l'ail'."

à ce matin for *ce matin* is popular rural French about Paris, see Agnel, *Language des environs de Paris*, p. 106, as is also *a st o:r* = as'teure, p. 111, *ibidem.*

No. 6 *amɔ̄* = Fr. amont. This expression common enough in old French: *amunt, à mont* (L. ad montem), and the opposite of OF. *aval* (L. ad vallem) has a somewhat different meaning from the modern French *amont*. The Carleton dialect word ordinarily means "up against", "along side of", about like Fr. *près de*:

lɛs la ars amɔ̄ la grā:ʒ
laisse la herse amont la grange

No. 7 *a p◡:r* = Fr. à part:

a p◡:r d la mo:r, i ◡ pœ:r d rjɛ̃
à part de la mort, il a peur de rien

A form corresponding to Fr. *craindre* is not in popular use, cf. p. 153, 2.

No. 9 *a rəbu:r də* = Fr. à rebours de:

st ɛ̃fɛ̃ l◡ ɛ ase tɛty[1] *kə fo təzu c i gay:r i ɛ təʒu a rəbu:r dy bɔ̄ sā*
cet enfant là est assez têtu que faut toujours qu'il gagne: il est toujours à rebours du bon sens

No. 11 *avɛk*; *avɛ* = Fr. avec, is rare but can be heard. Moisy gives: "*ove*, forme apocopée du même mot, (*ovecques*) est aussi fort ancien en dialecte normand."

No. 18 *dəpy, dəpi* = Fr. depuis, see Phonology, p. 51, no. 2.

No. 20 *drɛ* = Fr. dès:

drɛ c i fi ʒu:r, ʃ parti
drès qu'il fit jour, je partis

[1] Quebec *te:ty*.

Cf. E. "directly it was day, I left." The word is *drèt,* or Fr. *droit,* L. *directum,* and not the same as Fr. *dès,* cf. K.$_3$ 2760, which appears to be *de* + *ex,* tho disputed.

The preterites in the above phrase are simply due to Canadian influence. Cf. the same word used in an adverbial phrase on p. 164, no. 15.

No. 22 *kɑ̃:t e* = Fr. quand et, meaning *avec* or *en même temps que,* is an old expression found in just this sense in Jaubert (*Glossaire du Centre de la France*) who gives as examples: *J'irai à la ville quand et lui; il est arrivé quand et nous.* This is also the Canadian sense and XVIth century, too, as appears from a quotation (cited by Dunn in his *Glossaire*) taken from Montaigne. *quand* alone has this same meaning in the Saintonge dialect according to Jônain. *kɑ̃:t e* is evidently an old French retention, as Roquefort says: "*quant et eux,* en même temps, ensemble." Cf. also Godefroy: *quant et.* Moisy gives *quant et* and *à quand et.*

No. 25 *o ljø:r də* for Fr. au lieu de, influence of the *r* in *aljø:r* = Fr. ailleurs:

travaje dɔ̃ o ljø:r d flœ̃ne
travaillez donc au lieu de flâner

No. 27 *o rœ̃* = Fr. au ras. Cf. modern Fr. *rez* (K.$_3$ 7798, L. rāsŭm). Jaubert says the Center of France expression is not *au ras* but *ras,* thus: "*ras l'eau, ras terre.*" Jônain gives: "*à ras de l'eve, ras l'eve* = Fr. au ras de l'eau." The dialect sense in Carleton is rather *près de* than (as the dictionary defines) *au niveau de*; for example:

1 *asize vu o rœ̃ mwa*
asseyez-vous au ras moi

2 *l tizɔne ɛ o rœ̃ l pwɛl*
le tisonnier est au ras le poêle

3 *ramœ̃:s dɔ̃ st epɛ̃:g lœ̃*
ramasse donc cette épingle-là

c ɛ(t) o rœ̃ la pat d la tab
qu'est au ras la patte de la table

No. 31 *pɑ̃nɑ̃* = Fr. pendant. This pronunciation is due to complete nasalization of the *d* (see p. 72, no. 7):

alɔ̃ darje:r la grɑ̃:z pɑ̃nɑ̃ l ɔra:z
allons derrière la grange pendant l'orage

No. 34 *su(:)r* = Fr. sous. The *r* seems to be influence of the *r* in Fr. *sur* as explained on p. 98, no. 6:

1 *dən mwa ma brɔʃy:r c ɛ sur la tab*
donne moi ma brochure qu'est sous la table

2 *la mɛ:r ɛ bœ̃:s; s ɛ l tɛ̃ d ale*
la mer est basse; c'est le temps d'aller

pɔne dy umœ̃:r dɑ̃ lez arb sur le rɔʃe
(em)poigner du homard dans les herbes sous les rochers

3 *ʒ e vy ɑ̃ bo ptit ecyrø sur l pɔ̃*
j'ai vu un beau petit écureuil sous le pont

The *t* of Fr. *petit* happens in this particular instance to have been "linked over"; this, however, is not very usual in the dialect.

Remark. In regard to the etymology of Fr. *sur,* cf. K.$_3$ 9263. Also G. Paris in *Romania,* vol. X, p. 51: "*sur*, vient-il de *super* ou de *supra*? *sour, soure* est devenu regulièrement *seur, seure,* qu'on trouve pendant tout le moyen-âge; *sur* est donc une forme moderne amenée par la proclise." Jaubert gives *sour.*

No. 35 *sy.* This is a dialect form spelled by Moisy *sus,* the *s* final being linked before consonants and silent otherwise. Jônain writes *sû*; Eveillé says "*sus*

(prononcé *sə̃*) prép. *sur*": Jaubert writes *sus* but says the *s* is not pronounced. For farther explanation, see p. 99, no. 4; also p. 98, no. 6.

1 *l mɔ̃:d ɔ̃ fɛ tut ɑ̃ tɔ̃ d istwɛ:r sy ɛl* 2 *mɔ̃ ɔ̃:k dʒɔ:ne ɔ̃ atrape ɑ̃ jibu*
le monde ont fait tout un tas d'histoires sur elle mon oncle "Johnny" a attrapé un hibou

sy l bɔ:r d la rut 3 *ʒ*[1] *m sɑ̃:blɛ purtɑ̃ kə ʒ avɛ mi mɔ̃ fapo sy la tab*
sur le bord de la route je me semblais pourtant que j'avais mis mon chapeau sur la table

4 *ʒ e ete ase mal kufe k a matɛ̃ ʒ avɛ le kɔ:t sy l lɔ̃*
j'ai été assez mal couché qu'à matin j'avais les côtes sur le long

ɛ:t sy l lɔ̃ meaning Fr. être très fatigué.

sus is the spelling given by Agnel for the popular rural pronunciation about Paris, ***Langage des environs de Paris,*** p. 86.

No. 36 *sy, fø, føz, fy, fyz* for Fr. chez. The rounding in these cases appears to be due to energetic lip movement which is forcible in the dialect. The forms with *z* are used before vowels. Moisy and Jaubert both write *cheux*. Jaubert gives also *sus,* which I take to be the Carleton *sy* and due likely to the influence of Fr. *sur* or *sus,* where either sense might perhaps fit fairly well; cf. the Phonology, p. 52, no. 8; p. 77, 4, no. 3. The sense, too, of Jaubert's phrases is exactly the same as the Carleton dialect sense. Examples of Carleton dialect usage:

1 *la smɛn pɔ̃se, j ɔ̃ y ɑ̃ snak sy l wɛɛ̃* (*snak* here in the sense of a feast)
la semaine passée, y a eu un "snach" chez le voisin

2 *kɔlɔ̃ ɔ̃ mny jɛ:r swɛ:r sy mɔ̃n ɔ̃:k* 3 *ɔn ɛ ti bɛ̃ sy sɔ̃ pɛ:r!* 4 *kɑ̃:t ty*
(Ni)colas a venu hier soir chez mon oncle on est (ti) bien chez son père quand tu

jirɔ̃ a l egli:z, rudrɔ̃ ty arɛte fø nu m prɑ̃:d (*prɛ̃:d*)?
iras à l'église, voudras-tu arrêter chez nous me prendre

In regard to this last phrase, I was told by the Carleton school teacher that the French *passer chez moi* was expressed popularly in the dialect by *arɛte fø nu* = Fr. arrêter chez nous.

The following example of *sy* illustrates an interesting usage:[2]

vɔ̃ dɔ̃ farfe la bərwɛt a sy tɔ̃ grɑ̃pɛ:r pur fɔ̃rje se kɔfɔnəri lɔ̃ a la kɔ:t
va donc chercher la brouette (de chez) ton grand-père pour charrier ces cochonneries-là à la côte

For popular rural French about Paris, Nisard spells *cheux, Langage populaire,* p. 151. *cheux* is very common in XVIth century French; Thurot, I, p. 467.

Conjunctions.

§ LXI.

1	*afɛ̃ kə*	afin que	3	*a mwɛ̃ kə*	à moins que
2	*a kɔ:z kə*	à cause que (parceque, pourquoi)	4	*a tu d rɛs*	à tout de reste, quand même

[1] Quebec *i m sɑ̃:blɛ.*

[2] "Voici l'explication, suivant moi, du moins pour le can.-fr. *sy, fy, fø* = chez. Or, dans le dialecte *chez nous* = les gens de chez nous; *chez*

5	*avɛ̃ kə, avɑ̃ kə*	avant que
6	*ɑ̃ k◡ kə*	en cas que
7	*ɛ̃·si kə*	ainsi que
8	*bjɛ̃ kə*	bien que
9	*dəpy kə*	depuis que
10	*drɛ kə*	(dès que)
11	*dɔ̃*	donc
12	*e*	et
13	*ka(:)r, ka(:)r*	car
14	*kə*	que
15	*kwak*	quoique
16	*lɔrsk*	lorsque
17	*mɛ*	mais
18	*mɛ kə*	mais que
19	*neɑ̃·mwɛ̃*	néanmoins
20	*ni*	ni
21	*o·si bjɛ̃ kə*	aussi bien que
22	*o·sitɔ kə*	aussitôt que
23	*pask(ə)*	parce que
24	*pɑ̃·nɑ̃ kə*	pendant que
25	*pur kə*	pour que
26	*purkwas*	pourquoi est-ce
27	*purtɑ̃*	pourtant
28	*purvy kə*	pourvu que
29	*plys kə, pys kə*	puisque
30	*sɑ̃ kə*	sans que
31	*spɑ̃·dɑ̃*	cependant
32	*tɑ̃·di kə, tɑ̃·dis kə*	tandis que
33	*tɑ̃ kə*	tant que
34	*zysk a s kə*	jusqu'à ce que

While the above words can be and are used as conjunctions in the dialect, many of them are also, just as in French, in somes cases adverbs, this of course depending on how they are used in a phrase, examples of words frequently used as adverbs being *neɑ̃·mwɛ̃, purkwas, purtɑ̃, spɑ̃·dɑ̃,* etc.

No. 2 *a ko:z kə* = Fr. à cause que. An example occurs on p. 167, no. 14:

a ko:z kə t ◡ p◡ mny arɑ̃·zjɛ:r? a ko:z kə me bɔtin sɔ̃ pərse
à cause que (pourquoi) tu as pas venu avant-hier à cause que (parceque) mes bottines sont percées

No. 4 *a tu d rɛs* = Fr. à tout de reste, is used in the sense of *quand même.*

No. 6 *ɑ̃ k◡ kə* = Fr. en cas que:

ʃ krw◡ bɛ̃ kə ʒ v◡ prɛ̃ (prɑ̃) mɔ̃ rab◡,[2] ɑ̃ k◡ c i muj
je crois bien que je vais prendre mon rabat, en cas qu'il mouille

No. 9 *dəpy kə* = Fr. depuis que:

ɔ̃n ◡ jy dy bo tɛ̃ dəpy kə l mw◡ də sɛktɑ̃.b ɛ kɔmɑ̃·se
on a eu du beau temps depuis que le mois de septembre est commencé

No. 18 *mɛ kə* = Fr. mais que, in the sense of *lorsque, dès que* (given by Dunn in this sense). The expression is Norman as Moisy gives it in the same sense. A Carleton example is: *mɛ kə ʒ l are fɛ* = Fr. mais que je l'aurai fait, meaning *quand je l'aurai fait.*

No. 25 *pur kə* = Fr. pour que:

wɛjɔ̃ l◡, ʒu nu on bɛl cyn pur k ɔ̃ dɑ̃:s on zɥg a kat
voyons-là, joue nous une belle "tune" pour qu'on danse une gigue à quatre

un tel = les gens de chez un tel, sa famille, les personnes qui restent avec lui. *Chez mon grand-père* = la famille, la maisonnée de chez mon grand-père, tous ceux qui demeurent chez mon grand-père; on dira, par exemple: *Chez Jean sont venus nous voir,* pour: Les gens de chez Jean, sa famille, ceux qui demeurent chez lui, etc. *La brouette de chez ton grand-père,* c.-à.-d. appartenant aux gens de chez ton grand-père, la brouette de grand-père." Rivard.

[1] *rab◡* is not used in the sense of Fr. *auvent,* or *banne,* as in Quebec French; it seems to mean a rubber blanket possibly the "boot" attached to the dashboard of an open carriage.

No. 29 *plys kə* = Fr. puisque:

1 *fə bẽ kə ty jal plys kə ty j ◡ prɔmi* 2 *plys kə ty və p◡ m ekute, fu*
faut bien que tu ailles puisque tu y (lui) as promis puisque tu veux pas m'écouter (fout)

tɔ̃ kã fə vu
ton camp chez vous

As remarked on p. 172, last remark but one, under no. 36, *sy, sø,* etc., *fə nu* is more popular than *fə muva,* just so this phrase indicates that *fə vu* is more popular than *fə tuva,* and it may be said, as a rule, the plural forms are the more popular with *fə.*

Interjections.

§ LXII.

1	◡	ah	5	*e bjɛ̃*	eh bien
2	*alɔ̃*	allons	6	*hol◡*	holà
3	*ei*	(aïe)	7	*fyt*	chut
4	*b◡*	bah			

It is obvious that the majority of the adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections in the dialect and modern French are identical. The lists have been made as full as possible in order to approach completeness so desirable in such collections.

A few other interjectional expressions are added forming as it were by themselves a variety apart from those above. They consist mostly of some variation of the French verb *sacrer* and are very common. The expressions for driving a horse, as for instance *dʒi, huo, bak, go ɔn,* gee, whoa back, go-on, etc., are nearly all taken from English and are mentioned under Anglicisms.

1	*d◡ne fɔl*	damnée folle	9	*sakr*	sacre
2	*gɔd dum*	(E. god-damn)	10	*sakre*	sacré
3	*kre bɛt*	(sa)crée bête	11	*sakre fu*	sacré fu
4	*kre fu*	(sa)cré fou	12	*sakre mɔdi fu*	sacré maudit fou
5	*modi fjɛ̃*	maudit chien	13	*sakristi*	sacristie
6	*modit bɛ:t*	maudite bête	14	*sapristi, sapresti*	sapristi
7	*re b◡tɛ:m*	(sa)cré baptême	15	*s e sakrã*	c'est sacrant
8	*rɛsti*	(sa)cresti	16	*ver◡*	verrat

I have no examples of Fr. *k* corresponding to dialect *p.* Of course, dialect *sapristi* is Fr. *sapristi.* I think, one can feel that to the French ear *sapristi* is "milder" than *sakristie.*

Examples.

1 *rez ɛ̃fɛ̃ tanã!* 2 *t ◡ l sakr o ko:r d awɛ:r fɛ sɔ!* 3 *s ɛ ti p◡ sakrã!*
(sa)crés enfants tannants tu as le sacre au corps d'avoir fait ça c'est (ti) pas sacrant

IV. Phraseology.

Acadianisms.

§ LXIII. The peculiarities which the words in the following list may offer as regards differences of pronunciation from their standard French equivalents have been in a great part, if not wholly, illustrated and explained in the phonology. So, too, have many of the peculiarities which occur in the other words composing the sentence which illustrates the numbered word or expression. Therefore differences in sense and etymological points of interest of the words and phrases here listed are given more particular attention. While the heading "Acadianisms" is meant to include words and phrases peculiar to the local dialect, many of them might quite as properly be termed Canadianisms.[1] Some, too, may be common in popular French. All, however, seemed to possess in connection with the subject interest sufficient to warrant recording them. The expression "was translated" means by Mlle Allard, the Carleton school teacher. These notes were taken before the *BPFC.* came into existance (1902). Many of the expressions here recorded are noted and studied in the *Bulletin,* to which, in each particular case, for more detailed information, the dialect student is referred.

a

1 ***a*** (cf. p. 169, no. 1):

ʃ truːr ti[2] *kə lə føj d pəpəlje*[3] *sãːt a bɔ̃* (cf. *BPFC.,* I, p. 26).
je trouve (ti) que les feuilles de peuplier sentent à bon

1 a ***a bras koːr,*** see no. 55 (cf. *BPFC.,* I, p. 90).

---

[1] Quite a number of these words will be found commented on by M. Legendre in *La langue française au Canada* (first 34 pages); also in the *Dictionnaires canadiens-français* of Clapin (1894) and of Rinfret (1896). Inasmuch as the *BPFC.* has had the advantage of these works, as well as of Rivard's *Manuel de la parole* (1902) and of all the material that has since appeared in connection with the subject, it has not been deemed necessary to call attention to them frequently, the one reference to the *Bulletin* usually covering quite completely the entire topic. A critical estimate, by Geddes, of the above-mentioned works on *Canadian-French,* as well as of the entire output from the beginning, about 1841, down to 1907, will be found in Vollmöller's *Jahresbericht*: B. V, pp. I. 294-I. 356; B. VI, pp. I. 408-I. 429; B. VIII, pp. I. 217-I. 258.

[2] For *ti,* see pp. 132-34; also p. 160, § LVIII.

[3] See p. 91, no. 9 for this form. *sãːtiːr a,* cf. p. 170.

2 *a brysk*[1] *pwal, pwɛl* for Fr. à rebrousse poil:

ty tu̯:t s drᵕ lᵕ a brysk pwal
tu tâtes ce drap là à rebrousse poil

3 *afyze* for Fr. infuser:

ᵕ ty afyze l te?
as-tu infusé le thé

Merely a change of prefix on the analogy of words beginning with the prefix *a* = Fr. *a*, as for example in Fr. *affusion, affubler, affirmer*. Cf. Quebec *affusion de grâces*, i. e. l'action de les répandre (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 218).

4 *agrejɛ̃*[2] for Fr. ingrédient:

i ᵕ fɛ ɔn tizan; i ᵕ mi tut sɔrt d agrejɛ̃ dədɑ̃
il a fait une tisane; il a mis toutes sortes d'ingrédients dedans

Just like the above case no. 3.

5 *a la gro:s* = Fr. à la grosse:

ty ᵕ pᵕ:se tɔ̃ bytɛ̃ a la gro:s
tu as passé ton butin à la grosse

The expression *à la grosse* is popular French (Littré, ‖ 12⁰), but here recorded because of its frequency in the dialect. *pᵕ:se tɔ̃ bytɛ̃* = Fr. laver ton linge.

6 *a la mɛ̃*[3] *(mɛ̃)* — Fr. à la main. Also Fr. *à la main* = *être accommodant*, very nearly the dialect sense which is about like E. *handy*. The old French sense is quite similar as quotations from Froissard under *à main* in Moisy's dictionary show.

i ɛ pᵕ a la mɛ̃ pur rjɛ̃
il est pas à la main pour rien

See, too, for modern sense Littré, under ‖ 9⁰ *main* (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 149).

7 *a la rəvy* — Fr. à la revue. An expression which I do not find precisely in this form in the dialect dictionaries. Dunn has it and adds: "En Ch. on dit *a la revoyure*." The Quebec pronunciation of this expression is *a la rvwɛjy:r*. It is quite common where modern French *au revoir* is used. *a la rvwɛjy:r* is sometimes heard, but commonly for fun.

8 *alymɛl* and *lymɛl* = Fr. alumelle. For etymology, etc., see p. 20, list 12, no. 2:

1 *papᵕ m ᵕ afte*[4] *œ̃ bo ganif*[5] *avɛk trwᵕ*[6] *alymɛl* 2 *ʒ e kᵕse la ptit*
papa m'a acheté un beau canif avec trois alumelles j'ai cassé la petite

lymɛl də mɔ̃ ganif
alumelle de mon canif

[1] For *y* = Fr. *ou*, see p. 50, middle; for the *k* see p. 85, Special cases, no. 1.

[2] For *j* = Fr. *d* before *i*, see p. 88, list 55, no. 1.

[3] *mɛ̃* rather than *mɑ̃*; see, however, the nasal vowels, p. 54, list 36 A.

[4] See p. 81, Special cases. M. Rivard says: "J'écrirais *ʒ aʒɛt*, mais *afte*."

[5] For the *g*, see p. 82, list 53, no. 4; for the *z*, see p. 34, list 22, no. 7.

[6] For comments on words like Fr. *trois* in the dialect, in regard to the quality of the *a*, see p. 14, list 6.

Jaubert gives both, *alumelle* and *lumelle*. Dunn spells *allumelle* as does also Manseau. Godefroy spells *alemele*, followed by fourteen other spellings — *lame de couteau*, etc. (cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 205).

9 *amu̯ːre* = Fr. amarrer:

amu̯ːr me suje
amarre mes souliers

The word in this sense is brought into ordinary use from the nautical language so common about these localities; Norman, too, in this sense, according to Moisy. K.$_3$ 5973 (Germanic) or, perhaps, according to Diez, p. 15, Arabic; cf. p. 13, list 4, no. 1 (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 152).

10 *amarinad* f. = (amarinades) from Fr. *marinades*, "aliments conservés dans de la saumure" (H., D., T.). Cf. K.$_3$ 5952.

1 *ʒ e sale ɔn plɛn tinɛt d kakɔ̃ːb*[1] *puṛ fɛːr dez amarinad* 2 *pu̯ːs muːa l*
j'ai salé une pleine tinette de concombres pour faire des (amarinades) passe-moi le

pɔt[2] *dez amarinad*
pot des (amarinades)

The word was translated: *conserves au vinaigre*. M. l'abbé N. Caron, under *marinades* in his *Petit vocabulaire*, p. 36, defines: "Viande marinée enveloppée de pâte et frite à la poële. *Acad.* Ne pas désigner par ce mot les *conserves au vinaigre, cornichons*," etc. The form which I noted in Bonaventure is *amarinaːʒ* (merely another popular French suffix) (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 151, *Lexique, archaïsmes, néologismes, barbarismes*).

11 *amãˑfe* = Fr. (em)mancher, in the sense of *ajuster, arranger*:

1 *vɔt kɔl*[3] *ɛ pu̯ bɛ̃*[4] *amãˑfe* 2 *ʃ t asyːr c i s u̯ fɛ amãˑfe ʒɔli*[5] (*ʒʌli*)
votre col est pas bien (emmanché) je t'assure qu'il s'a fait (emmanché) joli

Merely a change of prefix; cf. nos. 3 and 4 above; another sense is that of Fr. *attraper*. Jaubert gives one spelling *amancher* (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 151).

12 *amãˑfyːr* f. (possibly *ãˑmãfyːr* and *mãˑfyːr*) = Fr. emmanchure:

s ɛ tut ɔn amãˑfyːr
c'est toute une (emmanchure)

Formed just as the verb *amãˑfe* is. The meaning of the word in this phrase is Fr. *arrangement*, being an extension of meaning to the original Fr. *emmanchure* from the French verb *emmancher*, which is used popularly for *s'arranger*. Cf. also Dunn and Manseau. K.$_3$ 5883 (mănĭcă) (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 151).

[1] See p. 23, 6., no. 4.
[2] For the *t*, see p. 73, list 47, no. 14.
[3] For the regular omission of a form corresponding to Fr. *ne*, see p. 132, 6.
[4] For difference in use of *bɛ̃* and *bjɛ̃*, see p. 165, no. 3.
[5] For this use of *ʒɔli*, see p. 167, 4°, (a).

13 *amjɹle* (à + miel + er) Fr. emmieller:

si ty vø kə tɔ̃ ɔ̃:k tə sɔ̃ɲ[1] *kɔm i fo, t*[2] ‿ *b(ə)zwɛ̃ d l amjɹle*
si tu veux que ton oncle te soigne comme il faut, tu as besoin de l'(amieler)

translated: *apaiser*. The origin of the word is obvious: being as in nos. 3, 4, and 11, merely a change of prefix due to analogy. Jaubert has both *amieller* and *emmiauler*. Moisy gives a form *amiauler*, saying that he thinks judging from OF. *amiaule* = Fr. *amable, ami* to be the root rather than *miel*. Godefroy *amieler, amieller, amyeller* = Fr. allécher, séduire. Can.-Fr. *amjo:le* (cf. *BPFC.*, II. p. 117).

14 *amurø* m. pl. = Fr. amoureux (bardanes):

mamzɛl[3] *vɔt rɔb ɛ garni d amurø*
mademoiselle, votre robe est garnie d'amoureux

As is well known, all popular language abounds in imagery, of which this is an example. This recalls of the word *ɑ̃:ʒ* Fr. ange, in the sense of butterfly, which I happened to note down while about Quebec (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 169). "C'est un papillon blanc, tout petit, et qui volète, le soir, autour des lumières" (comment of M. Rivard).

15 *amyzɔ̃:r* m., *amyzard* f. = Fr. musard:

a[4] *rəʒjɛ̃ ti*[5] *pɔ̃ ɑ̃ko:r, st amyzard lɔ̃!*
elle revient (ti) pas encore cette musarde-là

Influence of Fr. *amuser* (cf. K.$_3$ 245 *ăd-morsare, and 6307). Noted in Phonology, p. 20, list 12, no. 3 (cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 244).

16 *aprɛ* = Fr. après (in the sense of Fr. *à* before the verb, cf. Littré *après à*):

kwas[6] *kə ty fɛ dʒim?*[7] *ʒ fɥi aprɛ*[9] *ekri:r ɔn lɛt a ma blɔ̃:d*
quoi est-ce que tu fait "Jim"? je suis après écrire une lettre à ma blonde

This, of course, is popular among the uneducated in a great many sections. Professor Sheldon records the same expression in nos. 13, 29, and 43 of his *Specimens*. The same thing is heard in English especially in the mouths of the uneducated Irish: *I'm after doing* (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 188).

17 *aps* m. = Fr. asthme (see p. 67, 4. Special cases):

kɑ̃:t[10] *ʃ kuːr ʒ vjɛ̃ ɔpʀɛse a ko:z*[11] *kə ʒ e l aps*
quand je cours je viens oppressé à cause que j'ai l'asthme

[1] For *sɔ̃ɲe*, see p. 61, foot-note 1.
[2] For *t* = Fr. *tu*, see p. 116, 2.
[3] See p. 72, no. 5 for Fr. *d* unrepresented.
[4] See the Pronouns, p. 115.
[5] For *ti*, see p. 133-34, Note.
[6] For *kwas*, see Interrogatives, p. 127.
[7] See popular pronunciations of Christian names, no. 10, below.
[8] See under Verbs, p. 132, also Phonology, p. 51, 4. Special cases, no. 9.
[9] Not *aprɛz ekri:r*; in regard to so-called "linking", see p. 121, 4.
[10] See Adverbs, p. 164, no. 17, also Phonology, p. 75, no. 4.
[11] For examples of the use of *a ko:z kə*, see p. 173, no. 2.

The verb construction recalls the Italian *vengo oppresso*; perhaps this may merely be for Fr. *deviens*. This word, no. 19, and many others, not found in the *Bulletin*, will be found in the *Lexique*, which the *SPFC.* is now compiling.

18 *arəmiz* f. = Fr. remise:

on bɔn arəmiz pur sɛre le wetyr[1]
une bonne remise pour serrer les voitures

The *a* of the article *la* has become attached to the noun. Cf. Passy's *l'aboutique* (*Étude*, p. 127, note 2). See, too, the remarks on this word on p. 21, no. 6. *L'armise* (*BPFC.*, II, p. 206) "L'agglutination de l'article," Rivard.

19 *ars* f. (etymology unknown). "Espace libre, suffisant" (*Lexique du SPFC.*):

a[2] *vu ase d ars*
avez-vous assez d'(arse)

The word means *place, room*. Thurot, t. I, pp. 7, 8 gives: "*ers d'un cheval*, voyez *ars*: quelques-uns disent *aires*; mes les habiles écuyers et les habiles maréchaux sont pour *ars*." Diez under *ars* gives OF. plural "shoulder blade of a horse" (cf. Godefroy 2 *ars*) from *armus* (*m* between *r* and a dental falling: cf. *dors* - - *dorms*) adding it is an error to take the word from L. *arca* (chest). The connection in meaning, however, is not evident enough, tho perhaps the extension "plenty of arm" might come to mean "plenty of place". L. *areas* might well give the OF. *aïres* (singular *aïre* = place) later *aires* like the modern form, which this dialect would pronounce *ars*. Manseau suggests three etymologies of which that from the word *aire* seems the least improbable. Dunn gives the word with an example (cf. K.$_3$ 828, ārēā). The interest this word has attracted may be divined by the following comment of M. Rivard: "Nous avons reçu 196 observations recueillies dans 48 comtés de la province de Quebec" (cf. le *Lexique*).

20 *afale*, no exact French equivalent:

vne pɔ m afale
venez pas m'(ennuyer)

The etymology of the word is not clear; it seems to point to a LL. *ad calare*, if a compound with *ad* and *calare*. Jônain has *achaler* which he translates *donner trop de chaleur* and for which he gives the example: *Ç'heu mouchenez m'achale su' mon cou*. But this example does not justify his translation, which seems to have been due to a supposed connection with L. *calere*; the sense appears to be the same (?) as in the dialect. Jaubert gives *chaler* and *échaler* both meaning *to shell*. These latter are of Teutonic origin (K.$_3$ 8763; Diez, p. 283) but the connection, if there be one, with the dialect form is not clear. Manseau suggests that it is a shortening of *achalander* in a figurative sense which looks unlikely. The connection with L. *calere* would require a change of conjugation for which I have no other example, while a

[1] Both *we* and *wɛ* are heard; for this as well as loss of Fr. *v*, see p. 61, note.

[2] For *a vu* = Fr. avez-vous, see the Verbs, p. 132, 6.

sense connection could be imagined. L. *calare* will not fit the sense. See also Dunn. Dottin gives the dialect sense (cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 48).

21 *atã:d sez aplɔ̃:b* = Fr. attendre ses aplombs:

ʃ sy pᴗ pur atã:d sez aplɔ̃:b; al ɛ trɔ lɔ̃:gi[1]
je suis pas pour attendre ses aplombs; elle est trop (lente)

Jaubert gives under *aplomb*: *approvisionnement.* Moisy gives *aplomb* and *aplombs* citing with the latter "*prendre ses aplombs* = se préparer à faire une chose." All these forms are etymologically from the same source (K.₃ 7267 plŭmbŭm, cf. also 8417), the taking of measurements being the root-idea; this, then, as in the phrase above, being used figuratively. Cf. Godefroy *aplommer, aplomber* = *appesantir.* Cf. Can.-Fr. *faire ses aplombs* = faire ses dispositions, faire ses préparatifs; prendre ses précautions (*BPFC.*, II, p. 152).

22 *atize* used for Fr. *attise* given by Littré and the other dictionaries, but the word being hardly popular, the dialect has simply formed a noun from the past participle of Fr. *attiser*:

a matɛ̃[2] *(matã) x*[3] *e fɛ ɔn ptit atize d fø*
à matin j'ai fait une petite (attisée) de feu

The word *attisée,* in the dialect sense: *quantité de bois mise au feu,* is found in Larive et Fleury (cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 224. *Façons de parler des Canadiens au XVIII*e *siècle,* par le P. Potier, S. J."[4]).

23 *awɛ̃:d* = Fr. aveindre:

1 *awɛ̃ de patat d la kaːv* 2 *kɔmɛ̃s*[5] *kə t ᴗ ʃɛ pur t awɛ̃:d d dlᴗ?* 3 *ʒ*
aveins des patates de la cave comment est-ce que tu as fait pour t'aveindre de delà je

m e awɛ̃:dy kɔm ʒ e py
m'ai aveint comme j'ai pu

The meaning is about like E. *to go and get.* The *BPFC.*, II, p. 247, defines: "aller prendre un objet à la place où il est rangé." This definition is followed by several interesting observations on the word. For the etymology K.₃ 28 gives L. *ăb-emo* as does also Diez, p. 513, who denies the possibility of L. *advenire.* Littré cites the common patois words *veindre* and *conveindre* (both found in Jaubert as well as *aveindre,* future *aveindrai*) as indicating instances of the violation of the Latin accent. Moisy's suggestion, that the infinitive *aveindre* in Norman is formed from the preterite *il avint,* is not probable, any more then that the Latin accent has been violated.

[1] See p. 112, 5.

[2] For the adverbial expression *a matɛ̃ (matã),* see p. 163, no. 2; for the nasal *ɛ̃* or *ã,* see p. 54, list 36 A.

[3] For *x,* see pp. 103-04, list 66.

[4] The P. Potier S. J., (1708-1781) to whose notes the dialect student is referred in nos. 3, 23, 26, 28, etc., was an indefatigable missionary and a keen observer. His observations on the speech of various districts in French-Canada are now being published in the *Bulletin.* The ordinary reference "cf. *BPFC.*" is almost always to the important *Lexique canadien-français* which appears in instalments in the *Bulletin,* before being finally published in book-form.

[5] See p. 166, no. 5, at the top.

The form appears to be built on the dialect future *rẽdre* of *rənirː*. Godefroy gives *areindre, -vindre* = Fr. atteindre, venir. Cf. Réveillaud's observations on this word[1] in the Appendice.

24 ... *awɛːr* used idiomatically as here and in no. 24, ... *ɑ̃ bʊt*[2] *a ɛːt sy*[3] *l mɔ̃ːd*:
avoir un bout à être sur le monde

jˡ ⌣ təguːr[5] *ɑ̃ bʊt a ɛːt sy l mɔ̃ːd*
il y a toujours un bout à être sur le monde

This was translated as meaning *une fin à nous ennuyer*. *j ⌣* is the third step, of which the second is *i j ⌣*, and the first *il ij ⌣*. M. Rivard comments as follows: "L'expression *awɛːr ɑ̃ bʊt* veut dire: il y a une limite qu'on ne doit pas dépasser, quand on ennuie les gens; *j ⌣ ɑ̃ bʊt a ɛːt təguːr sy mwa*: il y a un bout à être toujours sur moi. *sy l mɔ̃ːd* ne fait pas parti de la locution. On dit suivant le cas *sy mwa, sy lyi, et cet. l mɔ̃ːd* = les gens, d'une façon générale, ceux que le dialecte représente souvent par le pronom *ɔ̃*; c'est vague."

25 *awɛːr køk*[6] *foːz dɑ̃ la tɛːt p⌣ o pje*.
avoir quelque chose dans la tête pas aux pieds

The teacher told me this expression meant *être obstiné, entêté, opiniâtre*. M. Rivard explains farther: "C'est le produit d'une plaisanterie: 'Ça ne lui sort pas de la tête, il s'y obstine, c'est bien dans la tête qu'il a'. Convient-il de faire de cela une locution caractéristique? j'en doute." Simply retained on account of the imagery contained in the expression. As suggested in no. 14, the imagery of these popular dialects forms one of their most attractive features.

ɑ̃

26 *ɑ̃barde* = Fr. embarder (origin unknown H. D. T., Littré):

ɑ̃bard twa p⌣ dɑ̃ la neːg[7]
embarde toi pas dans la neige

Jônain records the word: "*embarder* V. actif (Neutre en marine) — embarasser, barrer un passage." The dialect has also the verbal noun *ɑ̃barde* (= Fr. embardée), but the sense is that of "intricate, mixed-up affairs". The dialect senses seem to be derived from the original meaning in French, that of turning about on an axis to avoid some counter force (see Littré). Clapin has several observations on the word in his *Dictionnaire*.

[1] *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens-français de la découverte jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1884. Appendice, pp. 521-42: *La langue et la littérature française au Canada*.

[2] For the *t*, see p. 73, list 47, no. 4.

[3] See Prepositions, p. 171, no. 35.

[4] Cf. *krjatyːr* = Fr. créature for the *j*, p. 36, no. 6.

[5] See p. 33, no. 5 and cf. p. 165, no. 27.

[6] For vocalization of Fr. *l*, see p. 91, no. 4.

[7] So pronounced by the young people, see p. 24, list 13, no. 9.

1 *s*[1] *ɛ ɔn vre ɑ̃barde də fu kə tɔ̃ pɛr*[2] *ᴗ y* 2 *ma fwᴗ*![3] *t ᴗ dez ɑ̃barde*
c'est une vraie embardée de fou que ton père a eue ma foi! tu as des embardées
kə parsɔn arɛ[4]
que personne aurait

Cf. Caron for *embardée*: "Ne dites pas qu'un batiment prend une *shire*, mais une *embardée*." Cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 29, *Façons de parler.*

26 a *ɑ̃barke*, see *debarke.*

27 *ɑ̃farʒe*, an old French word preserved in the dialect, modern Fr. *enferrer*, OF. *enfergier* = mettre aux fers (given by Godefroy, Roquefort, and old French lexicons). Diez (p. 685 of the dictionary) says that OF. *enfergier* bears the same relation to modern Fr. *enferrer* as OF. *targier* to modern Fr. *tarder*:

ɑ̃farʒe dɔ̃[5] *vo zval*[6]
(enfargez) donc vos (chevaux)

Jaubert gives the verb: "*enfarger*: mettre les enfarges à un cheval." He gives also the noun: "*enfarges, enferges* — entraves en fer", etc. Jônain gives: "*enfarghes, enferghes* — entraves en fer." George Sand uses the word *enfarges* on p. 65 of Holt's edition of *La petite Fadette* (N. Y. 1900), and Professor Bôcher has a note on the word (p. 227): "Clogs; padlocked fetters attached to the feet of horses when at pasture." Caron notes *enfarger*, and Dunn has *enfarger* and *enfarges*. Rinfret and Clapin comment on the meaning of the word.

28 *ɑ̃gaxe* m. pl. Fr. engagés (Fr. *en* + *gage* + suffix: *gage* of Germanic origin **wadium* K.$_3$ 10329). Noted simply because of the frequency of the word in the sense of "servants" which, however, Littré gives. Dunn gives the word in this sense and a feminine form *engagère* (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 217, *Façons de parler des Canadiens au XVIII*e *siècle*, par le P. Potier, S. J.).

29 *ɑ̃murafe* for Fr. amouracher. Nos. 29 and 30 are due to confusion of prefixes, analogy of words beginning with dialect *ɑ̃* = Fr. *an* or *en*. Manseau spells: *anmouracher* (*s'*) and *anpauvrir*.

vɔt ɲɛs[7] *s*[8] *ᴗ ɑ̃murafe d mɔ̃ garsɔ̃; kɑ̃:t*[9] *ɔn krjatyːr*[10] *ɛ ɑ̃murafe d ɔn ʒɔnɛs,*[11]
votre nièce s'a (amouraché) de mon garçon: quand une créature est (amourachée) d'une jeunesse,

[1] Not *s ɛt ɑ̃*: see on "linking" p. 121, 4.

[2] For this pronunciation, see p. 24, list 13, no. 10.

[3] Passy's *trwa* = dialect *trwᴗ*; his *fwa* (= Fr. foi) = dialect *fwᴗ*; his *fwa* (= Fr. fois) = dialect *fwa*. The correspondence of Passy's *a* to dialect *ᴗ* and of his *a* to dialect *a* is very exact. Cf., however, for usage by young and old, p. 14, list 6.

[4] For *arɛ*, see p. 131, 4.

[5] See the observation on the invariable form *dɔ̃* under Adverbs, p. 164, no. 14.

[6] For the various forms of this word, see p. 110, list 69, no. 11.

[7] See p. 101, 2. and list 64, no. 12.

[8] Reflexive verbs are conjugated with *awɛːr* = Fr. avoir, see p. 161, (3).

[9] For *kɑ̃:t*, see Adverbs, p. 164, no. 17.

[10] For the form *krijatyːr*, see p. 36, no. 6. Jaubert and Jônain both write: *créiature*. In the Carleton dialect very usual for a "young girl" or rather "women folks" generally.

[11] Cf. Dunn who says: "*jeunesse*: Ch., Nor. et Pic. jeune fille." Jaubert says: "*jeunesse*: une

ʒ ru di kə s ɛ pᴗ ɛze d ã mni:r[1] *a bʊt*[2]
je vous dis que c'est pas aisé d'en venir à bout

30 *ãpovri:r* for Fr. appauvrir (from *pauvre*):

la fɛrite[3] ᴗ *ʒame ãpovri parsɔn*
la charité a jamais (appauvri) personne

Cf. Fr. *enrichir* and see *BPFC.*, II, p. 119.

b

31 *bᴗky* m. = Fr. bacul:

ʒ e kᴗse l bᴗky d mɔ̃ pʌn[4]
j'ai cassé le bacul de mon "pung"

Littré gives *bacul* saying not in the dictionary of the Academy. The word is also in Jaubert, and Dunn notes it (E. whipple-tree). Fr. *battre* + *cul*; modern Fr. *palonnier*; cf. Caron *bacul*. Godefroy gives *bacul* = "croupière de mulet", which is Littré's sense (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 20).

32 *bᴗ:j* f. = Fr. baille (K.$_3$ 1129 Germ. *bac*); Littré (marine):

1 *prɑ̃*[5] *(prɛ̃) la ptit bᴗ:j pur lave l bytɛ̃* 2 *ʒ e b(ə)zwɛ̃ d la grɑ̃*[6] *bᴗ:j pur*
prends la petite baille pour laver le butin (linge) j'ai besoin de la gran(de) baille pour

forbi:r[7] *la plas*
fourbir la place

This word *bᴗ:j* answers invariably to Fr. *cuve*, which is not in use, the marine word having as in so many other instances (*amᴗre, greje, pᴗre, vᴗ:z*, etc.) taken full possession (cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 76: *Petite cuve*, used particularly in connection with *l'industrie du sucre d'érable* à la Baie-du-Febvre).

33 *bali:z* f. = Fr. balise (D., p. 39, *palus* and *palitia* offer difficulties, and as D. says, and also D., H., T., the etymology is unknown; cf. K.$_3$ 6797 *pălĭtĭum):

ɔ̃ wɛjɛ[8] *py*[9] *d bali:z*
on voyait plus de balises

The meaning in the dialect is similar to the French meaning (see H., D., T.) merely transferred to something different, applied "to stakes, to mark out a road in winter". See Dunn, *balise*; Godefroy gives *balis* = Fr. balise (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 59 where the various meanings are well explained).

jeune fille, un jeune homme," precisely Carleton dialect usage.

[1] *mni:r*, p. 148, 11.

[2] *bʊt*, see p. 73, list 47, no. 4.

[3] See p. 32, no. 6.

[4] See Anglicisms, no. 105. *ŋ* = the E. *ng*.

[5] See observation for the nasal under the verbs, p. 151, no. 10 *prɑ̃:d*.

[6] See p. 111, under 3.

[7] *forbi:r* = Fr. fourbir, p. 39, no. 5.

[8] See *wɛ:r*, p. 69, list 45, no. 14.

[9] *py* = Fr. plus, see p. 92, no. 10.

34 *barode* = Fr. (renverser):

mɔ̃ trɛno ◡ barode
mon traineau a (renversé)

The sense in the dialect differs from the ordinary Canadian meaning of "to slew", "to swerve", see Dunn. Jaubert gives *barauder*: "mouvoir un fardeau sur son centre obliquement". This then may be connected with Fr. *barre*, meaning "a pry". The word *barauder*, meaning *déraisonner*, will be found in *Dictionnaire du patois Bas-Gatinais*[1] (cf. the four meanings given in the *BPFC.*, III, p. 80). M. Rivard comments: "Ce sens de *barode* = *renverser* est bien intéressant. *Renverser*, c'est plutôt, *ici*, le résultat qui attend le traîneau qui *barode*. Ces comparaisons de deux dialectes sont pleines d'intérêt."

35 *batəri* f. = (batterie) (Fr. battre):

v◡ nɛtwaje la batəri
va nettoyer la batterie

Used in the dialect in the sense of "threshing-floor". Both Moisy and Jaubert give *aire de grange*, which is the dialect sense. Jônain gives the Saintonge meaning: "Accord des fléaux battant le blé", etc. Dunn gives "*batterie*: Nor., lieu où on bat les céreales, *aire*." OF. *baterie* meant "action de battre, battage"; Godefroy says: Morvan *batterie* = aire d'un grange. Legendre notes *batterie*, *La langue française au Canada*, p. 29, and Chambure has noted *batterie* in his *Glossaire du Morvan*. Well explained in the dialect sense in the *Lexicologie de la vieille grange*, *BPFC.*, V. p. 214.

36 *baty:r* f. = batture (Fr. battre):

vl◡ ɔn barʒ d efiwe sy[2] *la baty:r*
voilà une barge d'échouée sur la batture

Noted here because so common along the bay; to be sure, Littré gives the marine sense about as in the dialect which is that of a "sandbank" (cf. *BPFC.*, IV. p. 107 where the meaning also of *glace qui couvre les battures*, is given).

37 *bã* m. = (banc) in the sense of E. beach (K_3 1211 Germ. *bank*):

s◡, srɛ ti[3] *kɔmɔd s j arɛ ã parapɛl*[4] *d isit a l eglis! j ◡ jɛ̃ k ã pti bɛt o bã*
ça, serait (ti) commode s'il y avait un (trottoir) d'ici à l'église! il y a rien q'un petit bout au banc

(Cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 60.)

38 *bebɛl* f. = (bébelle) from Fr. *bébé* + suffix. Used for Fr. *joujou*, and a word of similar origin; what Passy calls "redoublement" (*Étude*, § 451), and which, as he says, plays quite a part in childish language: *bébé*, *dodo*, *lolo*, etc. Cf. no. 136, below (cf. Clapin under *bebelle* and *bebelles*).

[1] *Revue de philologie*, VII, 1r trimestre 1893, p. 25.

[2] See p. 181, foot-note 3.

[3] See p. 178, foot-note 5.

[4] See no. 143 below.

39 *bɛksi* m. = (Fr. bec?) (Etymology?):

ʒ e vuly tye ɑ̃ bɛksi, e pi[1] *ʒ l e mɑ̃·ke*
j'ai voulu tuer un (becsi) et puis je l'ai manqué

I can only record what Mlle Allard wrote me about the word: "*becsi*, sorte de gibier de mer. Ils sont très-communs à Carleton et les chasseurs en tuent beaucoup surtout dans les Barrachois de Carleton." "Mlle Tremblay, native de Charlevoix, dit que c'est une espèce de canard qui fait un grand tapage le soir en faisant claquer son bec. Alexandre Simard, natif de Rimouski, confirme la définition. Mlle Tremblay ajoute que les gens de Charlevoix disent souvent *batte-scie* par corruption," letter of M. Al. Joslin to M. Rivard, October 10, 1907.

40 *benɛri* m. pl. (Etymology?):

i vu neʒe, le benɛri ɔ̃[2] *mny*[3]
il va neiger, les bénèris ont venu

"Sorte de petits oiseaux dont l'arrivée annonce la neige," Mlle Allard. "Inconnu ici," Rivard.

41 *bɛsɔ̃* m. = Fr. besson (L. *bis* + suffix, D., H., T.):

la fam a[4] *macø*[5] *u y dø bɛsɔ̃*
la femme à Matthieu a eu deux bessons

Littré says: "Vieux et inusité, excepté," etc. D., H., T. say: "Dialect. *jumeau, jumelle.*" The word, as is perfectly well known to readers of George Sand, is much used thruout *La petite Fadette.* Jaubert notes *besson.* (Cf. *BPFC.,* III, p. 257.) Quebec *barsɔ̃.*

42 *biganɛ:r* f. (Etymology?):

vuz ave fɛ la biganɛ:r d ma rɔb trɔ kurt
vous avez fait la (biganière) de ma robe trop courte

Mlle Allard explained the word as: "ouverture pratiquée à une robe, à un jupon pour pouvoir les mettre sur soi." I have been unable to get any clue to the word or its etymology.

43 *bɔ·dre* (*bu·dre*) (Etymology?). The meaning of the word is that of dialect *afale* or Fr. *ennuyer*; see Dunn, *bâdrer,* who says: "De l'anglais *bother*", etc. Moisy gives *se vâtrer* and *se bâdrer* meaning "to be-mud one's self". Jônain spells *baudrer* and *boudrer* and says "salir de boue", etc. Jaubert gives *badrée* and *barbouillée* meaning "marmelade". The etymology of Fr. *boue* is unknown (D., H., T.). The connection of the dialect word with it is hardly close enough. The *BPFC.,* III, p. 21. derives the word directly from English *bother,* which seems likely. "Ce qui rend cette étymologie probable, c'est qu'on a observé la forme intermédiaire *bu·de,*" Rivard.

[1] *pi* = Fr. puis, see p. 52, Note.
[2] See p. 161, (4) Neuter verbs.
[3] For the *m,* see p. 148, 11.
[4] For this use of *a,* see p. 169, Prepositions, no. 1.
[5] For like sound change (*c* = Fr. *t* + *i* + vowel), see list 54, pp. 86-7.

44 *bɔrda:ʒ* m. = Fr. (bordage) (K.$_3$ 1511 OhG. *bort*):

le bɔrda:ʒ sɔ̃[1] *p◡*[2] *ɑ̃ko:r parti*
les bordages sont pas encore partis

The meaning in the dialect is "ice forming edges about the water". This might well be said according to Littré's definition 2) = *ce qui borde.* See also Dunn (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 155).

45 *bɔrde* f. = Fr. (bordée) (see no. 44):

i ◡ tɑ̃be tut ɔn bɔrde d ne:ʒ[3]
il a tombé toute une bordée de neige

Cf. E. "broadside" and see Dunn (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 155).

46 *bɔse* (unknown origin; cf. Germ. *butze,* and see Diez 62):

s e serjø si pɔlɔ̃[4] *ɛ bɔse pur ɑ̃ garsɔ̃ d sɔ̃ ◡:ʒ*
c'est sérieux si Polon est (bossé) pour un garçon de son âge

(Cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 156: *déformer par des bosses.* The exact sense is not quite clear.)

47 *bɔte* = Fr. (botter) (from Fr. *botte,* origin unknown, H., D., T.):

mɔ̃ ʒvo[5] *etɛ ase bɔte c i purɛ p◡ s cɛ̃:d*[6]
mon cheval était assez botté qu'il pouvait pas se (tenir)

Used particularly in the dialect of "the balling up of snow on the feet". H., D., T. give the same sense only of "earth". Moisy under *botter* gives exactly the dialect sense (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 182).

48 *bɔj◡:r* m. — Fr. boyart (unknown origin; see *bayart,* H., D., T.; cf. also K.$_3$ 1325):

ejus[7] *t ◡ mi l bɔj◡:r? dɑ̃ l fɛd*[8]
et où est-ce tu as mis le boyard? dans le "shed"

Jônain gives *boyard* — Fr. *civiere à bras.* Caron records the word with same meaning. The père Potier notes: "Boyard ou bayard, espèce de civière à porter le bois . . . une boyardée de bois," *BPFC.*, IV, p. 147.

49 *bɔ̃:b* f. = Fr. (bombe) (derivative of L. *bombum,* H., D., T., K.$_3$ 1496, Gr. *βόμβος*):

la bɔ̃:b buj ti?[9]
la bombe bouille (ti)-t-elle

In the sense of Fr. *bouilloire.* See Dunn and Caron for same sense: cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 128.

[1] See p. 161, (4) Neuter verbs.
[2] In regard to "linking", see p. 121, 4.
[3] See p. 24, foot-note 7.
[4] See Christian names, no. 30, below.
[5] See p. 81, list 52, no. 4.
[6] See p. 150, no. 4.
[7] See p. 167, no. 8.
[8] See Anglicisms, no. 118, below.
[9] *ti,* see p. 133-34, Note, and pp. 160-61, § LVIII.

50 *bɔ̃bard* f. — Fr. bombarde (see no. 49 for etymology). The dialect uses the word in the sense given by Jaubert, that is Fr. *guimbarde* = E. *jew's-harp*. I do not find the meaning of *guimbarde* in H., D., T., tho that of a musical instrument is given. Littré, however, gives *guimbarde* for one of the meanings. Cf. also Dunn and Caron; cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 128.

51 *bɔrgo* m. and *bɔrgɔte* — Fr. burgau and verb from the noun (Etymology unknown, H., D., T.):

prɑ̃ l bɔrgo e bɔrgɔt o rᵕ[1] *la mɛzɔ̃*
prends le burgau et (frappez fort) au ras la maison

Godefroy gives *burger, burguer* and *bruger* — Fr. heurter, frapper. *bɔrgo* was explained as "a kind of oyster shaped shell used to beat upon and call the laborers to dinner", whence the verb *bɔrgɔte*. Jônain gives two forms: *b'rgau, brigaud* — escargot de mer, from whence the Carleton dialect has most likely retained the word, as it is hardly popular in French. The forms *beurger* — pousser (Bayeux), which Dubois gives, and *burguer* — heurter, pousser, brutalement, which Moisy gives, seem to indicate connection with the Carleton and Saintonge forms. Whether the word may be connected with Fr. *berge,* meaning a "boat" because of the shape, perhaps, of the shell to a small boat, is hardly more than a conjecture. Dialect *bɔːr* points, as a rule, either to Fr. *bre* or *ber*. Diez (p. 42 of the *Dictionary*) says OF. *barge,* modern *berge* points to a LL. *bárica* (not found). Cf. K.$_3$ 1232. H., D., T. give *barge* saying: "du bas latin *barga* qui semble être d'origine celtique. Dans certains lieux on dit *berge,* seule form mentionnée par Acad." E. *barge,* according to the last edition of Webster's *Dictionary,* is probably from L. *baris,* an Egyptian row boat, from Gr. *βᾶρις*, probably from Egyptian. Cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 223. M. Rivard adds: "Le verbe *burgɔte* n'a pas du tout, ici, le sens de "frapper fort", mais bien celui d'abord de "parler dans une coquille" (espèce de burgau) en guise de porte-voix; puis par extension, celui de "crier": "Les chars viennent de bourgotter". Je me demande si ce n'est en *criant* dans le *bɔrgo,* et non en *frappant* dessus qu'on appelle les gens à l'heure du dîner aussi bien chez les Acadiens qu'ici."

52 *bɔrlikɔko* m. (Etymology?) translated as *colimaçon*:

avɛk de bɔrlikɔko i fɛːz[2] *de bɛl ptit bwɛːt*
avec des (beurlicocos) ils font des belles petites boîtes

Dubois gives a word *berlicoquet* — jeune coq. The sense here seems to forbid a connection with the Carleton dialect form. *bɔːr* — Fr. *bre* often points to a L. *bis*. For examples see Körting$_3$, pp. 166-67. The etymology of Fr. *coque,* meaning "shell", is uncertain (H., D., T.), but it appears to be connected with L. *concha* and this dialect word therefore suggests *bis* + *concha*.

53 *bɔrnɛf* f. = Fr. bernache, barnache. Cf. E. *barnacle*. H., D., T. write: "*barnache*. Étym. emprunté de l'irlandais *bairneach*. On dit aussi *bernache* et, par

[1] See p. 171, no. 27.

[2] See p. 156, no. 3.

corruption, *barnacle, bernacle, bernicle.*" For dialect *ɑ* — Fr. *e* before *r*, see pp. 43-44, list 31, no. 6. For dialect *ɛ* = Fr. *a*, see p. 31, no. 2.

gard la bɑ̃:d də bɔrnɛ:f sy[1] *la batɣ:r*[2]
(re)garde la bande de barnaches sur la batture

Murray under *barnacle* says: "ME. *bernak*, OF. *bernac* = camus, of which *bernacle* seems to be a diminutive form." "Ici, on appelle *arb a barnɛ:f* une espèce d'herbe qui croît sur les grèves," Rivard.

54 *bøte* f. — Fr. beauté (L. beltatem) in the sense of a good quantity:

i ◡ rekɔlte ɔn bøte[3] *d lɛ̃*[4] *(lã)*
il a recolté une beauté de lin

Cf. Dunn. Rivard comments: "Nous disons ici: Il travaille, il court, il écrit, etc., *une beauté* mieux que moi, c.-à-d. beaucoup mieux que moi; aussi: Il y a *une beauté*, c.-à-d. une grande quantité, beaucoup; mais je pense que c'est une locution adverbiale: *une beauté*, car l'expression seule *une beauté* ne s'emploie pas dans ce sens."

55 *brɔ◡se le kart* = Fr. brasser les cartes. "LL. **braciare*, dérivé de *brace, brais* devenu *bracier, bracer, brasser. brais* du L. *brace*, sorte de blé, mot d'origine gauloise." The definition under 2° "remuer, agiter pour une operation quelconque" is exactly that of the dialect word; see H., D., T. Jaubert gives a word *brasser* meaning "soulever avec les bras et emporter". He gives as an example *brasse-moi donc! tu vas tomber.* This then, of course, is Fr. *bras*, found in the Norman expression *à brasse corps*, which Moisy gives and which the Carleton dialect retains, for example:

la dɑ̃:s a brɔ◡:s ko:r ɛ defɑ̃:dy par isɪt[5]
la danse (à bras le corps) est defendue par ici

Cf. Dunn and Caron; *BPFC.*, III, p. 296, *brâsser.* "*brasser = labourer,*" Godefroy. When Jônain, in giving the Saintonge form *brasser la salade*, says: "la tourner, ce qui ne se fait pourtant pas à tour de bras." I am inclined to suspect confusion in regard to the origin of *brasser.* A good example of the Carleton dialect form in its ordinary sense of Fr. *remuer*, where the idea of *bras* in no wise enters, is the following:

kɑ̃:t ɔ̃n ɛ dɑ̃ le ʃɔ◡:r e k ɔ̃ pɔ◡:s sy la swɪtʃ, sɔ◡ brɔ◡:s pɔ◡ mal
quand on est dans les chars et qu'on passe sur la "switch" ça brasse pas mal

i. e. you get considerably jolted. The Canadian expression for *brɔ◡se le kart* is *batr* or *mɛ:le le kart.* For *a brɔ◡:s ko:r*, see *BPFC.*, I, p. 90.

56 *brɔʃy:r* f. = Fr. (brochure). H., D., T. give LL. **broccare* (to prick). K., 1582 gives Celtic root *brocc* = a point. In the dialect the word is used for tricot work:

[1] See p. 171, no. 35.
[2] See p. 184, no. 36.
[3] For *ø* = Fr. *o*, see p. 45, no. 6.
[4] Cf. remarks on the nasals, pp. 53-56, under § XIII B.
[5] The *t* of *isit* is noted on p. 73, list 47, no. 10; also among the Adverbs, p. 167, no. 10; no explanation of it is as yet apparent.

1 *ʒ e lɛsc ma brɔʃy:r sy*[1] *ma tã:t* 2 *ʒ mʊ̃*[2] *brɔʃe ã̃ pti bʊt*[3] *d tɛ̃*[4]
j'ai laissé ma brochure (chez) ma tante je vais brocher un petit bout de temps

57 *bru* (f.) *d savɔ̃* = Fr. (mousse) de savon. H., D., T. *brouet* from OF. *bro* borrowed from a Germanic root. K.$_3$ 1589, Germ. root *bru*. Cf. E. *brewis*, OhG. *brod* = broth.

mʊ̃ bʊ̃:j[5] *vjɛ̃ kuvart d bru*
ma baille vient couverte de brou

Moisy gives the word in the dialect sense, spelling *broe* and *broue*. Cf. also Dunn and Caron. K.$_3$ gives OF. **brue, breu*, the latter I do not find in Godefroy; cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 111 and V, p. 75, where many references to the word will be found.

58 *brynã:t* f. (à la brune) = Fr. (brunante) à la. From Fr. *brun* + suffix. The meaning is "dusk". See Dunn for a good explanation and illustration; cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 325 and V, p. 76.

59 *buktuʃ* m. Origin? Spelled for me *bouctouïche* and translated "sorte d'appentis ou petit hangar". Indian? I do not happen to find it among the Indian words where I have searched

vʊ̃ mɛt sʊ̃ dã̃ l pti buktuʃ ã̃ arjɛ:r[6] *d la mɛzɔ̃*
va mettre ça dans le petit (bouctouïche) en arrière de la maison

60 *bulã̃* = Fr. boule + suffix. From Fr. *boule*, K.$_3$ 1641, L. *bŭllă*.

le ʃmɛ̃ sɔ̃ bulã̃ e fatiçã̃[7] *pur le ʒval*[8]
les chemins sont (boulants) et fatiguants pour les (chevaux)

See also Dunn for the same sense; cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 221.

61 *burase*. From Fr. *bourre* "hair or wool for padding", LL. *bŭrra* H., D., T., K.$_3$ 1657 *bŭrră* ("hairy material"), OF. *bourre* "a faggot", Godefroy.

buras pʊ̃ tã̃ st[9] *ɛ̃:fɛ̃*[10] *lʊ̃* in the sense of "maltreat"
(bourasse) pas tant cet enfant-là

Jônain gives *bourrasser* = "mal fagoter quelqu'un ou quelque chose". Fr. *bourrée*, the word for "faggot", is derived from Fr. *bourre* (H., D., T.) so that the Saintonge word and the Carleton word *burase* appear to be identical. The ending *-ase* is an extremely popular one in the dialect, cf. *brymase*,[11] *mujase*, etc., and is used as here

[1] For *sy* = Fr. chez, see the Prepositions, p. 172, no. 36.

[2] For *mʊ̃*, see p. 135, 1.

[3] For the *t*, see p. 73, list 47, no. 4.

[4] See p. 56, list 36 C, no. 22, and the remarks below the list.

[5] See no. 32 above.

[6] In regard to the quality of the *e* in *arjɛ:r*, and the written accent in Fr. *arrière*, see p. 25, list 14; cf. also my observations upon this and like words in Fr. *-ière* in the note (††) on p. 4, col. 8 of *MLN.* for January, 1894, to the article *Comparison of two Acadian-French dialects, etc.*

[7] For the *ç*, cf. p. 84, 4. Special cases.

[8] For this form, see p. 110, list 69, no. 11.

[9] See the Demonstratives, p. 123.

[10] For these nasals, see p. 56, foot-note 4.

[11] *brumasser* is likewise the French form; the Quebec form of the word is *brœmase*.

to form many verbs: cf. also no. 115 *mɔ̃ʃwije* = Fr. (mâchouiller); cf. *BPFC.*, III, pp. 223-4.

62 *bytɛ̃* m. = Fr. (butin) (G. *bytin*, booty, K.$_3$ 1676). Used ordinarily in the dialect in the sense of Fr. *linge*. The Saintonge dialect use of the word, tho different, does not by any means seem entirely unlike this: "*butin* = (Berri) mobilier, avoir quelconque: 'tout son butin'," Jônain. For an example of the dialect use, see no. 5 above, p. 176. The many different senses of the word will be found enumerated in the *BPFC.*, V, pp. 112-113.

63 *byto* m. = Fr. bluteau. For the loss of Fr. *l*, see p. 91, no. 3: the suffix *o* = Fr. *eau* is then added to the root. From *bluter*, itself from *beluter* instead of *bureter* derived from *bure* (used in bolting flour) H., D., T. Cf. K.$_3$ 1653 **būrĕās* or **burĭās* next to and for **būrĕs* (instead of *būrrus*) "scarlet red": but applied to "coarse woolen stuffs"; OF. *bure*, OF. *buretel* = "meal sack" and finally *bluteau*, *blutoir* = "meal sieve".

l byto e brize; i mu pɔ̃ bɛ̃
le bluteau est brisé; il moud pas bien

64 *bytro* m. Used in the sense of Fr. *coteau* and probably from Fr. *butte* "an eminence", the origin of which, according to H., D., T., is obscure. Cf. K.$_3$ 1670 Germ. *būtr*.

darjeːr l bytro s e lɔ̃ c j ãn ɔ̃ de marɛ̃gwɛ̃; s ɛ de vrɛ brylo
derrière le (coteau) c'est là qu'il y en a des maringouins; c'est des vrais brûlots

As regards the word *brylo*, M. Rivard says: "On appelle ici *brylo*, non pas, je pense, l'insecte qui porte ce nom en français, mais un autre dont la morsure cause une vive douleur."

65 *bwɛt* f. and *abwɛt* f. = Fr. bouette, "étym. emprunté du bas breton *boued*," H., D., T. Jônain gives a Royan form: "*boite*: appât pour la pêche, Angl. *bait*." For various meanings, cf. *BPFC.*, III, pp. 126-7. "*abwɛt*, à mon avis, est le résultat de l'agglutination de l'article suivant l'évolution suivante, qui du reste est très commune: *de la bouette, de l'abouette, abouette*. C'est ainsi qu'on dit *avis* pour *vis*, etc.." Rivard. (For *avis*, cf. p. 20, list 12, no. 10; p. 34, list 22, no. 2; p. 76, 3, no. 2.)

la mɛ(l)jɔːr abwɛt, s ɛ de kɔk
la meilleure (abouette) c'est des coques (E. *clams*)

66 *bwɛjə* f. = Fr. (bouée). E. *buoy* seems to have influenced the dialect pronunciation. L. *bōjă*; cf. K.$_3$ 1491. H., D., T. say "origine incertaine."

ɛlmin[1] *sə grɛjə*[2] *pur ləve la bwɛjə*
Emile se grée pour lever la bouée

[1] Metathesis, see Christian names, no. 18.

[2] The nautical word adapted to home life, as so frequently here, cf. p. 177, no. 9.

67 *bzᵕ* m. = Fr. pesat. Godefroy spells *pesat, pessat, pesa, besa.* Moisy spells *pésas.* Derivation from Fr. *pois,* L. *pisum.* The *p* has become voiced thru the influence of voiced *z*; meaning the dried stalks and pods of pea vines.

ʒ e kupe me pwᵕ[1] *pᵕ myːr; i ɔ̃ atrape d la pɥi;*[2] *le bzᵕ sɔ̃ pᵕ bɔ̃ a mɑ̃ːxe*
j'ai coupé mes pois pas mûrs; ils ont attrapé de la pluie; les pesats sont pas bons à manger

pur le bɛːt a kɔrn
pour les bêtes à cornes

d

68 *debagaʒe, debagaxe* = Fr. de + bagage + suffix. Used in the sense of Fr. *déménager. bagage* is from OF. *bague* (bundle) H., D., T. Cf. K.₃ 1154 root *bag.*

cɛ̃![3] *vuz ɛt dɑ̃ vɔt mɛzɔ̃ nov? kɑ̃ːs*[4] *kə vuz ave debagaʒe*
tiens! vous êtes dans votre maison neuve? quand est-ce que vous avez (débagagé)

Moisy gives "*débagager*: mettre de côté. Débagager une pièce, c'est enlever les objets qui l'encombrent. *Desbagager* est dans Cotgrave avec le sens de *serrer,* 'mettre en paquet'."

69 *debarce* = Fr. débarquer, and *ɑ̃ːbarce* = Fr. embarquer (*de* + *barque* + suffix; *barque,* borrowed from Ital. *barca,* H., D., T.). These words are noted because they show the influence of the nautical language upon the popular home idiom. The French expressions *descendre d'une voiture* and *monter dans une voiture* are regularly expressed in the dialect by *debarce* and *ɑ̃ːbarce.* Dunn and Caron both give the same usage as that in Carleton for Canada.

70 *debite* = Fr. (débiter). Used in the sense of carving fowls at the table. Origin uncertain, probably from L. *dēbĭtŭm* H., D., T. Cf. K.₃ 2767.

møsjø, s e vu ci ale debite le vɔlᵕːj
monsieur, c'est vous qui allez débiter les volailles

Merely an extension or variation in the meanings of the French word, one of which Littré gives: "*débiter le bois* = le couper de longueur." Dunn and Caron both note the word as used for Fr. *dépecer.*

71 *debule* = Fr. débouler. Noted here merely because so common in speaking of the long bars (used for fencing) tumbling down. *de* + *bouler* (L. *bŭllă*). "Très famil. Rouler du haut en bas, comme une boule; syn. dégringoler," H., D., T. The word is given in the supplement to Littré, "fuir en roulant"; not in the last edition of the *Academy dictionary.* Cf. K.₃ 1641.

[1] For this ᵕ sound where French has final *oi,* see p. 14, list 6.

[2] See p. 92, no. 11.

[3] See Phonology, p. 86, list 54, no. 11; Morphology, p. 150, no. 4. Nos. 68, 69, 70. 71, 72, 73 (pronounced *detars*) are Canadian as well as Acadian forms.

[4] For this form, see p. 164, no. 16.

vˇ dɔ̃[1] *rlve la klotyːr; jˀ*[2] *ˇ də paze*[3] *də debule*
va donc relever la clôture; il y a deux (pagées) de déboulées

Dubois gives "*débouler* = tomber en roulant" so that the Carleton usage is quite the same. Cf. Dunn and also Caron.

72 *detɔrs* f. = Fr. détorse. Subst. participle from Fr. *détordre*. The word is old, and now *entorse* is the modern form. Cf. H., D., T. About Quebec, the form is *detœrs*. For an example, see under *vire* = Fr. virer, no. 188, below.

73 *dezabrje* = Fr. (de + abrier). From Fr. *abrier*, itself from *abri* = shelter. Also *abrier* is given in Roquefort = to cover. Of *abrier* H., D., T. say: "L'ensemble des formes romanes indique une forme du lat. pop. **abbregare*, d'origine inconnue." Littré gives a modern form *désabriter* for which cf. no. 99, below. *kafjeːr* = Fr. cafetière.

məmɑ̃![4] *nini*[5] *mə dezabrij tvt*[6]
maman! Nini me desabrie toute

The Saintonge sense, according to Jônain, seems identical with the Carleton dialect meaning: "*désabrier* = découvrir, ôter l'abri." Cf. Dunn. Godefroy gives "*desabrié* adj. qui est sans abri. Morvan *desabeurier*."

74 *ditɛl*. OF. *de* + *itel*, L. *ecce*? + *talem*. I was told this word meant *semblable*, but I failed to recognize it until Professor Sheldon suggested the origin (*itel* = semblablement, de cette sorte, etc., see Godefroy, Roquefort). See Paris, *Extraits*, 7th edition, 1903, vocabulary, *itel*.

1 *tɔ̃ zvo ɛ ditɛl dy mjɛ̃* 2 *ta søːr rəsɑ̃ːb a ma kuzɪn, s ɛ ditɛl* 3 *ta rɔb*
ton cheval est (d'itel) du mien ta sœur resemble à ma cousine, c'est (d'itel) ta robe

ɛ fɛt parej kɔm la mjɛn, s ɛ ditɛl
est faite pareille comme la mienne, c'est (ditel)

Dubois writes *ytel*. Moisy *itel*, proposing *hic talis*. I have not seen *itel* noted for Canadian or Acadian regions. An interesting form, which Moisy gives: *itout, étout*, and Dunn notes as *itou* ou *étou*, is not heard in the Carleton dialect. The meaning in Canada is *aussi*. *itɛl* recalls the Canadian *itou* found in literary works (cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 143). The etymology of the word is discussed in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XIII, 1889, p. 411. M. Rivard says: "Absolument inconnu. Très curieux. L'analogie de *ditɛl* et du fr. *dito* est assez frappante."

75 *dutɑ̃ːs* f. OF. *doutance, dotance*, etc., Fr. *doute*, L. *dubitantiam*. A word fallen into disuse in modern French but which is found as popular in at least five different dialect dictionaries of France, which well illustrates dialect retention of popular old French forms. The termination Fr. *-ance*, tho living, is used more rarely than

[1] See the reference, foot-note 5 on p. 182.

[2] For this form before vowels see p. 90, 5, Special cases, no. 6, foot-note 5.

[3] Used just as Dunn explains: "la longeur d'un piquet à un autre."

[4] See p. 33, no. 2.

[5] For this and similar childish reduplications, see Passy's *Etude*, under *assimilation harmonique*, § 451.

[6] See p. 73, list 47, no. 16.

formerly.[1] George Sand puts *oubliance* into the mouth of one of the peasants[2] of Berri, in *La petite Fadette,* and Professor Bôcher's note in regard to the use of the termination *-ance* is quite applicable to the Carleton dialect: "The termination *-ance* denotes duration, state; many words in *-ance,* now obsolete or little used, are still common in the speech of the country people, as *souvenance* for *souvenir, oubliance* for *oubli.*" M. Pascal Poirier makes a similar comment in regard to this termination *-ance* in Acadian.[3] Cf. Dunn. Forms like *doutance, souvenance, oubliance* are common now in the rural districts about Paris: Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris,* pp. 291, 295; Agnel, *Langage des environs de Paris,* p. 95. This word, like Canadian *ita* (written *itou*) is literary and popular and is used in P.-A. de Gaspé's *Les anciens Canadiens* (cf. *BPFC.,* IV, pp. 102, 143).

f sy[4] *pɔ̃ sy:r mɛ z ãn e dutã:s*
je suis pas sûr mais j'en ai (doutance)

E lera semer par dotance . . . from Rustebuef, XIIIth century (l. 46, p. 204 of Toynbee's *Specimens of old French*).

e

76 *ecipɔlã* m. = Fr. équipollent, L. *aequus* + *pollens* (p. of *pollere* = to be strong). Littré, tho giving this word, regards it as obsolete or antiquated. The old French dictionaries give the word. Thurot[5] cites authors for the forms *équipolent* and *équipollence.* Moisy gives *équipollent,* saying it is frequently employed by the peasants of Lieuvin. An example of Carleton usage is the following:

t ɔ̃ pɔ̃ pɛje tɔ̃n arnwa[6] *fɛ:r a l ecipɔlã dy mjẽ*
tu a pas payé ton harnais cher à l'équipollent du mien

The Quebec usage in this example is *ãn ecipɔlã,* not *a l ecipɔlã.*

77 *efife* (= Fr. e + chiffe + er?). Given by both Dunn and Caron in the Carleton dialect sense of *peigner la laine.* Fr. *chiffe* is of uncertain origin, H., D., T. It seems to be the basis of the dialect word. Legendre notes *échiffer* and suggests *chiffon*: *La langue française au Canada,* p. 30.

78 *etale* = Fr. (étaler), in the sense *endurer*; "to hold out against". K.₃ 9015. Germ. *stall.* The second *étaler* given by Littré has a similar sense: "*étaler* le vent, le courant, la marée = opposer une résistance égale à leur effort." Under "etymology" is added: "*étaler* en ce sens c'est ce qu'on disait jadis *faire estal,* résister, tenir tête." Under *étal* an example of this old usage is given.

[1] Brunot, *Grammaire historique,* p. 157, under *-ance.*

[2] Holt's edition, N. Y. 1900, p. 4, line 30, and Professor Bôcher's note, p. 216.

[3] *Soirées canadiennes,* t. III, p. 63 *et seq.* Nos. 75, 76, 77 are also Canadian forms.

[4] For *f fy,* see p. 133, 1.

[5] Tome II, p. 385.

[6] *arnwa,* explained on p. 60, 6.

1 *ʃ tə di kə l ɯrraʒ etɛ dyr, mɛ ʒ e etale də mɯa*[1] 2 *asɛj*[2] *a etale ākoɾ*
je te dis que l'ouvrage était dur, mais j'ai (étale) deux mois essaie a (étaler) encore
cək tɛ̃
quelque temps

In Carleton from the examples the verb is used intransitively. I was told that *etale sɔ̃ mal* = Fr. étaler son mal, an expression I picked up elsewhere, was not used in Carleton. It is of interest as compared with Littré's remark in the *Supplément* to the *Dictionnaire*, *étaler*: "cracher, étaler le crachat."

79 *ezarbe* = Fr. ésherber (L. *ex-herba*), used where standard French has *sarcler*, tho given in the Carleton dialect sense by Littré as a gardening term. Godefroy gives *esherber* with a quotation from Jean de Meung and modern local usages. George Sand in *La petite Fadette* uses the noun *hésɛrbeurs*.[3]

vuz ale ezarbe l ɔrʒ e pi[4] *vuz arafre le picā* (for *picā*, see no. 150)
vous allez ésherber l'orge et puis vous arracherez les piquants (chardons)

ɛ

80 *ɛːr* = Fr. hère. The origin is obscure, cf. K.$_3$ 4530. Noted because the dialect sense is rather that of "discontented" than of "worthless" as in French.

1 *ʃ tə di kə la mɛtrɛs ɛ ɛːr də s tɛ̃*[5] *(tā) sit* 2 *t ◡ pᵕ bzwɛ̃ d ɛːt si ɛːr*
je te dis que la maîtresse est hère de ce temps-ci tu as pas besoin d'être si hère
aprɛ[6] *mɯa*
après moi

Moisy gives the dialect sense for Norman French: *hargneux*, *mécontent*, *colère*. Canadian also. Around Quebec: *i ◡ l ɛːr ɛːr* = Fr. il a l'air hère (hargneux).

f

81 *faro* m. = Fr. faraud. Used in the sense of *cavalier* or E. *"beau"*. Littré says origin uncertain, as do H., D., T. The word besides being popular in French is also so in several dialects, for I find it in the sense of *élégant, coquet* in Corblet (Picardy), Favre (Poitou), and Jaubert (Centre de France). The etymologies suggested seem to be untrustworthy. Mignard in his *Histoire de l'idiome bourguignon* gives "farô, fier, hautain. Le même mot s'écrit *faraud*. Il se dit principalement de ceux qui se quarrent dans leurs habits." Canadian also.

ɔ̃ la ɯa[7] *təʒuˋ avɛk sɔ̃ faro*
on la voit toujours avec son faraud

[1] For *mɯ◡*, see p. 14, list 6, no. 3.
[2] Cf. the noun *asɛj*, p. 22, no. 2.
[3] Holt's edition (1900), p. 38, first line.
[4] For *pi*, see p. 52, Note, and p. 164, no. 22.
[5] Cf. p. 56, list 36 C, no. 22, and remarks on the nasals, pp. 52-54.
[6] Cf. the provincial use in phrase no. 16, p. 178.
[7] See the verbs, p. 159, no. 12.
[8] See Adverbs, p. 165, no. 27.

82 *faji* — Fr. failli. K.$_3$ 3599 L. **fallire* (for *fallere*). OF. *faillie* — *manque* may have a connection, Godefroy. Used very frequently in the dialect meaning "poor in health". The French meaning *sans cœur, lâche* differs somewhat. These two expressions were given me as synonymous:

ʃ ʃy[1] *faji* and *ʃ ʃy mal kadɔ:r* (cf. no. 98 below)
je suis failli je suis mal cadavre

83 *fajo* — Fr. (fève). The most popular term in use for *beans*. Jônain and Dubois give *fayau*. Cf. Ital. *fagiolo*, K.$_3$ 7116. For an example, see Anglicisms, no. 114 *saucepan*.

84 *fɛ* m. = Fr. faîte. Cf. K.$_3$ 3787, Germ. *first* (highest). See p. 75, no. 2.

l fɛ dy mɔ
le faîte du mât

See the spellings *fest, faist*, in Godefroy. The OF. forms found are *fest* and *feste*: cf. Paris in *Romania*, I, p. 96, where L. *fastigium* is shown to be false etymology for Fr. *faîte*.

85 *flam* m. = Fr. flegme (L. *phlegma*, from Greek). See p. 22, no. 4.

ʒ e ase l rym kə kã ʃ tɤs ʃ kraʃ jɛ̃[2] *kə de flam*
j'ai assez le rhume que quand je tousse je crache rien que des flegmes

Moisy gives *fleume, flume*, both of which forms Roquefort cites and gives for la Basse Bretagne *flem*. The spellings in Godefroy are *fleume, fleugme, flume, flumme, flieme*.

86 *fɔ̃syːr* f. = OF. fons(e)ure. Cf. K.$_3$ 4055 L. **funditiare* = Fr. *foncer*. Used in the dialect for "bottom of a sleigh". Jônain gives *fonçure* = bottom of a keg. See Godefroy: *fonsure, fonssure, fonsseure* and the meaning *plancher* (cf. *BPFC.*, II, pp. 196-197; III, p. 255).

akɔt la fɔ̃syːr d tɔ̃ trɛno amɔ̃[3] *la grãːʒ*
accote la (fonçure) de ton traîneau amont la grange

87 *frɔ̃zi* m. = Fr. fraisil. See p. 22, no. 5. Jaubert gives *frasil, frasi*, Jônain *frasill*. Used in speaking of the ashes in forges. Etymology, according to Littré, unknown, tho perhaps a derivative of L. *frangere*. In the Carleton dialect the word is applied to the frost on the grass in the morning. The word seems to have some relation to the Berry word meaning "menues parcelles de charbon restant sur les places à fourneau" (Littré) (cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 29). The Quebec sense is "menus morceaux de glace ou de neige en suspens dans l'eau".

i j ɔ fɛ ɔn ptit ʒleː jˈ[4] *ɔ dy frazi a matɛ̃*[5]
il a fait une petite gelée: il y a du fraisil à matin

Cf. also Dunn.

[1] See Special cases, p. 80, no. 3: also Verbs, p. 133, 1.

[2] See p. 89, no. 4.

[3] See p. 170, no. 6.

[4] See p. 91, no. 6, and the explanation, p. 181, under no. 24.

[5] See p. 163, no. 2. Nos. 85, 86, 87, 88 are all Canadian as well as Acadian.

88 *frikɔ* m. = Fr. fricot, from Fr. *fricasser*, K.$_3$ 3971 Germ. **frëk*. Sense in the dialect is extended to mean a dance festivity. Canadian, also. Corblet for Picard gives *festin, bonne chère*. Dunn notes the word. See Anglicisms, no. 49, *frolic*.

89 *fulɔri* f. = Fr. foulerie. Used in the dialect for the *soiree* when the *foulerie* or shrinkage takes place, from Fr. *fouler* (K.$_3$ 4037 L. **fullo*). OF. *foulerie*, see Godefroy, one meaning being "lieu ou l'on foule le raisin" and from this might well be got the meaning of a *reunion* for accomplishing some work.

"Je ne connais pas *fulɔri* ici, mais bien *fulaʒ*. C'est une réunion (une corvée) où l'on foule l'étoffe dite *étoffe du pays* afin d'en rendre le tissu plus serré. C'est un procédé ancien qui disparait. On plaçait les pièces d'étoffe dans une cuve, ou un grand bassin, avec de l'eau, et les hommes la foulaient avec des espèces de palettes en bois à longs manches. C'était l'occasion de réjouissance comme les épluchettes de blé d'inde: *j ⌣ y ẽ fulaʒ fe mɔ̃ wezẽ* = Fr. il a eu un (foulage) chez mon voisin. Action de fouler l'étoffe, la réunion fait pour cet objet." Comment by Rivard.

g

90 *gardə z jə* m. pl. = Fr. garde (le)s yeux. A compound formed like Fr. *garde-fou, garde-vue*, the *z* being heard on the analogy of the many cases where it is heard when the article precedes. Used ordinarily for Fr. *oeillères* or E. "blinders". Caron notes the word spelling *garde-z yeux*.

91 *garsɔɲɛːr* f. = Fr. garçonnière, *garçon* + suffix. The popular expression for a "tom boy". Corblet for Picard gives: *garchonière*; Jaubert for Centre de la France: *garçounière*; cf. Dunn: *garçonnière*, Godefroy: *garçoniere*, (cf. K.$_3$ 1928 **cărdeo* or *cărdĭo*). Littré has the word and quotes it found in Raoul de Cambray, XIIth century. Godefroy has the adjective *garçonier*.

ale vuz ã dɔ̃[1] *fy*[2] *vu garsɔɲɛːr kə vuz ɛːt*
allez vous en donc chez vous garçonnière que vous êtes

92 *glɔb* m. = Fr. globe (*glŏbum*, K.$_3$ 4273). Used commonly in the dialect for "lamp-chimney". I hardly think E. "globe" is in mind; the term being rather loosely applied to the chimney from its slightly globular form. Similarly, at the Falls of Montmorency, I heard repeatedly for *abat-jour* or "lampshade": *fapo d la lãːp* = Fr. chapeau de la lampe.

ʒ e kɔ⌣se mɔ̃ glɔb
j'ai cassé mon (globe)

93 *grifu*. Meaning "discontented, sour, *maussade*." Canadian also. Cf. Dunn who spells *grichoux*. Moisy spells for Norman: *grichu* and defines: *grincheux, bourru, revêche*. Jaubert for Centre de la France has the verb *gricer*, said of "un enfant

[1] See p. 164, no. 14. [2] See p. 172, no. 36.

maussade", and also the forms *griçoux* and *griçouse*. Corblet for Picard spells *grichu* = "de mauvaise humeur, grognon".

1 *kə grifu kə st ɛ̃fɛ̃*[1] *lo̯* 2 *kɔm t ɛ grifu ozordɥi*[2]
que (grichoux) que cet enfant-là comme tu es (grichoux) aujourd'hui

h

94 *haf* f. (*ɛ:t a la*) = Fr. hache (être à la) (K.$_3$ 4482 Germ. *hapja*). Noted simply because of the popularity of the expression. Legendre for Canada gives for the meaning *être appauvri.*[3]

ʒ vuz asy:r kə s ɛ po̯ mal fatiɡɑ̃[4] *d ɛ:t a la haf dy matɛ̃*[5] *(matɑ̃) ʒysk o swɛ:r*
je vous assure que c'est pas mal fatiguant d'être à la hache du matin jusqu'au soir

i

95 *igwɪn* f. = Fr. égoïne, égohine. Meaning "a small hand saw" in which sense Littré gives the word spelling: *egohine* or *egoïne*. Jaubert gives the same spellings and meaning. Moisy spells *égoheine*. The etymology mentioned in Jaubert referring to *goy, gouet*, etc., said to be of Celtic origin seemed to be untrustworthy and it is only since the appearance of the H., D., T. dictionary that I have seen anything more reliable. H., D., T. spell *egoïne*, refer to *écoine* (for *escoine*) saying derived from a primitive *escoe* corresponding to Provençal *escoudo*, Spanish *escoda* (a kind of ax used by masons, Fr. *smille*) "peut-être du radical du lat. *excutere*, 'faire tomber en secouant'." Cf. Godefroy *escohine*. See p. 47, no. 4. The *BPFC.*, V, p. 268, spells *égoïne*, indicating the pronunciation *egwin*.

vo̯ m farfe l igwɪn dy wezɛ̃;[6] *si so̯ avɛk t5 igwɪn*
va me chercher l'égoïne du voisin; scie ça avec ton égoïne

96 *ivarnmɛ̃* m. = Fr. hivernement (L. *hibernum* + suffix K.$_3$ 4565). Meaning "winter quarters". Littré gives *hivernement*: "se dit quelquefois pour *hibernation*," this latter meaning "engourdissement ou sommeil d'hiver de certains animaux." The relation of the dialect sense to the French is obvious. Quebec usage also.

i j ɔ̃ mi lø[7] *gwɛlɛt ɑ̃n ivarnmɛ̃*[8] *drwɛt*[9] *dərɑ̃ fo*[10] *nu*
ils ont mis leur goëlette en (hivernement) droit devant chez nous

[1] See p. 56, list 36 C, no. 7 and foot-note 4.
[2] See p. 38, 5. Special cases, no. 8; also p. 164, no. 20.
[3] *La langue française*, (1890) p. 29.
[4] See p. 84, 4. Special cases, no. 3.
[5] See p. 54, list 36 A and remarks under § XIII C.
[6] For *wezɛ̃, wɛzɛ̃*, see p. 62, list 41, no. 7; for *wɛzɑ̃, wezɑ̃*, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 27, and observations on the nasals below.
[7] For *lø*, see the Possessives, pp. 122-23.
[8] Cf. p. 56, foot-note 4 for dialect *ɛ̃* = Fr. *-en*.
[9] See p. 73, list 47, no. 7.
[10] For the different forms, see p. 172, no. 36.

k

97 *kabrwɛt*[1] m. — Fr. cabrouet (K.$_3$ 1890 L. *caper* + suffix). Applied to heavy carts such as tip-carts and teams for hauling freight. *cabrouet* is given by Littré in the sense of: "charrette à transporter les cannes à sucre". *cabrouet* is not given in the H., D., T. The derivation of the similar words given, like *cabriole, cabriolet*, is identical in origin. Cf. Dunn *cabrouet*; Caron *caberouet* (cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 158: *kabarwɛt* and *kabarwɛ*).

sɔ̃ vɔ̃ mal ã kabrwɛt, ɔ̃n ɛsku[2] *tã*
ça va mal en cabrouet on secoue tant

98 *kadɔ̃:r* m. — Fr. cadavre (L. *cadaver*). Used in the expression */ sy* or */ fy mal kadɔ̃:r* as noted in no. 82 above. H., D., T., as well as Littré, give for the definition of Fr. *un cadavre ambulant*: "une personne pâle et décharnée comme un cadavre." The dialect seems to have taken its meaning from this French sense, using the word adjectively. *cadâbe* appears in both Jaubert and Jônain but used as a noun.

99 *kafjɛ:r* f. = Fr. cafetière, *café* + suffix (K.$_3$ 7593 Arabic *quahvah*). Used for Fr. *cafetière*. "... *cafetier, cafetière, cafeterie* avait été précedés de *caféière*. Les formes qui présentent le *t* datent de la seconde partie du siècle dernier."[3] The French ending *-tière* has become so popular that the *t* in many instances appears in French where it does not belong etymologically; cf. dialect *tabacɛ:r* = Fr. *tabatière*; cf. the foot-note 1 to this word on p. 87. Thurot (I, 157) quotes from Richelet's dictionary (1680): "*cafetière* se prononce *caftié*."

100 *kapo* m. = Fr. capot. "Dérivé de *cape*," H., D., T. Littré says: "Diminutif de *cape*. Le *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* de 1740 a *capot* au sens actuel de *capote*" (i. e. heavy cloak). Cf. Dunn, *capot*. Of *cape*, H., D., T. say: "autre forme de *chape*," and for *chape*, pop. Lat. *cappa*, head-dress (cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 151: *capot de chat*, and V, p. 78: *des capots rubber*.)

tɔ̃ kapo ɛ plã[4] *d vɔ̃:z*
ton capot est plein de vase (i. e. *boue*) (see below, *vɔ̃:z*)

"Au Canada le *capot* est principalement le *paletot* d'automne ou d'hiver. C'est ainsi qu'on dit: *capot de chat* pour *paletot de fourrure*, en peau de chat sauvage. Notre *capot* n'a pas nécessairement de capuchon, et ce n'est pas un manteau. C'est une *capote*, mais pas au sens restreint de capote militaire. Il ne serait pas juste de traduire *capot* par *capote*, car la *capote* ne se met pas, nécessairement, par dessus les autres habits et le sens en est plus restreint que celui de notre *capot*." Comment by Rivard.

[1] The *t* of the ending seems to be due to analogy of similar endings, as, for example, Canadian *rwɛt* = Fr. rouet (see p. 74, list 48, no. 14).

[2] See p. 64, Note.

[3] "Création actuelle des mots nouveaux dans la langue française," *Reliques scientifiques*, p. 73 (Darmesteter).

[4] For the nasal, cf. p. 54, list 36 A, no. 18.

101 *karge* = Fr. carguer. Borrowed from Provençal *cargar* which has the same etymology as Fr. *charger*, H., D., T. K.$_3$ 1971 **cărricare*. Another example of a marine term used in the every-day idiom on shore. The expression means "to lean to one side". Jônain: *carguer* (*se*). The Picard form is *carguer*, Corblet. See Roquefort, *carger, cargier, carguer*.

1 *ty t karg trɔ sy*[1] *ta fɛːz* 2 *gard dɔ̃*[2] *kɔm i ɛ karge dã sa wɛtyːr*
tu te cargues trop sur ta chaise garde donc comme il est carqué dans sa voiture

102 *karisto* m.? Spelled for me *carristo* and defined: "espèce de chaussures faites avec la peau du jarret d'un bœuf." I have been unable as yet to find any clue to this word or its etymology.

ʒ e tɥe ɛ̃ bø[3] *e ʒ m e fɛt ɔn pɛːr d karisto*
j'ai tué un bœuf et je m'ai fait une paire de (carristo)

103 *kʊ̯rɔte* m. = Fr. carreau(?) + suffix (popular L. **quadrellum* H., D., T.; K.$_3$ 7608). The word seems to be one of popular formation and was translated *sorte d'etoffe*, I surmise merely "patch work" (cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 208, top. *carreauté* pour *quadrillé*, in an article by P. J. Paradis entitled *Notre language commercial*). The word, in and around Quebec, appears to be an adjective.

mɔ̃ːt wɛːr[4] *ɑ̃ o la bɛl pjɛs d kʊ̯rote kə ʃ fy*[5] *aprɛ*[6] *fɛːr*
monte voir en haut la belle pièce de (carreauté) que je suis après faire

104 *katɛ̃* f. = Fr. catin. Used for *poupée*. Jônain and Jaubert both give *catin* in this sense; cf. Dunn. H., D., T.: "Abréviation familière du nom de femme Catherine, cf. *catau*." For other meanings of *catin* see Littré and cf. Caron. Fortier mentions the word in his article[7] on Louisiana Acadian French in the sense of "doll". Murray gives Gr. *ἀϑανασία*, name of the saint, subsequently assimilated in spelling to Gr. *καθάρος*, "pure".

vlʊ̯ ti[8] *ɔn bɛl katɛ̃*
voilà (ti) une belle catin

105 *katɔrtɛ̃* m. pl. = Fr. quatre-temps (cf. p. 94, list 59, no. 8). A kind of berry (*cornus canadensis*) known also popularly as *ruʒɛ* = Fr. rouget, because of the color, and in English "partridge berry", "pigeon plum", "checker-berry", etc. There are in the French dialect a number of other popular names: *pain de perdrix, pain d'oiseau*, etc. The origin of the word *quatre-temps* forms the subject of an interesting article by the well known scientist C. Laflamme, *BPFC.*, V. pp. 175-177.

[1] See Prepositions, p. 171, no. 35.
[2] See Adverbs, p. 164. no. 14.
[3] See p. 111, at the top.
[4] See p. 69, list 45, no. 14.
[5] See Verbs, p. 133, 1.
[6] Cf. p. 178, no. 16.
[7] *M. L. A. Transactions*, 1887, vol. III, p. 124, no. 86.
[8] For *ti*, see p. 134, at the top.

alɔ̃ ramᵕse de katɔrtɛ̃; jᵊ[1] *ᵕ ã mas sy*[2] *l bytro*[3]
allons ramasser des quatre-temps; il y a en masse sur le butreau

106 *kã* m. (*sy l*) = Fr. camp (sur le), see no. 107. Used for Fr. *de champ.*

virᵊ dɔ̃ stə tab lᵕ sy l kã si vu vule la pᵕse dã stə pɔrt lᵕ
virez donc cette table-là sur le camp si vous voulez la passer dans cette porte-là

kã in the sense of Fr. *hôpital* is an Anglicism: *ɑ̃ kã* (hôpital) *pur le kɔ̃sɔ̃ptif* (phthisiques) *dã le pepinjeːr* (pepinières) *dy mɛn* (Maine). *BPFC.*, V, p. 199.

107 *kãːte* = Fr. canter, given by Littré = "to turn on the side". For etymology he refers to *champ.* Under *champ* (2), Littré gives: "La partie la plus étroite d'une pièce de bois, d'une brique, etc., *de champ*, locution adverbiale, sur le côté étroit. C'est *chant* qu'il faut écrire. Etymologie: Norm. *de cant* = de côté; wallon. *can,* le côté: *mète one brike so s'can* = mettre une brique de champ; ancien français *cant,* côté." Moisy for Norman gives: "*canter* = mettre sur le côté" and "*cant* = champ, côté, la partie la plus étroite d'une pièce de bois. Placer une brique à cant ou decant, c'est le poser sur le côté le plus étroit et le plus long." K.₃ 1779 Celtic **cambitos, *cammitos,* bending.

1 *kãːt twa par isit*[4] 2 *kãːte vu ãn arjeːr*[5]
cante toi par ici cantez vous en arrière

108 *kɔ̃ːb* m. = Fr. comble (L. *cumulum* H., D., T.). The popular word in use for Fr. *toit,* a like form for which is not heard. Cf. the French expression *de fond en comble.* The exact definition will be found given in the article *La vieille grange, charpente extérieure, BPFC.*, V, p. 211.

l kɔ̃ːb d la mɛzɔ̃
le comble de la maison

109 *krɔksiɲɔːl* f. = Fr. croquignole. Cf. K.₃ 2616 **croccum* (hook) and E. *cracknel.* This dialect pronunciation appears to be due to a childish deformation or imitation, as I was told the children so pronounced the word. Cf. childish *ɛlmɔn* = Fr. Émile and *maltid* = Fr. Mathilde, tho these latter may be considered also as cases of metathesis (cf. *BPFC.*, III, p. 254; IV, p. 102).

a noɛl ɔ̃ fɛ de krɔksiɲɔl; məmã[6] *ᵕ bᵕre se krɔksiɲɔːl*
à Noël on fait des croquignoles; maman a barré ses croquignoles

110 *kylɔt* f. *a klapɛ* m. = Fr. culottes à clapet (K.₃ 2671 *cūlum*; K.₃ 5282 Germ. *klap*). Translated by Mlle Allard: "anciens pantalons dont le devant consistait en un grand morceau carré d'étoffe qui s'adaptait aux pantalons au moyen de boutons."

[1] For *j* before vowels, see p. 91, Special cases no. 6, and the explanation p. 181, under no. 24.
[2] See Prepositions, p. 171, no. 35.
[3] Cf. p. 190, no. 64.
[4] See p. 73, list 47, no. 10.
[5] See p. 25, list 14, no. 1.
[6] See p. 33, Special cases, no. 2.

I have not found the expression elsewhere, tho it may well be coined in any French speech.

j[1] ◡ *jɛ̃*[2] *kə le vjø ci pɔrt ɑ̃kɔːr de kylɔt a klape*
il y a rien que les vieux qui portent encore des culottes à clapet

"Ce sont nos *culottes à bavaloise.* La *bavaloise* canadienne est absolument le *clapet* canadien tel défini par Mlle Allard. L'expression française pour *bavaloise* ou *clapet*, c'est *pont de pantalons.* Des *culottes à clapet,* ce sont des *culottes à pont.*" Comment by Rivard.

111 *cite* = Fr. quitter (K$_3$ 7668 L. *quīeto*). This verb is used transitively where the French usage is *laisser,* merely analogy of cases where *quitter* is used transitively in French, as in *j'ai quitté la ville.* Canadian usage also.

ʒ e cite[3] *ma piɔʃ o rᵕ*[4] *l pɔrmje*[5] *sejɔ̃*[6]
j'ai quitté ma pioche au ras le premier sillon

l

112 *lɔ̃ʒi.* Formed for Fr. *long* + suffix; see p. 112, 5., and for an example of the use, p. 180, no. 21; *lɔ̃ʒi* is used for Fr. *lent.* "*longis*: homme lent, lambin; se dit dans le Maine et même populairement à Paris." Godefroy.

113 *lɔ̃ʒityd* f. = Fr. longitude (K$_3$ 5691 L. *longum* + suffix). Heard in the expression:

d ən lɔ̃ʒityd ɛstrɛːm[7]
d'une (longitude) extrême

meaning *d'une lenteur extrême.* Godefroy give this meaning under *longitude. longeain* is the adjective form given by L. Remacle in *Dictionnaire wallon-français.*

114 *lyrɛt* f. = Fr. lurette (given by Littré as popular and composed of Fr. *belle heurette*) (*bellam* + *ōram* + suffix). Also popular French in the expression *il y a belle lurette* = *il y a longtemps,* which is the dialect sense. Cf. Dunn who adds: Champagne.

vlᵕ ən bɛl lyrɛt kə t ɛ pᵕrti
voilà une belle lurette que tu es parti

Godefroy explains under *heurete*: "Lorraine: 'il y a belle eurette que je ne le vois plus'. Par agglutination de l'article on dit populairement: 'il y a belle lurette'." Adam gives *lurette* (*Les patois lorrains,* p. 267, bottom). Cf. M. Rivard's analogous explanation of this expression in *BPFC.,* V, p. 317, to which he here adds: "Comme dans le français populaire, on ne l'emploie qu'avec *belle.*"

[1] For *j,* see p. 91, Special cases, no. 6, and the explanation p. 181, under no. 24.
[2] See p. 89, Special cases, no. 4.
[3] Noted on p. 86, list 53a, no. 19.
[4] See p. 171, no. 27.
[5] See p. 93, list 57, no. 22.
[6] See p. 27, Special cases, no. 10.
[7] For dialect *s* = Fr. *ks,* see p. 77, 5.
[8] Cf. Neuter verbs, pp. 161-62. The *ɛ* is used rather than ◡ as the idea is: he has been gone.

m

115 *mɔ̃fuje* = Fr. (mâchouiller) (K.$_3$ 5992 *masticare* + suffix). A frequentative formed from Fr. *mâcher*. Jaubert records it for Centre de la France: *mâchouiller*. This ending seemed to be quite popular in the dialect. The ending *-ase* was noted under no. 61, *burase* = Fr. bourasser, above, as being also a very popular suffix. *mɔ̃fuje* is a well known Canadian-French form.

mɔ̃n ɔ̃k mɔ̃fuj dy matɛ̃[1] (*matā*) *o swɛ:r*
mon oncle (mâchouille) du matin au soir

Cf. Legendre on such words in *La langue française au Canada*, p. 27.

Note. It may be of interest here to note with what facility these Acadian dialects adapt suffixes which become very popular. When in Cheticamp, C. B., I noted the following words showing popular suffixes.

1 *byfɔ̃je*	(bûchailler)	5 *fofɔ̃je*	(fauchailler)	9 *parlɔte*	(parloter)
2 *byvase*	(buvasser)	6 *mā:zɔ̃j*	(mangeaille)	10 *patuje*	(patouiller)
3 *byrɔte*	(buvoter)	7 *mā:zɔt*	(mangeote)		
4 *bwasɔ̃je*	(boisailler)	8 *parlɔ̃je*	(parlailler)		

All of these words, save nos. 1 and 5, are given as examples of words containing popular suffixes by Talbert in the dialect of Blois, *Du dialecte blaisois*, pp. 303-4. Moreover, all of these words, save no. 4, are heard in Canadian-French. The Can.-Fr. has also *mangeailler*. "Nous faisons grand usage du suffixe *-ailler*, pour donner le plus souvent un sens péjoratif au mot. Cf. *courir* et *courailler*." Rivard's note on the above. M. Rivard would write for the Quebec dialect-forms corresponding to French *-ailler*. *a* rather than ɔ̃.

116 *mal gane* = Fr. mal portant. For *mal gagné* cf. K.$_3$ 10337 Germ. *waiðanjan*, to acquire. See p. 100, 2, Special cases, no. 3. As can be seen by Special case list on p. 100, dialect *n* is sometimes equivalent to Fr. *ng*, which is why it may be possible *mal gane* corresponds to a French form *mal gagné*. The word *mal gagné* is noted by Favre (for Poitou) meaning "mauvais ouvrier"; and Jônain notes the same word with the meaning "tâche mal faite", "entreprise où l'on gagne peu". The Carleton dialect sense is different, but the dialect sense and that of the Fr. *mal gagné* are not too far apart to suppose a connection.

ʃ sy mal gane
je suis (mal portant)

Godefroy gives *malgaigne* = extorsion, pillerie; and *malgain* = mauvais gain.

Note. "Dans le fr.-can. nous n'entendons jamais *mal gane*; par contre nous avons la forme *magane*, verbe qui est répandu dans toute la Province de Québec. Il signifie: mal traiter: rendre malade: executer sans soin, défectueusement, mal travailler: bousiller un ouvrage, le gâter. Exemples: *J'ai un rhume qui me magane beaucoup* = qui m'incommode beaucoup, qui me fatigue beaucoup; *il est tombé du quatrième étage, il est magané, c'est épouvantable*, c.-à-d. il est blessé, défiguré. *Maganer quelqu'un* = le maltraiter, l'injurier. *Les chemins sont si mauvais que j'ai toute magané ma voiture*, c.-à-d. brisé, détérioré ma voiture. *Maganer une robe, un habit* = salir, déchirer: *maganer un ouvrage* = le gâter."

[1] See again the Nasals, p. 54, list 36 A, no. 12, and the observations below.

117 *marje* = Fr. (marier) (K.$_3$ 5958 *măritare*). Noted the frequent transitive use of this verb where the French usage is *épouser*. As Fr. *marier* is used transitively, for example, by the priest when "marrying a couple", the popular idiom applies the analogy of this transitive use to other cases (cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 264; V, p. 55).

cis cə pit[1] *mari? i mari sa kuzm ʒarmɛn, la fi:j d sɔ̃ ɔ̃:k dʒo*[1]
qui est-ce que "Pete" marie? il marie sa cousine germaine, la fille de son oncle "Jo"

118 *masɔn* f. = Fr. (maçon) (K.$_3$ 5782 *măccionem*). Used for Fr. *maçonnerie*. So used in the *Façons de parler* du Père Potier: "Après les travaux de la maçonne" (*BPFC.*, IV, p. 102).

1 *pɔlɔ̃ fɛ la masɔn dy fu:r* 2 *ʒ e fɛ arɑ̃ʒe la masɔn d mɔ̃ pɥi*
Polon fait la maçon(nerie) du four j'ai fait arranger la maçon(nerie) de mon puits

A dialect expression taken, most likely, from the Saintonge usage, for Jônain gives: *maçonne d'hiver, maçonne d'enfer* as a proverb meaning: "très solide, si la gelée ne l'a prise". Can.-Fr. also.

119 *mɑ̃:tri* f. = Fr. (menterie) (K.$_3$ 6093 *mentire* for the deponent). Used for Fr. *mensonge*, the dialect preferring to coin a verbal noun from *mɑ̃:ti:r* = Fr. mentir, and its own popular ending *-ri* = Fr. -rie. Latin *-ĭam* was used to form abstract nouns in *-ie* in French; the popular tendency, however, is to replace the *-ie* in some of these nouns by *-rie*. Brunot (*Grammaire historique*, p. 159) quotes as examples of this development: *mairerie* and *jalouserie*; this latter form actually occurs in the dialect *ʒaluz(ə)ri* (following the example of words recently formed where the suffix *ie* is preceded by an *r*). The Carleton word may, too, be taken from the Saintonge word given by Jônain: *menterie*. "*Menterie* est français, bien que familier au sens de *mensonge leger*. Il n'y a qu'une nuance entre *mensonge* et *menterie*." Rivard.

i ɛ ase mɑ̃:tr[2] *c i ⌣ tɔgu*[3] *ɔn mɑ̃:tri d p⌣:re*[4]
il est assez menteur qu'il a toujours une (menterie) de parée

120 *mece* m. = Fr. métier (K.$_3$ 6183 *ministerium*). Cf. p. 87, list 54, no. 16. Used in a number of popular expressions and heard with several common words which are apt to be employed at the same time, and which as specimens of phraseology are here noted. *fɛ:r dɑ̃ l mece* = Fr. faire dans le métier, translated as the equivalent of Fr. *tisser*. *fɛzo:z d etɔf* = Fr. faiseuse d'étoffe, also explained as the equivalent of Fr. *tisserande*. The suffix *-o:z* = Fr. -euse, is extremely popular in the dialecte: *mɔdo:z* = Fr. (modeuse) used for Fr. *modiste*. Of course, in popular French *-euse* is a most fruitful suffix. "Dans le fr.-can., *mece* s'entend du *métier* proprement dit, c.-à-d. de la profession d'un art mécanique; et aussi (comme dans *travailler au métier*) de la machine à tisser. L'expression *faire dans le métier* ne s'emploie pas ici: ce doit être l'équivalent de notre *travaje o mece* = Fr. travailler au métier." Rivard.

[1] These popular names will be found under Christian names.

[2] See p. 95, list 60, no. 9.

[3] See p. 165, no. 27.

[4] Very common, taken from the nautical language = Fr. *prêt*.

1 *s ɛ pɔ ɛzɛ d mə kɛ̃:d*[1] *prɔp, kar ʃ fɛ dɑ̃ l mecc* 2 *ʃ tə di k aɲɛs, s ɛ*
c'est pas aisé de me (tenir) propre car je fait dans le métier je te dis qu'Agnès, c'est
ɔn bɔn fɛzɔ:z d etɔf 3 *ʃ fɛ mɔ̃ tapi avɛk d la ʃɛ:n vart e d l afty:r vine*
une bonne faiseuse d'étoffe je fais mon tapis avec de la chaine verte et de (l'acheture viné)

d la ʃɛ:n cart was translated *coton filé vert.* The expression *d l afty:r* I cannot decipher. It was written twice, once *l'acheture,* again *d' la ch'tur* and translated *tissure. vine* was translated "violette", I suppose "wine colored". I suspect for *d l afty:r* something like *ʒɔty:r* as tho from Fr. *jeter,* i. e. made with waste or discarded material. The stages appear to be *də la ʒɔty:r, d la ʒɔty:r, d la fty:r, d l afty:r.*

121 *meta:j* m. For Fr. *métaux* (analogy of forms like Fr. *médaille*) as explained on p. 110, foot-note 2. Moisy under *métail* for Norman says: "Le patois normand nous fournit d'autres exemples de formes similaires dans *cristail, cail,* dits pour *cristal, cal.*" Godefroy gives OF. forms *mitaille, metaille* = "morceau de métal en general".

vlɔ de cyjɛ:r[2] *d ɑ̃ bɔ̃ meta:j*
voilà des cueillères d'un bon métal

122 *metive.* OF. *mestiver,* Roquefort; *mestiver,* Godefroy. Cf. Diez 213 *mezzo,* K.$_3$ 6045 **medietarium.* The old French verb is here preserved and used instead of a form corresponding to Fr. *moissonner.* Found also in Jaubert: "*metiver, m'tiver* = moissonner." Jônain gives the noun *métive* and the expression "*le temps des métives* = le grain que l'on donne au métivier, à l'ouvrier qui fait les moissons." Favre for Poitou also gives *métive* and *métiver.* The word is not from L. *messis* as Jaubert, Favre, and l'abbé Casgrain[3] suggest. *metive* is also Can.-Fr.

metive vɔt grɛ̃ (*grɑ̃*)[4]
(métivez) votre grain

123 *mənuɛ:r* f. (See p. 33, Special cases, no. 3, and p. 62, Special cases, no. 1.) This word may well be a noun formed simply from the root of Fr. *mener* + a popular suffix, as suggested by Dunn and also by Professor Rivard. Jaubert gives two meanings to *menouère,* one of which is "lisière pour mener les enfants pour les guider à marcher; est le plus souvent pluriel dans ce cas: *tenir un enfant par les menouères.*" The second meaning is "espèce de second manche, (speaking of a scythe) qui sert à mener l'instrument." Favre for Poitou merely quotes Jaubert. Thus the Carleton dialect word may be the Center of France word with another variety of meaning. If so, the etymology is, of course, then simply Fr. *mener* + suffix. L. *minare* K.$_3$ 6185 (cf. *BPFC.,* IV. p. 273: "Au lieu de *menoire,* doit-on dire *timon*

[1] See p. 150, no. 4.

[2] See p. 51, 4. Special cases, no. 3. In modern French *kyjɛ:r, kɥijɛ:r, kɥljɛ:r* can be heard: the Can.-Fr. form is *cyjɛ:r.*

[3] "Où trouver un plus joli mot que *métiver* pour dire couper le grain, du Latin *metere,* faire la moisson," *Un pélerinage au pays d'Evangeline,* p. 407-412.

[4] Cf. p. 54, list 36 A, no. 5.

ou *limon*?"). "Le *limon* est chacune des deux branches du *brancard* ou de la *limonière* d'une voiture. Le *timon* est la pièce centrale, le limon unique, chaque coté duquel on attèle un cheval. *menoire* s'emploie surtout pour *limon*; mais parfois on le dira aussi pour *timon* (très rarement je pense)." Rivard.

ā d(ə)sā·dā la ko:t ʒ m e[1] *akrɔʃe avɛk ən o·t wety:r*,[2] *e ʒ e kʊ·se le do*
en descendant la côte, je m'ai accroché avec une autre voiture et j'ai cassé les deux

mənwɛ:r də ma kʊ·rjɔl
(menouères) de ma carriole

124 *mitā* m. OF. *mitan*, K.$_3$ 6048 *medium tempus*. Godefroy *mitant* = milieu. The word, tho heard, is rare in Carleton, but common enough in many Canadian localities. Cf. Dunn. The French dialects have very generally retained the word as can be seen by consulting the dialect dictionaries. It is used in Carleton just as in the French dialects for *le milieu*. An example: *il tenait le mitan* (ni trop riche ni trop pauvre), taken from De Gaspé's *Anciens Canadiens*, will be found in *BPFC.*, IV, p. 144. The etymology of the word is studied by Professor Rivard, who inclines to popular Latin *medietanum*, in *BPFC.*, V, pp. 236, 237.

125 *mɔdə:z* f. = Fr. (modeuse). K.$_3$ 6245 L. *modum* + suffix. For Fr. *modiste* by adding the popular suffix *-ə:z* = Fr. -euse. Cf. under no. 120 *fɛzə:z*, etc. *mɔdə:z* is not heard about Quebec.

126 *mɔrtwɛ:z* f. = Fr. mortaise. (See p. 62, Special cases, no. 2.) This seems like an old French or dialect pronunciation. Thurot (I, p. 414) cites Richelet's *Dictionnaire* (1680), which says "*mortaise, mortoise*, l'usage est pour *mortaise*." The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1694) gives *mortaise* ou *mortoise*, which latter might well be pronounced as in the Carleton dialect. *mortoise* is the spelling Jônain gives for Saintonge which also points to the Carleton pronunciation. The etymology of Fr. *mortaise* appears to be uncertain, the authorities I have consulted merely saying: "cf. Arabic *murtaʒʒ* = fixed, or Welsh *mortais*." Godefroy also gives the spelling *mortoise* (cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 216). Can.-Fr. also.

127 *mɔ̃·tā* f. = Fr. montagne (K.$_3$ 6279 **mōntāneam*). Merely a popular pronunciation of Fr. *montagne* by old people in Carleton; cf. the phonology, p. 56, at the top of the page. If *mɔ̃·tā* is simply Fr. *montant*, then the gender should be masculine.

128 *muk* f. = Fr. moucle (K.$_3$ 6404 *mūscŭlum* = small mouse). Explained as equaling Fr. *moule*, "espèce de mollusque que l'on trouve sur le rivage". Littré gives the word and as etymology "autre forme (et plus près de l'origine) de *moule*." Jônain spells: *mouelle*. H. R. Casgrain describes a trip "à la pêche aux *moucles*" in

[1] See Pronominal verbs, p. 161.

[2] For the two forms (*e* and *ɛ*) see p. 61, list 39, no. 9; the popular term, however, is *wʊ·gin* = Fr. wagon. *kʊ·riɔl* (or *kɔriɔl*) is the popular term for "sleigh".

BPFC., II, pp. 194-195. The *moucle* is defined as an "espèce de coquillage blanc qui se trouve en abondance au bord du fleuve, en bas de Québec."

ʒ e ete sy[1] *la batyːr*[2] *a matɛ̃*,[3] *ʒ e vy trwᴗ*[4] *kɔrnɛːj ci mãːxɛ*[5] *de muk*
j'ai été sur la batture à matin, j'ai vu trois corneilles qui mangeaient des moucles

129 *mulɛ̃ a kuːd* m. — Fr. moulin à coudre. Merely a popular term, the origin of which is obvious for Fr. *machine à coudre*. "Il arrive que nous donnions à certains mots français un sens détourné qui manque souvent de justesse et de précision: *moulin à coudre, moulin à farine, moulin à scie, moulin à carde, moulin à coton*," etc., *Notre langage commercial, BPFC.*, V, pp. 207-208.

130 *muly t si* f. = Fr. (moulu) de scie (K.$_3$ 6244, derivative of *mŏdulŭm*). This dialect expression is commonly used for *sciure de bois*. It is merely formed from Fr. *mouler* + a participial ending analogous to those in *y* (cf. *mudy, kudy*). In herring fishing, *mouler le hareng* means to squeeze the herring with the hand in such a way as to remove scales and foreign substance.[6] This idea the dialect, by extension so current in marine matters, applies to refuse like saw-dust. The word in Norman. Moisy gives as "*moulee* = sciure de bois". The Carleton dialect merely makes use of another verbal ending. Godefroy under *moulure* quotes Cotgrave, edition of 1611: "a moulding, also a mould." "Ici on dit *mule t si* = Fr. moulée de scie; aussi "moulure de scie", et "brân (ou brin) de scie". Rivard.

kãːt[7] *ɔ̃ bali*,ˢ *e pi*[9] *k ɔ̃ vø pᴗ kə la pusjeːr rɔːl, ɔ̃ ʒøt*[10] *d la muly t si*
quand on balaye et puis qu'on veut pas que la poussière vole, on jette de la (moulu) de scie

sy[11] *l plãːʃe*
sur le plancher

131 *muɲe* m. For Fr. *meunier*. K.$_3$ 6254 *mŏlīnārĭŭs*. Thurot[12] quotes Monet (1643): *mounier*; and Ménage (1692) who says: "de *molinarius*, nos anciens ont fait *mounier* et *monnier*." The Saintonge form given by Jônain is *moûnier*. Jaubert for Center of France gives: "*meûnier*, prononcez *meugnier*," and Moisy for Norman gives the three forms: *munier, mounier*, and *monier*. Roquefort gives a spelling: "*mougnier*: meunier, en bas latin *monerius*." Godefroy: *molinier, moulinier*. "*muɲe* n'est pas connu ici; on entend plutôt *myɲe* ou *møɲe*" Rivard.

l muɲe ᴗ t i mudy[13] *mɔ̃ bʌkhwit*
le meunier a-t-il (moulu) mon "buckwheat" (sarrasin)

[1] See p. 171, no. 35.
[2] Cf. no. 36 above.
[3] For such expressions, see p. 169 under no. 1 *a*.
[4] For this ᴗ, see p. 14, list 6, no. 7.
[5] For the *x*, see p. 104, list 66, no. 27.
[6] See Littré: *mouler*.
[7] For *t* sounded even before consonants, see p. 164, no. 17.
[8] For the form, see p. 35, Special cases, no. 3.
[9] For *pi, dəpi*, etc., see p. 51, Special cases, no. 2.
[10] See p. 140, Examples, 6.
[11] See p. 171, no. 35.
[12] Tome II, p. 516; also I, p. 449.
[13] See p. 151, no. 6.

132 *mus* m. = Fr. mousse (K.$_3$ 6421 *mūtĭŭs*, blunted). The Fr. *mousse* taken from the nautical and adapted to the home language. Not heard about Quebec in this sense.

mɔ̃ pti mus ɛ dezᵕ dā l epɔlᵕsiæ̃;[1] *i apɔl*[2] *ʒɔlimɛ̃ bɛ̃*[3]
mon petit mousse est déjà dans l'épellation; il épelle joliment bien

133 *mujase* = Fr. mouillaser (K.$_3$ 6260 **molliare* from *mollis*). A frequentative from Fr. *mouiller* (cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 267). This popular ending *-ase* = Fr. -asser has been mentioned in discussing *burase*, no. 61, and the popularity of certain endings noted under *mᵕfaje*, no. 115. *muje* = Fr. mouiller, itself, is regularly used for Fr. *pleuvoir* (cf. Dunn; *BPFC.*, IV, p. 147). As is well known this is very common in the French dialects generally. (See the dialect dictionaries.)

mɛ pᵕ tɔ̃ fapo noˌ[4] *i kɔmāːs a mujase* *muj tiˀ*[5] *nɔ̃, mɛ i brymas*
mets pas ton chapeau neuf, il commence a mouillasser mouille (ti)? non mais il brumasse

Cf. also for the frequentative ending *-ase* Legendre's remarks, p. 27 of *La langue française.*

134 *myk* = OF. mucre. Godefroy: "qui sent le relent". K.$_3$ 6334 *mūcor* (mould). Meaning is "damp", "mouldy", "corrupt". The word is preserved in Norman *mucre* = humide; see Moisy. Cf. also Dunn, *mucre*; and see the luminous article by Professor Rivard, read before the XVe Congrès International des Américanistes, le 10 septembre 1906, in Quebec. *Les dialectes français dans le parler franco-canadien* (*BPFC.*, V, p. 49).

1 *lez alymɛt kə ʒ avɛ dā ma pɔʃ sɔ̃ myk*
les allumettes que j'avais dans ma poche sont (mucres)

2 *le patat*[6] *kɔmāːs a ɛːt myk*
les patates commencent à être (mucres)

dā la kaːv
dans la cave

135 *myzje* m. = Fr. (menuisier) (K.$_3$ 6201 *mĭnutĭarĭus*). This form is explained on p. 51, Special cases, no. 6. The form *menusier* is cited by Thurot;[7] Jaubert and Jônain give an identical spelling for Center of France and Saintonge, while Moisy spells *ménusier*. Quebec: *mnyzje*.

arfil[8] *ɛ ā bɔ̃ myzje*
Achille est un bon menuisier

[1] See p. 45, Note; *sjæ̃* appears to be nearer the exact sound than *sjɛ̃*; cf. p. 54, foot-note; p. 56, foot-note 3.

[2] See the verbs, p. 138, 1. Special traits, no. 2.

[3] For *bɛ̃* and *bjɛ̃*, see p. 165, no. 3.

[4] See the explanation p. 70, under 6.

[5] See for *ti*, p. 133-34, Note.

[6] Quebec form is *patak*, cf. p. 85, Note, and no. 6 of Special cases.

[7] Tome I, p. 422.

[8] Cf. Canadian *arkaʒu* = Fr. acajou, and see list of proper names.

n

136 *nanan* m. pl. Used by children for Fr. *bonbons*. Cf. no. 38 above, and like *bobɔl* of imitative origin. See Passy, *Étude*, § 451, "redoublement qui joue un grand rôle dans le langage enfantine". (Ordinary French, but noted because of its extreme popularity.) About Quebec both singular and plural is heard: *ɑ̃ nanan, dzy*[1] *nanan, de nanan.*

məmɑ̃,[2] *papɔ̃ vɔ̃ ti m apɔrte de nanan?*
maman, papa va ti m'apporter des (nanans)

137 *nik* m. = Fr. nid. Used for Fr. *nid*. Jônain, Moisy, and Favre give the same spelling *nic* and meaning, i. e. Fr. *nid*. Godefroy, under 2, gives *nic, nyc* = *nid*, adding: "Poitou, Canada, Norm. *nic* — nid." In Can.-Fr. sometimes *nikə*, as in the song: *ʒ e truve lə nikə dzy ljɛvrə* (j'ai trouvé le (nique) du lièvre), *me lə ljɛr n ij etɛ pɔ̃* (mais le lièvre n'y était pas).

batis ɛjɛ̃ wɛ:r l bo pti nik də marl dɑ̃ l kwɛ̃
Baptiste, viens voir le beau petit (nid) de merles dans le coin

138 *nivɛlø*. For Fr. *niveler*, see K.$_3$ 5557 L. **libellus*. The meaning of this word is "difficult", "delicate", "hard to do". The word appears to be formed from the French verb *niveler* meaning "to level" by addition of a popular suffix *-ø* = Fr. *-eux*, and to get its meaning from the obvious difficulty of adjusting so as to get the level of anything. Godefroy gives for the verb: *niveler* and *liveller* — mesurer au niveau. Not heard about Quebec.

s ɛ pɔ̃ mal nivɛlø a fɛ:r
c'est pas mal (niveleux) à faire

o

139 *obɛl*. From L. *albus* + suffix. Used just as Fr. *aubier* is; cf. Dunn and Manseau under *aubelle*. Moisy gives *aubeur* and *aubet* = Fr. *aubier*. The etymology of Fr. *aubier* is L. *albus*, H., D., T., and the form *aubeau* is quoted as used by Sully (XVIIth century); also the form *auber* (XIVth century) quoted from the *Bibl. Éc. des chartes*. Godefroy gives the OF. (under 2) *aubel, obel, aubeau* = Fr. aubier. The dialect seems simply to have retained *aubel*. The form is found in the *patois normand* and that of Guernsey as may be seen by consulting the *BPFC.*, II, p. 213. "Le normand dit *obɛ* parcequ'il laisse généralement tomber l'*l* final." Rivard.

p

140 *pɔ̃* = Fr. pas, K.$_3$ 6906 *pāssus*. Words beginning in French with the prefix *in-*, such as: *incapable, impatient, inaperçu, incroyable, incurable, injuste* are

[1] See p. 20, foot-note 4.

[2] For *məmɑ̃*, see p. 33, Special cases, no. 2.

represented in the dialect by the negative particle *pɔ̃* = Fr. pas, just before the word itself, this serving for the equivalent of Fr. *in-* in such cases:

1 *ʃ*[1] *ʃy pɔ̃ kapab d travaje* 2 *kɔm t ɛ pɔ̃ pasjɛ̃!* 3 *l ʒy:ʒ ɔ̃ pɔ̃ ete ʒys*[2]
je suis pas capable de travailler comme tu es pas patient le juge a pas été juste

4 *sa maladi ɛ pɔ̃ jerisab*[3]
sa maladie est pas guérissable

141 *pɔ̃re* = Fr. paré, K.$_3$ 6875 *părāre*. Used for Fr. *prêt*, being very common, and taken from the nautical language. Cf. Dunn. Jônain gives for Saintonge: "*paré, parée*: prêt, prête, terme pris des marins". (Jônain says: "Langue d'Oc", also.) "Fr.-can. aussi, mais prononcé *parc* ou *pare*. Je ne crois pas que le fr.-can. aille jusqu'à *pɔ̃re*." Rivard.

al ɛ ti[4] *pɔ̃re*
elle est (ti) parée

142 *pagaːj* f. = Fr. (pagaie), a paddle, see Littré. Etymology? The dialect word seems to be derived from Fr. *pagaie* = a paddle, to which the popular suffix *-aːj* = Fr. -aille, has been added. There is also the verb *pagajer* (pagayer) = to paddle. Cf. Indian words, no. 22 a. "*Pagaie* est inconnu ici. Quant au verbe, nous disons *pageje*." Rivard.

j[5] *ɔ̃ ɑ̃ savaːʒ e ɔn savaʒɛs ci pagaːj; i saːr si bɛ̃*[6] *mne*[7] *lo*[8] *pagaːj*
il y a un sauvage et une sauvagesse qui (pagayent); ils savent si bien mener leur (pagaie)

Cf. Jônain's "en pagail: marine, en desordre, en detresse, à l'abandon". He is in doubt as to the etymology.

143 *parapɛl* m. The word is used in the sense of Fr. *trottoir*, an example of which is given in no. 37 above. The origin appears to be like that of Fr. *parapet* due to a form *parare*: "to prepare for", and then "to protect", as in the words *parapet, parasol, parapluie*, K.$_3$ 6875. Jônain gives *parapel*, merely remarking: "bien plus honnête que le grossier *parapet*". Quite popular in Can.-Fr.

144 *pat* f. = Fr. patte. K.$_3$ 6917 of low G. origin, root *pat*. Used for the leg of the table. This is readily intelligible in simple language.

ramɔ̃ːs dɔ̃[9] *st epɛ̃ːg lɔ̃ c ɛ o rɔ̃*[10] *la pat d la tab*
ramasse donc cette épingle-là qui est au ras la patte de la table

145 *paʒe* f. OF. *pagée*? see Godefroy under *page*. Cf. no. 71 for an example and p. 192, foot-note 3. Moisy gives: "*pagée*, s. f., intervalle laissé entre les montants

[1] For *ʃ fu, ʃ fy*, see the verb p. 133, 1.
[2] See p. 78, list 51, no. 8.
[3] See p. 88, list 56, no. 11.
[4] See for *ti*, p. 133, Note.
[5] For *j*, see p. 91, Special cases, no. 6.
[6] For this form see p. 165, no. 3.
[7] For this verb see p. 138, 1. Special traits, no. 6.
[8] See the Possessives, p. 122.
[9] See pp. 163-4, no. 14; the *c* of Fr. *donc* is not heard in the corresponding dialect form.
[10] See p. 171, no. 27.

d'une construction en bois et qui l'on remplit avec du hourdis." He suggests L. *paginatus* as etymology. Legendre[1] suggests similarity of resemblance, especially when the fence is zig-zag, to "pages" in certain old books, the written lines representing the poles between the *paze*. I have been unable to trace the word. The exact definition is given by Professor Rivard thus: "Section d'une clôture, composée de deux couples de pieux enfoncés en terre et maintenant quatre ou cinq grosses perches horizontales."

146 *pepe:r* m. For Fr. *grand-père*. This seems to be a childish reduplication similar to no. 38 *bebɛl*, or no. 136 *nanã*. Cf. Passy, *Étude*, § 451. Dunn, under *pepée*, *pepère*, says: "Norm., Pic. et Centre de la France *grand-père*." I do not find these forms in either Jaubert or Moisy. Favre, for Poitou, has *pépé*, and Corblet gives *pépère*.

le nɔ:s d o:r d pepe:r ɔ̃ ete gᴗzɛte
les nôces d'or de (pepère) ont été gazettées

147 *pɛ:r* m. Used for *pis d'une vache*. About Quebec *pis* is not heard at all.

ʒ e pᴗ py tire nwɛrɔ̃ (nom d'une vache à poil noir) *al a l pɛ:r trɔ ɑ̃fle*
j'ai pas pu tirer Noiron elle a le (pair) trop enflé

I do not know what the etymology of *pɛ:r* is; in Bonaventure, when trying to find out, I was told the word was not in use, but that *ormɔj* was the word. In Jonain, I find *remeuil* = *pis de la vache* (cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 226, where the expression is cited by the Père Potier as heard in the mouth of one S. Martin, in or around Detroit, in 1746.

148 *pəzã* m. = Fr. pesant (K.$_3$ 7019 *pẽnso*). Used for Fr. *cauchemar*; the dialect sense is obvious.

stə nɥi ʒ e atrape l pəzã
cette nuit j'ai attrapé le (pesant)

149 *pik* (*a*) = Fr. pic (à). K.$_3$ 7131 root *pic*. *ɔn parsɔn a pik* = Fr. une personne à pic, i. e. hautaine, perpendicular, straight up and down.

ᴗ ty vy la krjatyːr[2] *ci ɛtɛ dã l bã a kɔlᴗ? al ɛ ti a pik ɑ̃ po!*
as-tu vu la créature qui était dans le banc à Colas? elle est (ti) à pic un peu

150 *picã* m. = Fr. piquant.[3] K.$_3$ *pic*. Used popularly for Fr. *chardons*; cf. *prickers* or *prickles* in English, and see no. 79 for an example.

151 *pjo:l* f. (*ɔn*). Spelled by the teacher *piole*. Etymology? "Expression usitée à Bonaventure et qui signifie beaucoup ou longtemps." Mlle Allard. "Dans Bona-

[1] *La langue française*, pp. 27-8. "La note de Legendre sur *pagée* me semble bien exagérée." Rivard.

[2] Cf. p. 182, foot-note 10.

[3] Nos. 146, 147, 148, 149, 150 are also Can.-Fr. forms.

venture et Gaspé on dit: *ɔn pjo:l də mɔry* — une grande quantité de morues; *ɔn pjo:l* signifie donc, en effet, beaucoup. Il n'est pas connu dans cette partie de la province." Rivard.

kɑ̃:t[1] *mɔsjø l cyre ɛ tu sol ɔ̃n ɛ sy:r d awɛ:r ɔn pjo:l o sarmɔ̃*
quand monsieur le curé est tout seul, on est sur d'avoir une ? au sermon

That is to say, a long sermon. "Ce serait une traduction libre que de traduire *pjo:l* par le mot français *harangue*. Je ne connais pas d'expression équivalente." Rivard.

152 *plas* f. = Fr. place. K.$_3$ 7235 *plătĕă*. Used rather loosely for Fr. *plancher*. The word is thus used in Jaubert, Favre, and Moisy.

1 *i ɛ tɛ̃ kə ty balɛ:z*;[2] *j ⌣ ase d kɔʃɔ̃ri dɑ̃ la plas* 2 *ʒ e ɑ̃kɔ:r trwa*
il est temps que tu balayes; il y a assez de cochoneries dans la place j'ai encore trois

plas a ale
places à aller

In no. 2 the sense is: "Il faut que j'aille encore dans trois endroits, i. e. il me reste trois courses à faire." In this latter sense *plas* is Canadian-French as well as Acadian.

153 *plyme* — Fr. plumer. K.$_3$ 7262 *plūmă*. Used for Fr. *peler*.

plym dɔ̃ le patat
plume donc les patates

Littré says the word *plumer* is used in this sense in several provinces, and Jaubert for Center of France gives in this sense the forms *pleumer* and *plumer*, and Jônain *plleumer* and *pieumer*.

154 *pomɔnik* = Fr. pulmonique (K.$_3$ 7529 **pŭlmo* + suffix). Can.-Fr. *pɔmɔnik* from *pɔmɔ̃*. Formed simply from Fr. *poumon* or rather dialect *pomɔ̃*, see p. 38, 5. Special cases, no. 9. However, the *l* of Fr. *pulmonique* may easily become vocalized so as to give almost the dialect form. Moisy gives *pomonique* from the Norman dialect *pomon* = Fr. *poumon*. Cf. Dunn, *pomonique*. There is also in the Carleton dialect a form *pasmonik* due likely to some analogy like Fr. *asthmatique*. Thurot quotes Ménage, 1672, for the pronunciation heard even among Parisians of *poumonique*, tome I, p. 278.

155 *pɔrtaʒe* = Fr. portage + er. K.$_3$ 7326 *portare*. Used just as *faire portage* is in French, of carrying a boat around the falls. Cf. Dunn under *portage*. Legendre notes *portager*, *La langue française*, p. 28, showing the word to be popular Can.-Fr.

st ɔm lə pɔrta:ʒ d ɔn ane a l ɔ̃t
cet homme là portage d'une année à l'autre

[1] See p. 164, no. 17.

[2] See p. 35, Special cases, no. 3; here the verb appears to follow the analogy of Fr. *finir*.

156 *pudrəri* f. Fr. poudrerie. K.$_3$ 7545 *pulverem* + suffix. Littré gives the word in the sense of "powder establishment". The Carleton meaning is that of *tourbillon de neige*. Cf. Dunn who calls the word "pur franco-canadien". Cf. *Façons de parler à Québec* du père Potier (*BPFC.*, III, p. 217): "Les *poudreries* sont accompagnées de froids piquants, i. e. éparpillemens de nege."

157 *pulamɔ̃* m. This word was translated "tommy cod". I have no clue to the word.

ᵕ ty d l abwɛt?[1] *wi, jɛːr ʒ e pɛ·fe de krapo d mɛːr, de pulamɔ̃ e de fᵕk*
as tu de la bouette? oui, hier j'ai pêché des crapauds de mer. des (poulamons) et des (shak)

Mlle Allard told me she thought *fᵕk* was "perch".

158 *pusᵕje* = Fr. poussailler. Fr. *pousser* + suffix. K.$_3$ 7536 *pŭlsāre*. Another frequentative in *-ᵕje* = Fr. ailler. Cf. in regard to these frequentatives in the dialect the Note under no. 115 *mᵕfuje*. Quebec *pusaːje*.

ʒ e bẽ vy kãːt i ɔ̃ kɔmãːse a s pusᵕje e i finirɛ par s bat
j'ai bien vu quand ils ont commencé à se poussailler qu'ils finiraient par se battre

159 *py ən afɛːr* = Fr. plus une affaire. Quite a common expression which I have heard in various parts of Canada, the Carleton teacher rendering the equivalent in French as: [*ce n'est*] (*pas*) *une* [*petite*] *affaire*, i. e. it is considerable of an affair. Examples are as follows:

1 *s ɛ py ən afɛːr si sez ẽfẽ lᵕ sɔ̃ pᵕ*[2] *kɔmɔd* 2 *s ɛ py ən afɛːr si stə*
c'est plus une affaire si ces enfants-là sont pas commodes c'est plus une affaire si cette

parsɔn lᵕ travaj 3 *s ɛ py ən afɛːr s i fo travaje pur viv* 4 *s ɛ py ən*
personne-là travaille c'est plus une affaire s'il faut travailler pour vivre c'est plus une

afɛːr si ʒ m ãːdoːr 5 *s ɛ py ən afɛːr si l plãːfe ɛ sal*
affaire, si je m'endors c'est plus une affaire si le plancher est sale

Cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 191; *ibidem*, p. 243.

r

160 *rᵕmysje* m., *ramysje* = Fr. rat musqué. K.$_3$ 7808 G. *rato* + L. *mŭscus* · odor. The equivalent dialect form one might well expect to be *rᵕmysce*, cf. p. 86, list 53 a; the Cheticamp form is *rᵕ-* or *ramystʃe*, Fr. *k* before *e* regularly corresponding to *tʃ* (see p. 89, Special cases, no. 1). Can.-Fr. *ra* or *rᵕ mysce* or *musje*.

161 *rᵕtɛːr, ratɛːr* = Fr. rez terre, au ras de terre (*rasum* + *terram*). Can.-Fr. *ra tɛːr*, but almost always used with *a* thus: *a ra tɛːr* (= Fr. à ras terre).

[1] See no. 65.

[2] See no. 140.

j[1] *ʊ pʊ:se ɔn bɑ̃:d d utar:d rʊ·tɛ:r*
il a passé une bande d'outardes ras terre

Jônain for Saintonge gives the expressions *râpied, râterre,* under *ras.*

162 *rabʊ* m. = Fr. rabat. K$_3$ 1278 **bättre.* Used in the sense of Fr. *manteau.* Very nearly the same meaning Littré gives in "priest's cape"; from *rabattre* "to turn down". For a great variety of meanings, among them that of Canadian *auvent,* see Godefroy: *rabat. rabʊ* in the Acadian sense is not in use about Quebec. "Le *rabat,* ici, c'est uniquement le rabat français, c.-à-d. la petite pièce de toile rabattu sur la poitrine, qu'on portait autrefois, et qui portent encore les prêtres en France. Il est presque tout à fait disparu du costume ecclésiastique au Canada." Rivard.

ʃ krwa bɛ̃ kə ʒ rʊ prɑ̃:d mɔ̃ rabʊ ɑ̃ kʊ c i mu:j
je crois bien que je vais prendre mon rabat en cas qu'il mouille

163 *rɑ̃trɛje.* K$_3$ 9663 (*re* + *en* + *traire*). Used for Fr. *rentraire* (analogy of first conjugation French verbs). In the sense of *rempiéter* (old) see Littré, also Dunn, meaning *refaire le pied d'un bas.*

tu l pje de bʊ etɛ pɔrse; ʃ sy aprɛ le rɑ̃:trɛje
tout le pied des bas était percé; je suis après les rentraire

164 *rɑ̃:xe s* = Fr. ranger se. K$_3$ 8088 Germ. *ring.* Used for Fr. *revenir.*

s ʊ t i rɑ̃:ʒe tʊ:r jɛ:r swɛ:r
s'a-t-il rangé tard hier soir

Jônain gives this dialect form *se rangher de quelque part = en revenir.* Cf. Littré, *ranger,* meanings under (12) used in nautical sense, *se ranger à bord, à quai,* etc.

165 *rezipe:r* m. Gr. ἐρυσίπελας. Used for Fr. *érysipèle.* A dialect form found in Jaubert *résipére.* He gives also *érésipére.* Jônain gives *érisipère* and *érésipère.* Naturally a word as long as Fr. *érysipèle* is likely in the dialect to undergo both shortening and change. The permutation of *l* to *r* and *r* to *l* is one of the commonest changes in French dialects (cf. p. 97, 6). The patois normand pronounces *resipɛ:l* and makes the word feminine: *ʒ e ma resipɛ:l* = Fr. j'ai mon érysipèle (cf. Guerlin de Guer, *Le parler populaire dans la Commune de Thaon* (Calvados), pp. 44. 136, 374). "Quant au passage Fr. *eri* = *re,* je pense que c'est une simple aphérèse de la voyelle initiale *e:* peut-être une déglutination de l'article. Ce qui me le fait croire, c'est que le français (voir H., D., T.) prononce et écrit aussi *érésipèle.* Dans le Fr.-Can. on prononce par *z,* mais généralement comme en français: *erezipɛl.*" Rivard.

kwas k al a dɑ̃ .l riza:ʒ? s ɛ ɑ̃ rezipe:r
quoi est-ce qu'elle a dans le visage? c'est un (résipére)

166 *rətirɑ̃:s* f. K$_3$ 9559 (**tiro* + ending). Jaubert gives: *retirance = demeure, lieu où l'on se retire.* These forms in *-ɑ̃:s* are quite popular, *dutɑ̃:s, rətirɑ̃:s, ubliɑ̃:s,* etc. Cf. remarks under no. 75, *dutɑ̃:s.*

[1] For *j,* see p. 91, no. 6, and p. 181, no. 24.

ejus e e vɔt rətirɑ̃:s astø:r
(et) où est-ce qu'est votre (retirance) à cette heure

167 *rwa* m. = Fr. rouet. K.$_3$ 8155 (*rota* + suffix). This pronunciation seems most likely due to the Canadian pronunciation of endings corresponding to Fr. *-et*, that is: *a*. This word is very common thruout French-Canada. See p. 31, 4.

168 *ryso* m. = Fr. ruisseau. Cf. K.$_3$ 8172, root *rū* = to flow + ending; see K.$_3$ 8132 **rogiscellum*. For this form, see p. 51, Special cases, no. 7. The word is often used in the sense of "tide". "*ryso* est fr.-can. au sens de *ruisseau* seulement. Parfois, on entend presque *ruso*." Rivard.

1 *l ryso e o* 2 *vu fɛ:r bwɛ:r lez alimo*[1] *o ryso*
le (ruisseau) est haut va faire boire les animaux au ruisseau

Cf. Jônain: *ruisson*: course de l'eau de mer, dans les marais salants.

s

169 *savate* = Fr. (savater). K.$_3$ 8338 Germ. root *stap*, **sapa-*). Fr. *saveter* which Littré gives = *gâter*. The second *a* may be due to influence of the first, or perhaps *savat* = Fr. savate, may be in mind. Cf. "viande *savetée*, i. e. sale, trainée dans l'ordure." *BPFC.*, IV, p. 146; also, "viande *savetée*, i. e. sur laquelle il a plû." *ibidem*, p. 266. Also Can.-Fr.

ʒ e[2] *sɔrti jɛ:r avɛk mɔ̃ ʃapo nø*[3] *e pi*[4] *ʒ l e tu savate*
j'ai sorti hier avec mon chapeau neuf et puis je l'ai tout saveté

170 *savɔnɛt* f. = Fr. savonnette. K.$_3$ 8345 *sāpōnem* + suffix. Used for Fr. *blaireau*, but Littré under *savonnette* (2) says: see *blaireau*. Dunn remarks this use. or rather observes: "Nous l'employons à tort pour *pinceau à barbe*."

u ty vy la savɔnɛt a[5] *papa?*
as tu vu la savonnette à papa?

171 *s(ə)mɑ̃:s* f. pl. = Fr. semences. K.$_3$ 8580 **sēmĕntĭă*. Used for Fr. *semailles* popularly; cf. Dunn under *semence*: "Le temps des semences". The Fr.-Can. forms are *s(ə)mɑ̃:s* and *symɑ̃:s*. For *səmɑ̃:s*, see p. 33, list 19, no. 19.

ʒ e lwe mɔ̃ bø[3] *a dʒɔne pur l tɛ̃ de s(ə)mɑ̃:s*
j'ai loué mon bœuf à "Johnny" pour le temps des semences

172 *sije*. Cf. *sībĭlare*, K.$_3$ 8682. I take this to be the same word which Jaubert spells *sîler* = siffler; Jônain gives *sîler* = siffler. Cf. Dunn *siler*. The Carleton dialect has palatalized the *l* of the French dialect words.

[1] See p. 91, Special cases, no. 2.
[2] See Neuter verbs, p. 161.
[3] See p. 70, 6.
[4] See p. 164, no. 22, and p. 52, Note, Fr. *puis*.
[5] See *a*, p. 169, Prepositions.

ʒ e poːr dy ʒɔːr kãːt i kuːr aprɛ nuz otˈ[1] *e pi e i siːj*
j'ai peur du jars quand il court après nous autres et puis qu'il (sille)

f

173 *fɔːk* m. See no. 157, *pulamõ*, above. Not heard about Quebec.

174 *fɔːto* m. pl. *de kylɔt* Fr. châteaux des culottes. Translated or rather explained: "morceaux placés dans le haut des pantalons en arrière."

ʒ e ete ublize[2] *də rapɔrte de fɔːto a te kylɔt a koːz*[3] *kə tõ stʌf etɛ trɔ rak*
j'ai été obligé de rapporter des châteaux à tes culottes à cause que ton "stuff" était trop "rack"

It does not seem impossible that the above meaning may be got from the heraldry signification of the word [see Littré *château* (11)], an escutcheon with castles in the corners; if so, the expression is vividly picturesque. On *rak*, see Anglicisms, no. 110. The sense here is "worn-out".

t

175 *tasəri* f. = Fr. (tasserie). K.$_3$ 9398 (Germ. *tas*). A place where grain is piled up. Also Can.-Fr.

la tasəri ɛ plɛn də grã[4]
la (tasserie) est pleine de grain

I find *tasserie* in this sense in Moisy. Cf. *BPFC.*, IV, p. 225: "*tasserie*, blé dans le tas" (*Façons de parler*, 1746); *ibidem*, V, p. 49: "*tasserie*: partie de la grange où l'on entasse les gerbes".

176 *tãbuːr* f. = Fr. tambour. K.$_3$ 9317 *tab, tap*, imitative origin. Meaning "a summer house", "porch", probably taken from the architectural sense as given in Littré, (part of a church) from the drumlike form. In the XVIIIth century the père Potier cites the following: "Le *tambour du ventre*, i. e. la cloche qui appelle à la table," *BPFC.*, III, p. 253. "Fr.-can. au sens de construction attenante à la maison et qui sert comme de vestibule." Rivard.

177 *tɛriːr* = Fr. terrir (L. *terram*). Used in the marine sense given by Littré, to come to shore. The French expression *attérir* for *prendre terre* is less uncommon than *terrir* and may better translate dialect *tɛriːr*.

s ɛ l otɔn kə l gwemõ tɛri
c'est l'automne que le goëmon territ

[1] *otˈ*, as a rule, follows *nu* and *vu* in cases like this; cf. Sp. *nosotros*.
[2] See p. 48, no. 14.
[3] *a koːz kə*, see Conjunctions, p. 172, no. 2.
[4] For the nasal (*grã*) see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 5.

Godefroy under 2 *terrir, terir* gives the meaning "tomber à terre". A Quebec XVIIIth century sense given by the père Potier is the following: "*Terrer* un petit-palet, i. e. le jeter de façon qu'il entre un peu dans la terre", *BPFC.*, III, p. 217. "Le poisson territ, i. e. s'approche de terre", *ibidem*, IV, p. 65. "Quand les marsouins venaient à Québec, ils faisaient *terrir* les anguilles, i. e. approcher de terre", *ibidem*, p. 147.

178 *tɛ:t d arije.* (L. *testa* + *auriculum.*) Also Can.-Fr. For Fr. *taie d'oreiller.* Merely confusion of Fr. *taie* and *tête.* Under *taie,* Larousse warns: "ne pas dire *tête.*"

t ◡ tu sale le tɛ:t d arije[1]
tu as tout salé les têtes d'oreiller

179 *to:l* f. = Fr. tôle (L. *tabula*). Meaning at times Fr. *casserole*:

məmã fɛ dmã:de si vu purɛ ɟɥi[2] *prɛ:te vɔt to:l pur fɛ:r cɥi:r dy pã*[3]
maman fait demander si vous pourrez lui prêter votre tôle pour faire cuire du pain

180 *tɔr◡:j* f. = Fr. (tauraille). Used for *jeunes bœufs.* The suffix *◡:j* is quite popular in the dialect (cf. p. 11, list 2).

kã:t i kɔmã:s a fɛ:r frɛt,[4] *tut le tɔr◡:j s rã:ʒ*[5] *dy bwa*[6]
quand il commence à faire froid, toutes les taurailles se rangent du bois

181 *trɛ:n* f. = Fr. (traîne) in the sense of *traîneau* (cf. K., 9663 and K. (first edition) 8299 **trāgīmēn*). A noun formed apparently from Fr. *traîner,* "to drag". Cf. Littré *traîne* 4th meaning: "terme de marine, petit chariot, etc." "*Traîne sauvage,* syn. de tobagane." *BPFC.*, II, p. 48. "*Traîne,* i. e. voiture; traîneau," le père Potier, *Façons de parler* (*BPFC.*, III, p. 254). "*Traîne* à sommier, i. e. à traîner des perches," *ibidem,* IV, p. 267. "Le *traîne* français est un petit chariot à roues; notre traîne, c'est ou bien la *tobagane,* ou bien un traîneau à patins très bas." Rivard.

1 *rã:t l bwa*[6] *avɛk ta trɛ:n* 2 *v◡ kri*[7] *ɑ̃ k◡:r d o avɛk ta ptit trɛ:n* 4 *pap◡*
rentre le bois avec ta (traîne) va quérir un quart d'eau avec ta petite (traîne) papa

fɛ dmã:de si vu pure ɟɥi[2] *prɛ:te vɔt trɛ:n a bijo*
fait demander si vous pourrez lui prêter votre (traîne) à billots

182 *triktrak* = Fr. trictrac (onomatopoea). A kind of rattle, Fr. *crécelle.*

lə ʒødi e l vã:dərdi[8] *sɛ̃, le klɔf sɔn p◡; s ɛ l triktrak k ɔ̃ sɔn a la plas*
le jeudi et le vendredi saint, les cloches sonnent pas; c'est le trictrac qu'on sonne à la place

[1] See p. 23, 6, no. 3.
[2] For *ɟɥi,* see p. 117, 5.
[3] For *pã,* see the Nasals, p. 54, list 36 A, no. 16.
[4] See p. 112, list 71, no. 6.
[5] See for the sense of *rã:ʒe* (*rã:xe*) no. 164 above.
[6] For the *a,* see p. 14, list 6.
[7] See p. 146, no. 6.
[8] See p. 94, list 59, no. 10.

183 *trɔ̃:p* f. = Fr. trompe. Also Can.-Fr. K.$_3$ 9760 (*triumpho*). Used as a noun for Fr. *erreur*.

1 *t ◡ fɛ ɔn trɔ̃:p dã tɔn etɔf* 2 *i ◡ fɛ bɐku*[1] *d trɔ̃:p dã se karcyl*[2]
tu a fait une trompe dans ton étoffe il a fait beaucoup de trompes dans ses calculs

3 *dʒo ◡ pri mɔ̃ ʃapo o ljø:r*[3] *dy sjɛ̃; s ɛ ɔn trɔ̃:p*
"Jo" a pris mon chapeau au lieu du sien; c'est une trompe

184 *tye la lã:p* = Fr. tuer la lampe. Also Can.-Fr. Merely popular expression for *éteindre la lampe*.

v

184 a *valø:r* f. = Fr. valeur (L. *valorem*). Used in the expression widely known thruout Canada: *s ɛ d valø:r* meaning *c'est malheureux*. See Dunn, *valeur*.

s ɛ d valø:r kə t ej p◡ arive avã: sa mɛzɔ̃ ◡ bryle; s ɛ ti d valø:r!
c'est de valeur que tu aies pas arrivé avant; sa maison a brulé; c'est (ti) de valeur!

185 *v◡:z* f. = Fr. vase. Also Can.-Fr. Used for Fr. *boue*, because on the seaboard *vase* is the term used to designate the mud-like flats.

1 *tɔ̃ kapo*[4] *ɛ plã d v◡:z* 2 *le ʃmɛ̃ sɔ̃ v◡:zo* 3 *ejus*[5] *c e l pti?* 4 *i ɛ*
ton capeau est plein de vase les chemins sont vaseux (et) où est-ce qu'est le petit? il est

darje:r la mɛzɔ̃ ci patɔf dã la v◡:z 5 *◡! si ʒ rɑ◡ lɑ◡! ʒ v◡ t fɛ:r patɔfe*
derrière la maison qui patauge dans la vase ah! si je vais là! je vais te faire patauger

dã la v◡:z də mɛ:m!
dans la vase de même!

Note. The Can.-Fr. form heard about Quebec for Fr. *patauger* is *pato:ʒe*, and for Fr. *patauge* is *pato:ʒ*.

186 *varn* m. and *varɲ* m. = Fr. verne, vergne (cf. K.$_3$ 3693 Irish *fern*). Cf. p. 102, 4. Special cases, no. 3. Jaubert has both *varne* and *vargne*. A kind of alder tree.

187 *o vɛ:p* f. pl. = Fr. (aux vêpres). K.$_3$ 10114 (*vĕspĕras*). Also Can.-Fr.

v◡ ty o vɛ:p? wi, ʒ v◡ o vɛ:p tu le dimã:ʃ
vas-tu aux vêpres? oui, je vais aux vêpres tous les dimanches

This is Saintonge usage, see Jônain.

[1] See p. 47, list 35, no. 3.
[2] See p. 97, list 63, no. 4.
[3] See p. 171, no. 25.
[4] See no. 100 above.
[5] See p. 167, no. 8.

188 *vire* = Fr. virer, and *rəvire də boːr* = Fr. revirer de bord. Cf. K.$_3$ 10135 *vibrare* (cf. also K.$_3$ 4423 *gyrare*). Taken from nautical language and meaning to turn around. Cf. the meanings given by Jaubert. Also Can.-Fr.

mɛ̃ːrdi ɑ̃ vulɑ̃ mə rəvire d boːr ʒ m e[1] *dɔne ɔn detɔrs*[2] *dɑ̃ le rɑ̃ː*[3] *ʃ sy pɔ̃*
mardi en voulant me revirer de bord je m'ai donné une detorse dans les reins: je suis pas

kapab də m gruje[4]
capable de me grouiller

The teacher explained that *i ɔ̃ vire d boːr* means: "il est revenu sur ses pas", while *vire* alone, as in the following example, has the meaning of Fr. *verser*:

ɑ̃ rvənɑ̃ d l egliːz ɔ̃n ɔ̃ vire
en revenant de l'église on a versé

ɛ

189 *wɛt* f. = Fr. ouate. Thurot, I, p. 22 says: "On prononce *ouëtte* en province," a pronunciation, too, generally more common than *ouate*. Moisy gives the dialect form *ouette* and the verb *ouèter*. Of course, the modern Fr. *ouate* may well point to earlier *ouète*. In fact, H., D., T. indicate modern *wat* and "prononciation vieillie" *wɛt*.

190 *wɛtre*. This word the teacher translated: *reposer*. I fail to recognize the word at all:

1 *aprɛ dine ʒ m avɛ wɛtre ɑ̃ pti brɛ̃*
après diner je m'avais (voituré?) un petit brin

2 *wɛtre vu ɑ̃ pti bu t tɛ̃; sɔ̃ rɔ̃*
(voiturez?) vous un petit bout de temps: ça va

vu rəpoːze
vous reposer

j

191 *jiɛze*. As I have no clue to this word, I simply give Mlle Allard's remark about it: "En parlant du blé, lorsque plusieurs grappes d'épis poussent sur la même tige, en bon français *tallement*."

l ble kɔmɑ̃ːs a jiɛze
le blé commence à ?

or, as in the patois normand, *əl ble*, etc.

z

192 *zarze* and *ʒarze* = Fr. jersiais. Cf. p. 20, foot-notes 5, 6, and p. 79, foot-note 2.

[1] See Pronominal verbs, p. 161.
[2] See p. 192, no. 72.
[3] For the nasal, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 19.
[4] See p. 160, (a).

5

193 *ʒaluzri* f. — Fr. (jalousie). K.$_3$ 10446 (**zelosum* + suffix). Also Can.-Fr. Popular formation found also in French, see the reference under no. 119, *mātri*.

194 *ʒɛrgo:d*. Etymology? Meaning a "tomboy" (cf. no. 91, *garsɔɲɛ:r*).

vɔt ptit fi:j ɛ ʒɛrgod
votre petite fille est ?

Moisy gives a verb *gergoter* = *folâtrer*, adding: "*gergauder* est en ce sens dans le gloss. de M. Dubois" (Norman). Dunn gives *gergaud* in the sense of "tomboy" adding "nous disons *gergaude*".

195 *ʒɔnɛs* f. — Fr. jeunesse. K.$_3$ 5237 (*juvenem*) + suffix. Used in the sense of *jeune fille*; for example, see p. 182, no. 29, foot-note 11; cf. also p. 182, foot-note 10.

Commonest family names.[1]

§ LXIV. **Nouvelle.** (See the Map.)

1	*alɔ̃:r*	Allard	5	*gotje*	Gauthier
2	*arsɔno*	Arsenau	6	*cɛsi*	Caissie
3	*dygɔ̃*	Dugas	7	*lawa*[2]	Lavois
4	*faly*	Fallu			

Carleton.

8	*alɔ̃:r*	Allard	12	*bydro*	Budreau
9	*alɛ̃*	Alain	13	*lɑ̃dri*	Landry
10	*barjo*	Barieau	14	*ləblɑ̃*	Le Blanc
11	*bizo*	Bijold	15	*nɔrmɑ̃do*	Normandeau

Maria.

16	*gite, jite*[3]	Guité	19	*pwarje*[4]	Poirier
17	*ləvɛ:k*	Levêsque	20	*si:r*	Cyr
18	*odɛt*	Odette	21	*tibɔdo*	Thibodeau

[1] I was told by a native of Bretagne that all of these names were familiar to him about Brittany and Normandy.

[2] Of course, the popular form would be *lawa* (cf. pp. 68. 69, list 45). Writing or educated influence causes the retention of the *r*.

[3] Literary form *gite*; popular pronunciation *jite*.

[4] Another case of educated pronunciation, the word for pear tree being *pwɛrje*.

Christian names.

§ LXV. Popular pronunciation of Christian names heard in and around Carleton.[1]

Names of men.

1	*adɔf*	Adolphe	19	*fedrɪk*	Frédéric
2	*alɛk*	Alek (Alexandre)	20	*flɪp*	Philippe
3	*arnɛst*	Ernest	21	*ǰystē, ǰystē*	Augustin
4	*arfil*	Achille	22	*kɔlᵕ*	Nicolas
5	*ãːsɛm*	Anselme	23	*lɔnoːr*	Léonard
6	*basjē*	Sébastien	24	*maco*	Matthieu
7	*batɪs*	Baptiste	25	*nɔre*	Honoré
8	*dijoːm*	Guillaume	26	*ojys, ajys*	Auguste
9	*dʒak*	"Jack"	27	*piaːr*	Pierre
10	*dʒɪm*	"Jim"	27a	*piaro*	Pierrot
11	*dʒɪmɪ*	"Jimmy"	28	*pit*	"Pete"
12	*dʒo*	"Jo"	29	*pɔlɪt*	Hippolyte
13	*dʒɔn*	"John"	30	*pɔlõ*	Napoléon
14	*dʒɔnɪ*	"Johnny"	31	*tɔdoːr*	Théodore
15	*edwɛrd*	Édouard	32	*yzɛn*	Eugène
16	*ecɛn*	Étienne	33	*zarje*	Xavier
17	*ɛgzarje*	Xavier	34	*zidoːr*	Isidore
18	*ɛlmɪn*	Émile	35	*ʒake*	Zachée
18a	*fardinã*	Ferdinand	36	*ʒarmē*	Germain

Names of women.

37	*adɛ*	Adélaïde	50	*matɪl*	Mathilde
38	*agle*	Aglaé	51	*mɛli*	Amélie
39	*ɔːn*	Anne	52	*nansɪ*	"Nancy"
40	*anɪ*	"Annie"	53	*sisɪl*	Cécile
41	*babɛ*	Barbe	54	*tazi*	Anastasie
42	*bart*	Berthe	55	*twɛnɛt*	Antoinette
43	*bɛtsɪ*	"Betsy"	56	*yʒini*	Eugénie
44	*bɔrʒɪt*	Brigitte	57	*viktwɛːr*	Victoire
45	*delɪn*	Adeline	58	*ǰystɪn, ǰystɪn*	Augustine
46	*dʒeːn*	"Jane"	59	*zabɛl*	Isabel
47	*lɔnoːr*	Éléonore	60	*zabɛt*	Élisabeth
48	*maltɪd, matɪl*	Mathilde	61	*ʒilɪk*	Angélique
49	*margjɪt*	Marguerite			

[1] In Acadian as well as Canadian districts both *i* and *ɪ* can be frequently heard in nos. 4, 7, 18, 19, 20, 29, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 53, 58, 61. As regards the final vowel in nos. 11, 14, 40, 43, 52, it is pronounced *e* by those whose unfamiliarity with English does not permit of pronouncing E. *ɪ*.

Many of the interesting features which these names offer from the standpoint of the phonology have already been repeatedly illustrated, so that in attempting an explanation of the names in which the ordinary dialect traits occur which have been brought out before, merely a simple reference to the phonology will be given. The dialect ever aims at simplicity and brevity in pronunciation. This could hardly be more strikingly illustrated than in the sixty-three names just given where in modern French something like one half the number are three or four syllable words, and in the dialect hardly a name is represented by more than two syllables in the entire list.[1] As a rule the syllable accented in French is retained as such in the dialect, tho in a four syllable word like Fr. *Adelaïde,* one is puzzled beforehand to make out which part of the word is likely to go, and the dialect form *ade* shows how the most logical reasoning from general truth may not apply to a particular case. *alɛk* is another instance of loss of the accented syllable in a French word. With such few exceptions, however, the accented French syllable is regularly retained in the dialect; and in general it may be said that in a three or four syllable word the syllable which may happen to have the least stress in the French word, is likely to disappear in the dialect form of the word.

1 *adɔf* = Fr. Adolphe. The *l* appears to have become vocalized thru weak point of contact in rapid utterance (cf. L. *pulmonem* = Fr. poumon, and *prrizi* = Fr. pleurésie, p. 91, list 5, no. 12.

2 *alɛk* = Fr. Alexandre. This form is probably due to E. "Alek".

di a alɛk c i fɛːz[2] *me bɔt pur stə səmɛn*
dis à "Alek" qu'il fasse mes bottes pour cette semaine

3 *arnɛst* = Fr. Ernest. See p. 19, list 11.

4 *arfil* (*il*) = Fr. Achille. Cf. Canadian *arkazu* = Fr. acajou.[3] Probable influence of such names as *arfãːbo* = Fr. Archambaud; *artyːr* = Fr. Arthur; *arfilɔk* = Fr. Archiloque; *arfimɛːd* = Fr. Archimède. Jônain gives both *Archile* and *arcajou.* This latter is heard in the rural districts around Paris, for Agnel notes *arcajou, Langage des environs de Paris,* p. 9. Cf. Indian words, no. 12.

5 *ãːsɛm* = Fr. Anselme. Cf. remark on no. 1, *adɔf,* above.

6 *basjɛ̃* = Fr. Sébastien. Simply loss of the least stressed first syllable. For last syllable, cf. the explanation of dialect *kɛsiɛ̃* = Fr. question, p. 75, no. 5.

7 *batɪs* (*batis*) = Fr. Baptiste. See p. 78, list 51, no. 3. My notes show *bo̯ːtɪs* = Fr. bâtisse and *batɪs* = Fr. Baptiste; therefore *bo̯ːtɪs* for Fr. Baptiste, as indicated on p. 34, list 22, appears to be a mistake.

[1] *ɛgzavje* and *yzini* seem to be the only exceptions.

[2] See p. 156, no. 3.

[3] Cf. A. F. Chamberlain's observations on this word in *American notes and queries,* vol. I, 1888, pp. 305-6.

rə̆ avɛk batis farfe l grɛ̃[1] *e ɛ mudy*[2]
va avec Baptiste chercher le grain qui est (moulu)

8 *dijo:m* = Fr. Guillaume. See p. 72, no. 3.

9 *dʒak*, 10 *dʒim*, 11 *dʒimi*, 12 *dʒo*, 13 *dʒɔn*, 14 *dʒɔni*, all adaptations from English. *dʒime*, *dʒɔne* are quite common in both Acadian and Canadian regions.

15 *edwɛrd* — Fr. Édouard. The French sound *wa* before *r*, when not final, is regularly represented by *wɛ* in the dialect. This is not Fr. *oi*, but the dialect treats this French combination in *Édouard* like the words on pp. 61-2, list 40. The final *d* appears due to English influence. The Quebec form is *edwə̆:r*. Of Acadian *edwɛrd*, M. Rivard says: "Très curieux et inconnu ici."

edwɛrd aprɛ̃ sɔ̃ mece[3] *d kɔrdɔne*[4]
Édouard apprend son métier de cordonnier

16 *ecɛn* = Fr. Étienne. Cf. the words on pp. 86-7, list 54.

ecɛn plɑ̃:t de pice sy l bo:r dy fo·se[5]
Étienne plante des piquets sur le bord du fossé

17 *ɛgzavje* — Fr. Xavier. See p. 221, foot-note 1. The form *zavje* is also in use. In the form *ɛgzavje*, the initial *ɛ* seems to be merely a glide occasioned by the effort to pronounce the initial consonantal group. Thurot, II, p. 339, says that the pronunciation of initial *x* varied, *gs*, *gz*, and *cs* representing different pronunciations of the same (cf. p. 77, 5).

18 *ɛlmɪn* = Fr. Émile. The steps here appear to be as follows: Fr. *Émil*, then **Elmi*, *Elmil* a mixture of the first two. Then by dissimilation *Elmin*. Cf. *nombril* = **l'omblil*.

18a *fardinɑ̃* — Fr. Ferdinand. See pp. 19-20, list 11. About Quebec: *fardzina*.

19 *fedrɪk* = Fr. Frédéric. An example of what Passy calls "dissimilation harmonique" (*Étude*, § 497) where Fr. *propiétaire* for *propriétaire* is cited. Also the weakest stressed vowel (Fr. *é*) has disappeared.

fedrɪk ə̆ pri buku d arɛ̃[6]
Frédéric a pris beaucoup d'hareng

20 *flip* — Fr. Philippe. Merely a case of loss of the weaker stressed vowel in the French word.

flip travaj sy[7] *basjɛ̃*
Philippe travaille (chez) Sébastien

[1] Also *grɑ̃*, see p. 54, list 36A, no. 5.
[2] See p. 151, no. 6.
[3] See p. 87, list 54, no. 16.
[4] Cf. p. 49, list 36a, no. 9.
[5] See the Note on p. 39 in regard to the closed *o* of *fo·se*.
[6] See p. 56, list 36C, no. 3.
[7] See p. 172, no. 36, and cf. p. 171, no. 35.

21 *jystɛ̃* = Fr. Augustin. One might expect *jystɛ̃*, cf. no. 58, *jystin*, to be the more thoroly popular form, cf. p. 88, list 56. It is natural in these cases that learned influence should prevail; *g* then *ʃ*, then *j* are the steps, *g* being the most learned pronunciation. Passy says that a vowel of an unaccented syllable may fall without any preliminary enfeeblement, cf. *tãsjõ* = Fr. attention; that in general forms thus abridged exist only in the state of familiar abbreviations, while loss of weakly stressed vowels is constant, *Étude*, § 319.

22 *kɔlɔ̃* = Fr. Nicolas. Cf. the preceding observation from Passy in no. 21. Jônain and Jaubert both give *colas*. Cf. no. 30, *pɔlõ* = Fr. Napoléon.

23 *lɔno:r* = Fr. Léonard. Cf. no. 31, *tɔdo:r* = Fr. Théodore, and no. 47, *lɔno:r* = Fr. Éléonore. Perhaps the *é* in Fr. *Léonard* may be considered as having secondary stress when compared with the *o*.

24 *matø* = Fr. Matthieu. Cf. the words on pp. 86-7, list 54.

25 *nɔre* = Fr. Honoré. Cf. *jystɛ̃*, no. 21, for *Augustin*. Moisy and Jônain give *Norine* for *Honorine*.

26 *ojys* = Fr. Auguste. Cf. p. 88, list 56, for the *j*; and p. 78, list 51, for loss of *t* final. *ajys* is also common, cf. *are* = Fr. aurai, p. 131, 4., and *sare* = Fr. saurai, p. 158, no. 8.

27 *pja:r* = Fr. Pierre. This pronunciation seems to be due to analogy of the many words given on pp. 18-20, lists 10 and 11, where the *r* is followed by a pronounced consonant; and it would appear from Thurot's observations on the word *Pierre*, in some pronunciations, two *r*s may distinctly have been heard and also an *s* final.[1] In dialect *arø(r)* the *r* is not followed by a pronounced consonant; yet the *r*, as explained on p. 18, 4, has an opening influence upon the preceding consonant in many cases. *Piarre, guarre, la place Maubart* are examples of this trait (Thurot, I, pp. 3, 4). *pja:r* is a Saintongeais form and is heard in both of the Charente departements. The word *arø(r)*, however, is not distinctly popular.

27 a *pjaro* = Fr. Pierrot, from *Pierre* + suffix.

28 *pit* = "Pete". Adaptation from English.

29 *pɔlit* = Fr. Hippolyte. Commonly so pronounced in the dialects: Jônain gives *'Polyte*; Moisy *Polyte*; Jaubert *Polite*. Cf. no. 21 and the observation in regard to the loss of the first syllable; cf. also no. 34.

30 *pɔlõ* = Fr. Napoléon. Here the syllables having perhaps the weakest stress in French have entirely disappeared. For loss of Fr. *Na*, cf. no. 22, where Fr. *Ni* has disappeared in the dialect. Cf. also Passy's general remarks in regard to language change under § 564 of the *Étude*. About Quebec *pɔl* and *ti pɔl* (petit [Na]pol[éon]) are the forms in use, *pɔlõ* not being in use at all.

[1] Tome I, p. 491; II, pp. 23, 270, 378.

31 *tɔdo:r* = Fr. Théodore. Cf. no. 23 *lɔno:r* = Fr. Léonard. In *tɔdo:r*, it would seem that the accented *o* exerted an influence in the retention of the first unaccented *ɔ*. For the *o*, see p. 37, 2 and 3. Quebec· *tɔdɔ:r*.

32 *yzɛn* Fr. Eugène. This is even now popular French pronunciation and has been so for several hundred years in cases where *eu* initial occurs in learned words as noted on p. 50, list 36. Jônain spells: *Ughène*, Jaubert: *Ugène*.

33 *zavje* = Fr. Xavier. Cf. no. 17, *ɛgzavje*, where the different XVIth century pronunciations of *x* are given; in addition to these Boulliette (1760) is cited saying:[1] "*Xavier, Xenophon, Ximenes* . . . devraient se prononcer *Gzavier* . . ., mais la mollesse qui a causé tant de corruption dans notre langue fait que quantité de gens prononcent *Zavier, Zenophon*," etc.

34 *zido:r* = Fr. Isidore. Cf. no. 29 *pɔlɪt* and the references. For the *o*, see p. 37, 2 and 3.

35 *zake* Fr. Zachée. Probably due to influence of Fr. *Jacques*, or perhaps, too, in a measure, to E. *Jack*. *zake* is not in use about Quebec.

36 *zarmɛ̃* = Fr. Germain. For Fr. *e* before *r* + pronounced consonant = dialect *a*, see pp. 19-20, list 11.

Names of women.

37 *ade* = Fr. Adélaïde. This form appears due to E. *Addie*. Cf. Passy's instructive note (§ 587, 1, *Étude*) criticising Delbrück and Nyrop for rejecting the testimony of such diminutives against the constancy of phonetic laws.

v◡ dɔ̃ pɔrte stə[2] *pɔt*[3] *l◡ a ade: la po:r jo:z*[4] *ɛspɛ:r aprɛ dəpy*[5] *do:z ø:r*
va donc porter cette pot-là à (Adé); la pauvre gueuse espère après depuis deux heures

38 *agle* = Fr. Aglaé. Here the second Fr. *a* is either assimilated to the accented *e*, or, following the principle of brevity, entirely lost.

39 *◡:n* = Fr. Anne. So pronounced also thruout Canada, see Manseau, p. 55: "Ne prononcez jamais *âne*," etc. Evidently a retention of the Norman pronunciation.

40 *ani* = E. "Annie". An English adoption. *ane* is very common also.

41 *babe* = Fr. (Barbe). Of the form *babe*, M. Rivard says: "*babe* m'est complètement inconnu." It was given by the teacher in Carleton for Fr. *Barbe* with the following example: *babe parl dy ne serjozmɛ̃* = Fr. (Barbe) parle du nez sérieusement, meaning *affreusement*. The origin of *babe* is not clear.

[1] Thurot, t. II, p. 339. "H. Estienne (1582) attribue au peuple de Paris la prononciation de *Piarre, guarre*," etc., t. I, pp. 3, 4.

[2] See the Demonstratives, p. 123; also p. 73, list 47, no. 14; p. 74, list 48, no. 13: the word is feminine.

[3] See p. 73, list 47, no. 14; fem. here.

[4] See p. 88, list 56, no. 25.

[5] See p. 51, no. 2.

42 *bart* = Fr. Berthe. See p. 18, list 10.

43 *bɛtsɪ* = E. "Betsy". An English adoption. *bɛtse* also.

44 *bərʒɪt* = Fr. Brigitte. Noted, see p. 94, list 58, no. 2.

45 *delɪn* = Fr. Adéline. As is so usual in polysyllabic words, the first syllable is as likely, if not more so, to go than any other of the syllables, as a number of the above examples: 22, 25, etc. testify.

46 *dʒe:n* = E. "Jane". English adoption.

mari dʒe:n cɛ̃[1] *ɑ̃ gro kɔmars*
Marie "Jane" tient un gros commerce

47 *lɔno:r* = Fr. Éléonore. Cf. no. 23, *lɔno:r* = Fr. Léonard, and for loss of the first syllable nos. 30, 34, 45.

48 *maltɪd* = Fr. Mathilde. A case of metathesis, mentioned by Passy, *Étude*, § 542. See also no. 50. The Quebec form is *matil*; *maltɪd* is not heard about Quebec.

49 *margjɪt* = Fr. Marguérite. I take this to be a case of dissimilation (*rgr*). That the *g* (as in Fr. *guide* = *jid*) does not become *j*, is probably due to the word being so frequently written, that is learned influence. The Quebec form is *magrit*.

50 *matɪl* = Fr. Mathilde. Simply loss of the final element of the consonantal group as in such words as *artɪs* = Fr. artiste, p. 78, list 51. Whether this form or no. 48, *maltid*, is the more popular I cannot say.

matɪl fɛ pice, si ty la wejɛ, al e tut rakɔkije dɑ̃z œ̃ pti kwɛ̃
Mathilde fait pitié, si tu la voyais, elle est toute racoquillée dans un petit coin

rakɔkije = resserré comme dans une coquille.

51 *meli* = Fr. Amélie. Cf. nos. 45 and 47.

52 *nansɪ* = E. "Nancy". English adoption. *nanse* also.

53 *sisɪl* = Fr. Cécile. Influence of the accented syllable upon the unaccented; cf. *apiti* and several words similar under Special cases on p. 35 where *sisil* likewise is noted (cf. also for the first *i* no. 56).

54 *tazi* = Fr. Anastasie. Here again the first two syllables of the polysyllabic word, similarly to no. 47 above, *lɔno:r* = Fr. Éléonore, disappear, undoubtedly containing less stress in the French word than those which survive; cf. no. 60, *zabɛt* = Élizabeth.

tazi vɑ̃ de bəlwɛ[2]
(Tasie) vend des bluets

---

[1] See p. 87, list 54, no. 11, and p. 141, no. 3. The verb *cɛ̃:d* = Fr. tenir, will be found on p. 150, no. 4.

[2] Professor Squair spells *belouet* = blueberry or huckleberry; see *A contribution, etc.*, p. 167 The *ə* seems to be merely a transitory sound. which has crept in before the *l*; cf. *pəpəlje*, p. 91, no. 9.

55 *twɛnɛt* = Fr. Antoinette. The unaccented first syllable goes as usual, cf. no. 47 above; Fr. *oi* = *wɛ*, see Phonology, pp. 61-2.

twɛnɛt ∪ agʀe[1] *sa piɛs d etɔf a matɛ̃;*[2] *al ɛ si vif*[3]
Antoinette a achevé sa pièce d'étoffe à matin; elle est si (vif)

56 *yʒini* = Fr. Eugénie. For the *y* = Fr. *eu*, cf. no. 32, *yʒɛn* = Fr. Eugène; the first *i* is due to the second accented *i* as in no. 53, *sisil* = Fr. Cécile. Among so many one or two-syllable words, this word is noteworthy in the dialect as having three syllables.

57 *viktwɛ:r* = Fr. Victoire. Fr. *oi* = *wɛ*, see pp. 61-2.

viktwɛ:r ɛ aprɛ gʀɛje l supe, v∪ j aide[4]
Victoire est après greyer le souper, va (lui) aider

58 *ʃystin* = Fr. Augustine. Cf. no. 21, *ʃystɛ̃*, for loss of the first syllable. For Fr. *gu* before front vowels *é, è, eu,* and *i* = dialect *j,* (*ʃ*), see p. 88, list 56, and no. 3. There are no examples in the list, however, of Fr. *gu* directly before a consonant as precisely in this case.

59 *zabɛl* = Fr. Isabel. Loss of the first syllable as in so many cases noted above. Cf. Jônain's forms: *zabèle* and *zabeau* for Fr. *Isabel* and *Isabeau.*

60 *zabɛt* = Fr. Élizabeth. Just as in no. 54, *tazi* = Fr. Anastasie, the weaker stressed part of the word has disappeared.

61 *ʒilik* = Fr. Angélique. The initial syllable, possibly because of its weak stress as compared with the other syllables in the French word, has disappeared. Then the accented *i* has influenced the *é* of Fr. *Angélique* just as in no. 53, *sisil* = Fr. Cécile.

Anglicisms.[5]

§ LXVI. The proximity of many of the French settlements to those inhabited by an English speaking population has caused an influx of English words which are retained in a great many instances, becoming more familiar to the mass of the French speaking population than their own equivalents. These words are generally pro-

[1] See p. 81, list 52, no. 1.

[2] For this expression, see p. 170, under no. 1.

[3] See p. 111, list 70, no. 6.

[4] This dialect form Jaubert gives: *aïder. ɛde* is also in use. Cf. my note 62 in vol. IX, *M. L. N.* for January '94 on p. 1, column 2, of the article on *American-French dialect comparison.* Also Schwan-Behrens, *Gr. des Altfranz.,* 6th ed., p. 202, b) *gʀɛje* and *greje* are both heard.

[5] In regard to this whole subject of Anglicisms and particularly the pronunciation of English words in the mouths of the French Acadians, attention is called to the suggestive article by Professor Rivard: *La francisation des mots anglais dans le franco-canadien, BPFC.,* V, pp. 252-264.

nounced as in English; and as most Canadians who have a little ambition and constantly come in contact with English-speaking people, speak English quite well, the English words become so thoroly fixed in the minds of the speakers, that it not unfrequently happens that the latter do not recognize these words as English, but suppose them to be part of their own native speech. Particularly about the Bay, the number of English words in use is so considerable as to make that part of Acadian investigation a subject of special research. The majority of foreign words that have found their way into modern French are from English. A number of the words noted in the following list have been noted and commented on by M. Darmesteter in his *Création des mots nouveaux dans la langue française.*[1] Some of them, too, have been recorded by Professor Elliott in his articles on *Speech mixture in Canada.*[2] And others can be found in Dunn, Caron, Manseau, Tardival, Lusignan, Bibaud, Buies, Clapin, Rinfret, Rivard, the *BPFC.*, and in almost every treatise which touches upon Canadian or Acadian French.

The Acadian pronunciation of English words is what one naturally looks for, as close an imitation of the native English pronunciation as the speaker's opportunities and aptitude for the language permit. As the opportunities for both hearing and speaking English are very good, the chances are in the majority of cases that the word will be pronounced as in English. Words not so pronounced follow in general the principles of Acadian phonology which are quite like those of French. Such examples as the following illustrating the principles involved, bring out in a characteristic way many of the chief features of Acadian as well as of French pronunciation of English words. 1°. The English *r* which as a rule is vocalic when final, and also before consonants, is apt to be heard in Acadian pronunciation: *barle* = E. *ba:li* (barley); *tɔ̃·blə:r* = E. *tʌmblə(r)* (tumbler). As shown also in these two examples, dialect *e* represents E. final *i* in *-y* endings; and *ə:r* represents E. *ə(r)* in *-er* endings. Moreover the nasal consonant *ɔ̃* usually replaces the sounds E. *kɔm, kɔn, tʌm* = com, con, tum, etc., in many words, as shown in *tɔ̃·blə:r*. 2°. Vowels that are long in English are apt to be shortened: *plastə:r* = E. *pla:stə(r)* (plaster); *tim* = E. *tiim* or *ti:m* (team); *hɔspɔ:r* = E. *hɔ:spavə(r)* (horse-power); *bɔs* = E. *bɔ:s* (boss); *dɔg* = E. *dɔ:g*; *səlʊn* = E. *səlʊun* (saloon); *lʊs* = E. *lʊus* or *lu:s* (loose). 3°. The two elements that compose English diphthongs are usually reduced to one: *hɔspɔ:r* = E. *hɔ:spavə(r)*; *wa:r* = E. *wai:r* (wire); *drav* = E. *draiv* (drive); *me:k* = E. *mɛ:k* or *meik* (make); *stimbot* = E. *stiimbɔot* or *sti:mbout*. 4°. Loss of final E. consonants: *pʊtin* = E. *pʊdiŋ* (pudding); *mitɛn* = E. *miitiŋ* or *mi:tiŋ*; *fã:pʊn* = E. *fæmpʊuiŋ* or *fæmpu:ŋ* (shampooing); *draf* = E. *dra:ft* (draft or note of exchange); *flas* = E. *fla:sk* (flask). It may be noted that the long *a* in E. "barley", "plaster", and "flask" on becoming short in the dialect also slightly changes its quality. Just what the differences are between the Acadian French and the ordinary spoken English may be approximately shown by comparing the phonetic notation of the word in each

[1] pp. 252 *et seq.*

[2] Vol. X, *American journal of philology*, pp. 150 *et seq.*

idiom. It may, however, be well to remember that the variations in English pronunciation itself, as well as the very diverse methods of indicating the sounds, render in many instances almost any phonetic system a refractory instrument. Nevertheless, the desirability of preserving in as far as possible uniformity of phonetic notation thruout this Study is obvious.

It seems proper to state that when first I went to Carleton in the summer of 1890, I made this collection of Anglicisms on the spot, and returning to Boston by way of Quebec, collected on the journey all the available published data it was possible to find. Naturally many of the Anglicisms noted in Carleton had already been recorded in use elsewhere in French Canada. Reference to the records of predecessors was therefore made at the time; and other references of more recent origin such as found in the *BPFC.* have since been added. The words, which originally were arranged in the English alphabetic order, here come, with few exceptions, in the phonetic alphabetic order. This, in the main, is identical or nearly so with the English order.

A

1 *akɔrdjɔn* f. = E. accordion (*əkɔ:diən, əkɔrdiən*), Fr. *accordéon.* This word cannot well be considered an anglicism as was first thought when this list was prepared. The English and French forms are, however, much alike; cf. *la kɔrdjon* and popular English *ə kɔ:diən* = an accordion. The change of Fr. *é* before a vowel into *i* or *j* has been noted in such words as *kriatyːr* = Fr. créature (see p. 36, no. 6), *agrijab* = Fr. agréable. The word is used also as feminine while Fr. *accordéon* is masculine; this may be due to thinking of it as *la kɔrdjɔn*; that is simply the influence of the initial vowel. Cf. *armɔnjɔm* which is used as feminine in the dialect, p. 108, Example 4. Cf. Manseau, *accordéon.*

pɔlɪt[1] *ʒu bɛ̃ də l akɔrdjɔn; i ʒu ase bɛ̃ kə sʊ̃ sulɛ:v*[2]
(Hip)polyte joue bien de l'accordéon; il joue assez bien que ça soulève

2 *akte.* An infinitive formed from E. act (*akt*) = Fr. *acter* (for *jouer*). Cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 91; V, p. 360.

so:z[3] *k ɔ̃ akte o kɔ̃sɛ:r ɔ̃ bɛ̃ akte*
ceux qui ont (acté) au concert ont bien (acté)

Cf. also Manseau.

3 *anɪ* = E. Annie (*anɪ*). See Christian names, no. 40. Often *ane.*

4 *ʊ̃:l əbɔr(d)* — E. all aboard (*ʊ̃:l əbɔ:d, ʊ̃:l əbɔrd*, and also *ʊ̃:l əbɔʊ:d, ʊ̃:l əbourd*), Fr. *à bord.* Cf. Manseau; *BPFC.*, I, p. 29; V, p. 360.

prɛs twa pʊ̃; i ɔ̃ pʊ̃ krije ʊ̃:l əbɔr(d)
presse toi pas; ils ont pas crié "all aboard"

[1] See Christian names, no. 29.
[2] See p. 138, 1. Special traits, no. 5 *l(ə)ve.*
[3] See Demonstratives, p. 123.

5 *ɔ̃:l raɪt* = E. all right (*ɔ̃:l raɪt*), Fr. *c'est bien.* Cf. Manseau.

kɔmã:s kə sɔ̃ vɔ̃? sɔ̃ vɔ̃ ɔ̃:l raɪt
comment est-ce que ça va? ça va "all right"

6 *apwɛ̃:te kɛcœ̃* = E. to appoint some one, instead of Fr. *nommer qq.* An anglicism in the sense which Manseau has noted. Cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 171.

se ty s i j ɔ̃ kɛcœ̃ d apwɛ̃:te pur fɛ:r travaje a la rut
sais-tu s'il y a quelqu'un d'appointé pour faire travailler à la route

B

7 *bak* = E. back (*bak*), Fr. *reculer, en arrière.* Almost always used in speaking to a horse.

7 a *bɔ̃:dre, bɔ̃ɔ̃dre*; see p. 185, no. 43; as there noted *bɔ̃ɔ̃dre* recalls forcibly E. "bother" (*bɔðə* and *bɔðər*).

8 *bɔ̃:r* f. = E. bar (*ba:* and *ba:r*) of a hotel; Fr. *buvette.* Caron notes "bar".

ci s ci cɛ̃[1] *la bɔ̃:r? s ɛ mwa*
qui est ce qui tient la barre? c'est moi

9 *bargɛn* m. = E. bargain (*ba:gɪn, ba:gɛn, bargɪn, bargɛn*), Fr. *marché.* I hardly think this word goes directly back to any of the OF. forms given by Godefroy, but believe it due to English influence. See for pronunciation: *BPFC.*, V, p. 254; p. 262; see also V, p. 360; I, p. 10.

i s ɔ̃ fɛ atrape dã sɔ̃ bargɛn
il s'a fait attraper dans son "bargain"

10 *barle* m. = E. barley (*ba:lɪ, barlɪ*), Fr. *orge.* The *r* is frequently pronounced, as it seems, on the analogy of similar words where many Americans do pronounce an *r* by reason of school influence; or because the E. vocalic *r* is not as natural for the Acadian as the usual tongue *r*. Altho both *bargɛn* and *barle* go back to old French, their adoption here appears rather to be due to English influence. Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 254; p. 262; also IV, p. 67.

1 *al ɔ̃ aʒte*[2] *ɥi liv də ba:rle*
elle a acheté huit livres de "barley"

2 *tut mɔ̃n ɔr:ʒ ɛ mudy*[3] *ã ba:rle pur fɛ:r d la sup*
toute mon orge est (moulu) en "barley" pour faire de la soupe

11 *bɛd* m. = E. bed (*bɛd*), Fr. *lit.* Caron notes "bed". Much used in Canada as a synonym for Fr. *banc-lit* (*BPFC.*, I., p. 66; V, p. 280).

[1] See p. 87, list 54.

[2] See p. 81, 5. Special cases, no. 1. "Ici plutôt *afte* que *aʒte*." Rivard.

[3] See p. 151, no. 6.

ejus kə ty kuf? dã l bɛd
et où est ce que tu couche? dans le "bed"

12 *bɛleban* f. = E. belly-band (*bɛlibænd*), Fr. *ventrière.* The *d* seems to be lost thru enfeeblement in the group *-nd* final. Not heard about Quebec.

vu dɔ̃ arãːxe la bɛleban ci trɛn par tɛːr
va donc arranger la "belly-band" qui traine par terre

13 *bɛlt* f. = E. belt (*bɛlt*), Fr. *ceinture.* Caron notes "belt". Cf. *BPFC.,* I, p. 93.

ɔ̃ pɔrt de bɛlt[1] *st ane; s ɛ la grã*[2] *mɔːd*
on porte des "belts" cette année; c'est la (grande) mode

14 *bɛtse, bɛtsi* = E. Betsy (*bɛtsi*). See Christian names, no. 43.

15 *bil* m. = E. bill (*bil*), Fr. *note.* Cf. Dunn, and *BPFC.,* I, p. 104; also IV, p. 240, where fifteen examples of the use of E. "bill" will be found; comment in regard to such commercial terms will be found in V, p. 206, in the article: *Notre langage commercial.*

ʒ mu[3] *t dəne lə bil; ty ji*[4] *mɔ̃ːtərru*[5]
je (vais) te donner le "bill"; tu lui montreras

16 *bite* = E. to beat (*biːt, bit*), Fr. *l'emporter sur.* This word means "to beat", in the sense of "surpass". Dunn gives "*biter* = Nor. *mordre.* De l'angl. "to bite" (*bait*)." I do not find this sense in Moisy nor in Dubois, both of whom for *biter* give *toucher à.* Of *bitter* = *toucher,* Godefroy says: "peut-être le même mot que *butter.*" Dunn, however, gives an example of the word *biter* used in the Canadian sense meaning "to surpass" exactly as used in Carleton. See *BPFC.,* I, p. 66.

17 *blak* m. = E. black (*blæk*), and *blake,* a verb formed from E. "black", Fr. *cirage* and *cirer.*

a vu[6] *dy blak pur blake me bɔt?*
avez-vous du "black" pour (blacker) mes bottes

18 *blak aj, blak ai* f. = E. black eye (*blæk æi*), Fr. *oeil poché.* Caron notes the word. See *BPFC.,* I, p. 67, and examples V, p. 280.

f t di kə dijoːm[7] *u rsy tut ən blak aj*
je te dis que Guillaume a reçu toute une "black eye"

19 *bolt* f. = E. bolt (*boult*), Fr. *boulon.* Cf. *BPFC.,* I, p. 68; for examples of the use of "bolt", "bolter" and "bolteur", see IV, p. 120. The E. diphthong *ou* (*ɔo*) is apt to be reduced to *o* (as in Fr. *côte*). Cf. *BPFC.,* V, p. 257.

[1] The plural is *bɛlt* and not *belts,* French influences here prevailing.

[2] *grã mɔd* appears to be analogy of forms like Fr. *grand' mère.*

[3] For the form *ʒ mu,* see p. 135, 1.

[4] The sense certainly is: *tu le lui montreras,* see p. 118, Remark 1.

[5] For this form see p. 93, list 57, no. 20.

[6] For *a vu* = Fr. avez-vous, see p. 132, 6.

[7] See p. 72, no. 3.

ã dəsãːdã la mɔ̃ːtã,[1] *mɔ̃ pɔrtfɛ ◡ kʊ̆ːse; la mənwɛːr*[2] *◡ pri ã travɛːr, sʊ̆ fɛ*
en descendant la montagne, mon portefaix a cassé; la (menoire) a pris en travers ça fait

kʊ̆ːse la bolt d la mənwɛːr e ʒ e ete ublize[3] *d m ã rəvəniːr alɛːʒ*
casser la "bolt" de la (menoire) et j'ai été obligé de m'en revenir à l'ège

Caron notes *bolt. alɛːʒ* was translated: *traîne vide.* "*alɛːʒ* (adj.) est très usité. Une voiture *allège,* un homme *allège,* un bateau *allège,* etc. = qui ne porte rien, qui a les mains vides, qui est vide; cf. fr. *allège* = bateau destiné à allèger un navire." Comment by Rivard.

20 *bɔs* m. = E. boss (*bɔs*), Fr. *chef.* Caron notes "boss". Cf. *BPFC.*, I, p. 106; quite a number of examples will be found in IV, p. 160. The vowel in dialect *bɔs* is rather shorter than in E. "boss". Cf. V, p. 255, no. 24.

lə bɔs etɛ pʊ̆ d bɔn ymoːr[4] *a matɛ̃*[5]
le "boss" était pas de bonne humeur à matin

21 *brandɛ* m. = E. brandy (*brændɪ*), Fr. *eau de vie.* For an example see no. 157, below.

22 *bʌkwit* m. = E. buckwheat (*bʌkhwiːt*), Fr. *sarrasin.* Very common both in Canada and along the bay. However M. Rivard adds the following note: "*bʌkwit* est connu dans le fr.-can., mais il ne s'emploie guère que pour la farine de sarrasin. Quant au sarrasin même, on lui donne son vrai nom: *syme dy sarazẽ* = fr. semer du sarrasin."

syme[6] *dy bʌkwit*
semer du "buckwheat"

23 *bʊlɪ* m. = E. bully (*bʊlɪ*), Fr. *batailleur.*

s ɛ œ̃ vrɛ bʊlɪ
c'est un vrai "bully"

24 *bʌn* f. = E. bun (*bʌn*), Fr. *brioches.*

kɔm vuːz ave fɛ də bɔn bʌn!
comme vous avez fait de bonnes "buns"!

C

25 *kãːp* m. = E. camp (*kæmp*). Mlle Allard defined as a "petite cabane dans le bois". Dunn takes the word to be genuine Canadian coinage and notes it as masculine. "D'usage très répandu." Rivard. Cf. Acadianisms, no. 106, *kã.*

ɔ̃n ◡ mɔ̃ːte o bwʊ̆[7] *lẽːdi*[8] *e ɔ̃n ◡ kufe tut la səmɛn dã l kãːp*
on a monté au bois lundi et on a couché toute la semaine dans le "camp"

---

[1] For *mɔ̃ːtã,* see p. 56, at the top.
[2] See Acadianisms, no. 123.
[3] See p. 47, list 35, no. 14.
[4] "On entend souvent ici *ɪmœːr.*" Rivard.
[5] See for *a matɛ̃* p. 163, no. 2.
[6] For *syme,* see p. 52, no. 10.
[7] See p. 14, list 6, no. 1.
[8] Cf. p. 58, no. 7, *lẽːdi.*

26 *kanis* f. Apparently from E. canister (*kænɪstə(r)*), Fr. *bidon*. Dunn writes *canistre* and says: "Angl. *bidon*".

mɛ də l ɥil dɑ̃ la kanis
mets de l'huïle dans la "canister"

26a *kɑ̃·te* = E. to cant (*kænt*), Fr. *canter*; see, however, Acadianisms no. 107.

ɔ̃ pøt i p⌣se la tab dɑ̃ la pɔrt? ɯi, ɑ̃ la kɑ̃·tɑ̃
on peut (ti) passer la table dans la porte? oui, en la cantant

26b *kariɔ:l* f. I took this first to be E. *carryall* (*kæri⌣:l*). It may, however, be the French word *carriole* with simply change of meaning which is: "voiture d'hiver, propre élégante". Cf. Dunn *carriole*.

gard dɔ̃ la bɛ:l kariɔ:l ci p⌣:s
garde donc la belle carriole qui passe

27 *kaʃ* = E. cash (*kaʃ*), Fr. *argent comptant*. "Ici parfois *kaʃ* mais plus souvent *ka:ʃ*." Rivard. Dunn notes *cash*. For a dozen ways in which *kæʃ* and its compounds: "cash-book", "cash-box", "cashier", etc., are used, see *BPFC.*, III, p. 304; V, p. 206.

kɔm ʒ e peje kaʃ, i m ⌣ ɑ̃·wɛje ɔn pjas[1] *də diskɔ̃:t*[2] *(ɔn pjas əd diskɔ̃:t)*
comme j'ai payé "cash", il m'a envoyé une piastre de discompte

28 *sɛn* m. = E. cent (*sɛnt*), Fr. *sou*. The *t* of E. "cent" (*sɛnt*) is lost at the end of the consonantal group. Cf. Dunn under *centin*. The *BPFC.*, IV, p. 347, gives for the pronunciation: *sɛn, sɛ̃·n, sɛnt*, and indicates the gender as "féminine". M. Rivard adds: "*Cent* ici est invariablement féminin."

⌣ ty de sɛn pur fɛ:r dy fɑ̃:ʒ[3]
as-tu des "cents" pour faire du change (de la monnaie)

29 *fɑ̃:ʒ* m. = E. change (*tʃeɪndʒ*), Fr. *de la monnaie*. See the preceding example and foot-note 3. See Dunn, *change*. See *BPFC.*, IV, p. 349.

30 *farʒe* = E. charge (*tʃardʒ*), Fr. *demander*. See Dunn, *charger*. Also used in the sense of Fr. *porter au débit* and of *haranguer*; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 35.

kɔmɑ̃:z[4] *kə vu mə farʒe pur vɔt trub(l)*[5]
comment est-ce que vous me (chargez) pour votre trouble

31 *klɪnʃe* = E. clinch (*klɪntʃ*), Fr. *river*. Caron notes the word *clincher*.

⌣ ty bɛ̃ klɪnʃe lɛ bolt[6] *dy trɛno*
as-tu bien (clinché) les "bolts" du traîneau

[1] See p. 75, no. 7.

[2] See Dunn's observation on *discompte* and *discompter* which he says are Norman. Moisy supports the assertion. Littré says of *discompte*: "ancien synonyme pour *escompte*." Perhaps here, however, due to English influence.

[3] Also an anglicism; cf. Dunn under *change*; also Lusignan, no. 259.

[4] Used for Fr. *combien*, an exact equivalent for which is not in use in the dialect. See p. 166, no. 5, near top of page.

[5] An anglicism in this sense, see no. 154, below.

[6] See no. 19, above. The singular and plural forms in the Acadian and Canadian French are alike.

32 *tʃɛk* m. = E. check (*tʃɛk*), and *tʃɛce*, a verb formed from E. "check", Fr. *chèque* and the verb formed from it in the sense of Fr. *marquer*. These words in the dialect are used in a thoroly English sense. Cf. Dunn and Caron *chèquer*. See the article *Notre langage commercial, BPFC.*, V, p. 206; also *Anglicismes*, III, p. 196.

ʊ ty fɛ tʃɛce ta valiːz? wi, ʒ e mɔ̃ tʃɛk dɑ̃ ma pɔːf
as-tu fait (chèquer) ta valise? oui, j'ai mon chèque dans ma poche

33 *kɔltʊːr* and *kɔltʊːre* = E. "coal tar" (*koul taːr*) and "to coal tar", Fr. *goudron* and *goudronner*. See Caron *coaltar* and *coaltarer*. Cf. H., D., T. under *coaltar*: "*kol-tar*; beaucoup disent *kɔ-ăl-*."

ʒ m e aʒte ɑ̃ kʊːr d kɔltʊːr pur kɔltʊːre ma mɛzɔ̃
je m'ai acheté un quart de "coaltar" pour (coaltarer) ma maison

34 *kɔlɛkte*. From E. to collect (*kɔlɛkt*) as are also nos. 35 and 36, Fr. *percevoir*. Cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 127; and also IV, p. 360, where a number of examples will be found of the use of *kɔlɛkte* and *kɔlɛktəːr*.

s ɛ mwa ci kɔlɛkt l arʒɛ̃
c'est moi qui (collecte) l'argent

35 *kɔlɛktəːr* m. = E. collector (*kɔlɛktə(r)*), dialect *-øːr* = E. *-er*, Fr. *percepteur*. See also Lusignan no. 275, *collecteur*.

lə kɔlɛktəːr ɛ a sɔ̃n ɔfis depy[1] *nœːv oːr dy matɑ̃*[2] *ʒysk a kat øːr d l aprɛ midi*
le collecteur est à son office depuis neuf heures du matin jusqu'à quatres heures de l'après-midi

36 *kɔlɛksjæ̃* f. = E. collection (*kɔlɛkfən* and *kɔlɛkʃən*), Fr. *perception*.

la kɔlɛksjæ̃ s fərʊ la s(ə)mɛn ci vjɛ̃
la collection se fera la semaine qui vient

37 *kɔ̃ːtraktəːr* m. = E. contractor (*kɔntræktə(r)* and *kəntræktə(r)*), Fr. *entrepreneur*. See Lusignan no. 81. Cf. *BPFC.*, II, p. 160. In regard to the suffix Fr. *-eur* = dialect *-oːr* and sometimes *-ø*, see the article: *Le suffixe -eur dans notre parler populaire* by Rivard in *BPFC.*, II, pp. 161-168; also V, p. 256 in the article *La francisation des mots anglais*. The nasalization of the first syllable *con-* is according to French analogy; *ibid.*, p. 260; VI, p. 34.

le kɔ̃ːtraktəːr dy ʃmɛ̃ d fɛːr ɔ̃[3] *mny*[4] *a matɑ̃*[5]
les contracteurs du chemin de fer ont venu à matin

38 *kʊk* m. = E. cook (*kʊk*), Fr. *cuisinier*. See *BPFC.*, VI, p. 116.

mɔ̃ freːr[6] *ɛ kʊk a boːr*[7] *dy stim*[8]
mon frère est "cook" à bord du "steam" (vapeur)

---

[1] For *dəpy*, see p. 51, 4. Special cases, no. 2.
[2] For *matɑ̃*, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 12.
[3] Neuter verbs have the auxiliary *aveːr*, p. 161, 4.
[4] For the form *mny*, see p. 148, 11.
[5] See p. 163, no. 2.
[6] For *freːr* instead of *frɛːr*, see p. 24, list 13, no. 1.
[7] For *boːr* = Fr. bord, see p. 37, list 25, no. 3.
[8] The common word for "steamboat", see no. 138, below.

39 *krᵕkœrs* m. pl. = E. crackers (*krækərz*), Fr. *biscuit*. "*krᵕkœrs*, même avec l's s'emploie au singulier: *ɑ̃ krᵕkœrs, de krᵕkœrs*." Rivard. The final *s* appears due to analogy of plural forms where an *s* is heard; cf. no. 52 and see *BPFC.*, V, p. 257; VI, p. 152.

aʒøt[1] *dɔ̃ de krᵕkœrs pur lə pti c ɛ malaːd*
achète donc des "crackers" pour le petit qui est malade

Note. A word in regard to the gender of English words taken into the dialect. If the French or dialect word has a corresponding form, tho differing in sense from the English word introduced, the gender of that French or dialect form is retained. Thus *bᵕːr* (no. 8), corresponding to Fr. *buvette*, is feminine, tho no such French or dialect word exists in that sense, because Fr. *barre* or dialect *bᵕːr* meaning "bar" or "cross-bar" is feminine in French or in the dialect. Dialect *tʃɛk* (no. 32) = Fr. *chèque* is masculine for a like reason, tho Fr. *chèque* is itself the English word taken earlier into French in the most usual English acceptation of "draft". *flœːr* (no. 44) = Fr. *fleur* in the sense of E. "flour" is feminine, because the dialect form *flœːr*, or French form *fleur*, (meaning E. "flower") is feminine.

In regard to other words, I think the rule can be established that they are most always of the same gender as their equivalents in French or the dialect. The gender of the original French word seems in a measure associated with the idea to such an extent as to attach itself to the English word that is borrowed. Thus *bargɛn* (no. 9) is masculine because Fr. *marché* or some such masculine idea is in the speaker's mind; *bɛd* (no. 11) is masculine because Fr. *lit* is; *bɛleban* (no. 12) is feminine because Fr. *ventrière* is; *bil* (no. 15) is masculine because Fr. *compte* is; *fʏtbᵕːl* (no. 45) is feminine because Fr. *balle* is feminine (about Quebec, *fʏtbᵕːl* is almost always masculine); *rʌn* (no. 112) is feminine because Fr. *course* is, etc. There are what appear to be exceptions: for instance, the dialect says *ɑ̃ bo span* for *paire de chevaux*, *paire* being feminine. The explanation is that very likely some such masculine idea as Fr. *attelage* is in the speaker's mind. *dy bɔ̃ stʌf* seems to be a real exception, Fr. *étoffe* being feminine, but perhaps *bytɛ̃* (the dialect word for Fr. *linge*) may be in mind.

D

40 *dɛrɪk* f. = E. derrick (*dɛrɪk*), Fr. *écoperche*. Caron notes the word.

dɔl f. = E. doll (*dɔl*), Fr. *poupée*. This is not Carleton usage; I noted it at Port Daniel in the sense of *petite fille*.

ʒ avjɔ̃ ən bɛːl ptit dɔl
j'(avions) une belle petite "doll"

41 *drav, draːv, draɪv* f. = E. drive (*drɑɪv*), Fr. *promenade en voiture*. Not common in Carleton. Heard in Bonaventure. The E. diphthong *aɪ, æɪ* is, as in the case of *au, aɪ, ou*, usually reduced to its first element; cf. *BPFC.*, V, pp. 257-259.

alɔ̃ prɑ̃ ən draɪv
allons prendre une "drive"

42 *dʌl* = E. dull (*dʌl*), Fr. *languissant*. See Dunn, *dull*.

le tɛ̃ sɔ̃ dʌl
les temps sont "dull"

[1] See p. 81, 5. Special cases, no. 1 for the *ʒ*, and p. 139, 2, for the *ə*.

F

43 *fi:d* m. = E. feed (*fi:d, fiid, fijd*), Fr. *à manger.* The tendency in the dialect, as in French, is to pronounce long E. *i* rather shorter than in English. *fi:d* is not heard about Quebec.

obli[1] *p∪ d dəne*[2] *a mɔ̃ ʒwo*[3] *ɶ̃ fi:d*
oublie pas de donner à mon cheval un "feed"

44 *flœ:r* f. A translation of E. "flower" (*flauə(r)*), Fr. *farine.*

d la flœ:r a mɑ̃:xe
de la (fleur) à manger

Cf. Lusignan, no. 146; Dunn, *fleur*; Caron, *fleur.* Godefroy under 2, *fleur,* gives *flour,* s. m. *indigo*: "sur laquelle beste avait environ deux borceaulx de flour ou farine" (1460 Arch. JJ. 192 pièce 8).

45 *fʊtb∪:l* f. = E. football (*fʊtb∪:l*), Fr. *ballon.* See Dunn, *football*; Caron *football.*

alɔ̃ ʒwe a la fʊtb∪:l
allons jouer à la "football"

46 *forkasəl* m. = E. fore-castle (*fourkæsəl, fɔ:rkæsəl, fouksl*), Fr. *gaillard d'avant. forkasəl* indicates the pronunciation in the dialect of E. "fore-castle", a word used and pronounced as in English. See Caron, "fore-castle".

47 *flat* m. For E. "flat boat". The phonology of the dialect does not show Fr. *e* before a pronounced *t* to differ from that of French pronunciation. Therefore I take it the word "*flat*" is not from Fr. *flette,* found in Godefroy and Littré in the sense of a river-boat, but is rather the English word. Littré for etymology of Fr. *flette* quotes Jal who suggests E. "flat" (*flæt*).

48 *fɔrtɪfaɪv* m. = E. forty-five (*fɔrtɪfaɪ:v*). The name of a very popular game of cards. "Ici (i. e. about Quebec) on joue au quarante-et-un." Rivard.

49 *frɔlɪk* m. = E. frolic (*frɔlɪk*). Used in the sense of a "dance" as is *friko* (no. 88, p. 196). Can.-Fr. form is *frɔ:li*; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 261. *wabaltik* is another synonym for *frɔlɪk* and also for *friko,* a word whose origin I have been unable to make out.

50 *fɔ:rman* m. = E. foreman (*fourmən, fɔ:rmən*), Fr. *contremaître.* Caron notes the word.

lə fɔ:rman ∪ p∪se talœ:r;[4] *ʃ tə di ci etɛ p∪ kɔ̃:tɛ̃ aprɛ twa*
le "foreman" a passé (tout) à l'heure; je te dis qu'il était pas content après toi

[1] See p. 38, 5. Special cases, no. 7.
[2] For the explanation of *dəne* and *dʌne,* see p. 45, no. 7.
[3] See p. 81, list 52, no. 4.
[4] For this form see p. 164, no. 25.

51 *fʌn* m. = E. fun (*fʌn*), Fr. *plaisir*, and *fʌnɪ* = E. funny (*fʌnɪ*), Fr. *drôle*.

a vu[1] *y dy fʌn? ɛ t i fʌnɪ ɑ̃ pø!*
avez-vous eu du "fun"? est-il "funny" un peu!

G

52 *ʃɛtørs, ʃetørs* = E. gaiters (*geɪtə(r)z, gɛetə(r)z*), Fr. *guêtres*. Cf. no. 39 *krʊ̯kørs*, thus E. *-ers* (*ə(r)z*) is in some words expressed by *-ørs* in the dialect; as in *kɔpørs* = E. coppers, and *slɪpørs* = E. slippers; the syllable *-ørs* being short while *øːr* is long (see *BPFC.*, V, p. 257).

lə lastɪk[2] *d me ʃɛtørs ɛ tu brize*
l'élastique de mes "gaiters" est tout brisé

53 *gale* f. = E. galley (*gælɪ*), Fr. *coqueron*. Caron notes the word "galley".

lə kʊk fɛ a mɑ̃xe dɑ̃ la gale
le "cook" fait à manger dans la "galley"

54 *gaŋ* f. = E. gang (*gæŋ*), Fr. *bon nombre*. Caron notes "gang".

j[3] *ʊ̯ ən gaŋ də zən*[4] *də debarke a matɑ̃*[5]
(il) y a une "gang" de (jeunes gens) de débarqués à matin

55 *gaŋwe* m. = E. gangway (*gæŋweɪ, gæŋwɛe*), Fr. *passerelle*. Caron notes "gangway".

ɛspere dɔ̃ c i mɛt lə gaŋwe
espérez (i. e. attendez) donc qu'ils mettent le "gangway"

56 *dʒi* = E. gee (*dʒi*), in speaking to horses, opposite of "haw" also used in the dialect. Most of the terms used in speaking to horses are taken from English (to gee, i. e. to go to the off side).

57 *gɛt ʌp* = E. get up (*gɛt ʌp*), to horses.

58 *gɔddam* = E. goddam (*gɔd(d)æm*). Pronunciation of the commonest of E. oaths. See Dunn. "Rarement entendu dans nos campagnes." Rivard.

59 *gɔ lɔːŋ* = E. go long (*gɔo lɔːŋ*) for "go along". Used constantly to horses as is the following no. 60. "J'ai entendu assez souvent, et très distinctement *gəlɔːŋ* ou *gælɔːŋ* qui découlent facilement de *gəlɔːŋ* mais viendraient difficilement de *golɔːŋ*." Rivard.

60 *gɔ ɔn* = E. go on (*gɔo ɔn*). See no. 59.

[1] See p. 132, no. 6.
[2] Cf. vulgar English *lastic*.
[3] Dialect *i* = Fr. *il* unites with the *j* in this case; see p. 91, no. 6, and p. 181, no. 24.
[4] The teacher translated this: *jeunes gens*.
[5] See p. 163, no. 2.

II

61 *hʊ̯:* = E. haw (*hʊ̯:*). Used in speaking to horses, the opposite of "gee" (to haw, i. e. to cause to turn toward the near side). "Ici: *ho, who* et *wo* mais pour faire arrêter le cheval." Rivard. This remark evidently applies to E. "ho" (*hɔo*) or "whoa" (*hwɔo*).

62 *hɛemz, he:ms* or *ɛemz* = E. hames (*heimz, hɛemz*), Fr. *attelles.* Not in use about Quebec.

vuz ave ø̃n bɛ:l pɛ:r də he:ms
vous avez une belle paire de "hames"

63 *hʊ̯:l* or *ʊ̯:l* = E. haul (*hʊ̯:l*), Fr. *haler, tirer, traîner.*

i hʊ̯:l (ʊ̯:l) sɔ̃ bwʊ̯ avɛk də tim d zval[1]
il (hale? "hauls"?) son bois avec deux "teams" de chevaux

(For *tim* = E. "team", see no. 150 below.) This may possibly be Fr. *haler* meaning "to hoist", "to pull along", but the English word seems to have had more or less influence here. It will be observed that no *s* is heard in the 3rd singular, following French analogy, so too in the word *tim* = E. "team", the singular and plural are alike (cf. no. 31 where *bəlt* is the form used for the plural).

64 *hɔrspɔ:r, hɔspɔ:r* m. = E. horse power (*hɔrspauə(r)*), Fr. *moteur*; cf. for pronunciation *BPFC.*, V, p. 255, no. 23. Caron notes "horse power".

viɛ̃drʊ̯ ty dømɛ̃ avɛk tɔ̃ hɔrspɔ:r?
viendras-tu demain avec ton "horse power"?

Note. E. *r* before a consonant as in "horse" is not usually heard. It has rather the effect of lengthening the preceding vowel; the dialect, in accordance with French analogy, shortens the first syllable in E. "horse power" and gives full length to the final syllable, naturally enough, as the French stress falls there. In a word like E. *brandy* (cf. no. 20) the *Uniform International Dictionary* uses a special symbol to indicate the quality of the English *r*, differentiating it from the *r*, for instance, in French *brave.* Inasmuch as oftentimes the distinction is non-existent, oftentimes so subtle as to render the distinction dubious, it has not been deemed practicable to do more than call attention to it in this note. Likewise it has rarely been considered practicable to differentiate, for instance, the *a* in E. *brandy* from the *a* in Fr. *brave*, such inappreciable differentiations only serving to complicate what is well understood and quite simple.

I

65 *ɛ̃trədɥi:r ø̃n parsɔn (parsʌn)* = E. to introduce a person, Fr. *présenter une personne.* Caron notes the expression.

al ɛ ti[2] *grɔ·sje:r! a*[3] *m ʊ̯ pʊ̯ ɛ̃trədɥi a sa sø:r*
elle est (ti) grossière! elle m'a pas introduit à sa sœur

[1] See p. 110, list 69, no. 11.
[2] For *ti*, see pp. 133-4, Note.
[3] For the different forms, see the pronouns p. 115.

J

66 *ʤame* = E. to jam (*ʤæm*), Fr. *s'entasser*. Caron notes "jam", and *jamer*. Cf. *BPFC.*, V, pp. 116-117 where Fr. *prise* seems best to render the "jam" formed by wood obstruction in a river.

mɔ̃ mulã[1] *marʃ pu̯; le ru sɔ̃ ʤame*
mon moulin marche pas; les roues sont (jamé)

67 *ʤɪb* m. = E. jib (*ʤɪb*), Fr. *foc*.

stə gwɛlɛt lu̯ u̯ ɑ̃ ʤɪb nø[2]
cette goëlette-là a un "jib" neuf

68 *ʤɪg* f. = E. jig (*ʤɪg*), Fr. *gigue*. The English word appears at least to have influenced the first element, dialect *ʤ*. For example, see no. 73, below. The Quebec form is *jig*. Cf. *Façons de parler du P. Potier* in *BPFC.*, IV, p. 144.

69 *ʤɔb* f. = E. job (*ʤɔb*), Fr. *entreprise*. Caron notes "job". Quebec *djɔb*. Twelve examples of the use of E. "job" will be found in *BPFC.*, III, p. 132. See also V, p. 206.

s ɛ ti[3] *twa k u̯ la ʤɔb də fɛːr su̯?*
c'est (ti) toi qu'as la "job" de faire ça?

Professor Alcée Fortier[4] says of "job": "an English word used by every one in Louisiana and adopted as French: il a un bon *job*; c'est un *jobber*."

70 *ʤɔbəːr* m. = E. jobber (*ʤɔ·bə(r)*). Explained as *ouvrier à la tâche; entrepreneur, entrepreneur à forfait, revendeur*, etc., *BPFC.*, III, p. 132; also the references under no. 37 for dialect *-əːr* = E. *-er* (*ə(r)*).

s ɛ œ̃ ʤɔbəːr
c'est un "jobber"

See the preceding example no. 69; and for E. *-er* = dialect *-əːr* cf. the remarks accompanying nos. 35 and 37.

Note. For names taken from English, so common in the dialect, like *Jack, Jim, Jimmy, Jo, John, Johnny*, see the list p. 220.

71 *ʤʌmpe* sometimes *ʒʌmpe* = E. to jump (*ʤʌmp*), Fr. *sauter*.

K

72 *cɪd* m. = E. kid (*kɪd*), Fr. *chevreuil*. Used in the expression *kã d cɪd* = Fr. gants de "kid". See Phonology, p. 85, Remark. Caron notes "kid". See *BPFC.*, V, p. 207 *kid doublés*.

[1] For the nasal, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 13.
[2] For *nø*, see p. 70, under 6.
[3] For *ti*, see pp. 133-4, Note.
[4] *Transactions of the M. L. A.*, vol. III, 1887, p. 122, no. 59.

73 *cun* f. = E. tune (*tjun, tjʊun*), Fr. *air*. See the Phonology, p. 87, Note.

wɛjɔ̃ l⌣! ʒu nu ɔn bɛl cun pur k ɔ̃ dɑ̃:s ɔn dʒɪg a kat
voyons là! joue nous une belle "tune" pour qu'on danse une gigue à quatre

L

74 *l⌣:n* m. = E. lawn (*l⌣:n*), Fr. *linon*.

aʒɔt[1] *mʊa də varʒ*[2] *də l⌣:n*
achète moi deux verges de "lawn"

75 *lɛtər mɔrt* f. A translation of E. "dead letters". Fr. *lettres non réclamées*. Caron notes *lettres mortes*.

vuz ave ɔn lɛtər mɔrt a la pɔst
vous avez une lettre morte à la poste

76 *lo* m. = E. lot (*lɔt*), Fr. *lot*. E. "lot" seems to have influenced the sense of the dialect word in certain cases as can best be seen by the examples:

1 *œ̃ lo d tɛ:r* un lot de terre — 2 *j ave œ̃ lo də prɛ:t a bo:r dy stim* il y avait un lot de prêtres à bord du "steamer" — 3 *ʒ m e aʒte œ̃ lo d butɔ̃* je m'ai acheté un lot de boutons

77 *lofe* = E. to loaf (*lovf*), Fr. *flâner*. Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 259.

i fɛ jɛ̃[3] *kə də lɔfe*
il fait rien que de (loafer)

78 *lofø:r* m. = E. loafer (*lovfə(r)*), Fr. *flâneur*. Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 259.

s ɛ œ̃ vrɛ lɔfø:r
c'est un vrai "loafer"

For E. *-er* (*ə(r)*) = dialect *-ø:r*, cf. nos. 37, 70, 157.

79 *lʊk ɔt* = E. look out (*lʊk aut*), Fr. *attention!*

la mɛtrɛs ɛ malɪn[4] *lʊk ɔt*
la maîtresse est maligne "look out"

80 *lʊs* = E. loose (*lʊus*), Fr. *ample*. Caron notes "loose". Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 256.

le mɑ̃:f də vɔt rɔ:b sɔ̃ trɔ lʊs
les manches de votre robe sont trop "loose"

81 *lʌntf* m. = E. lunch (*lʌntf*), Fr. *goûter*. Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 236.

mari grɛje nu lə lʌntf
Marie gréez nous le "lunch"

---

[1] For the form, see p. 139, under 2.
[2] See p. 18, list 10, no. 29.
[3] For *jɛ̃*, see p. 89, no. 4.
[4] See p. 100, no. 4.

lʌntʃ is not so common in Carleton as in some other places. "Ici (Québec) se prononce comme en anglais. Ne se dit que dans les villes. N'est pas populaire." Rivard.

M

82 *marb* m. = E. marbles (*marbəls*), Fr. *billes.*

alɔ̃ ʒwe o marb, nu dø[1] *pjaːr*[2]
allons jouer aux (marbres) nous deux Pierre

Caron notes "*marbres,* Pic." Dunn says: "Pic. dans le sens de *bille* de marbre ou de grès qui sert de jouet aux enfants." Cf. *BPFC.,* V, p. 263: "*marbr* s'est formé sous l'influence du mot français *marbre.*"

marje kokɑ̃ = E. to marry some one, Fr. *épouser quelqu'un.* See p. 203, no. 117. The E. expression "to marry some one" may have helped to extend the use of the very common dialect expression. Caron notes *marier quelqu'un.* Cf. also Dunn; *BPFC.,* V, p. 55.

83 *marfɑ̃diːz sɛf* f. A translation of E. "dry goods". Fr. *nouveautés.* See Dunn, *marchandises sèches.* Continually used in the advertising columns of the French-Canadian newspapers, despite much effort on the part of reformers to suppress it. Cf. *BPFC.,* V, p. 78.

lə pti burʒwa k ◡[3] *arive stə səmɛn vɑ̃ jɛ̃*[4] *kə de marfɑ̃diːz sɛf*[5]
le petit bourgeois qu'a arrivé cette semaine vend rien que des marchandises sèches

85 *mɪsdil* m. = E. misdeal (*mɪsdiːl*), Fr. *maldonne.* See Dunn *misdile,* Caron "misdeal". The *BPFC.,* V, p. 255, gives the Quebec pronunciation: *mizdzil,* the *i* in the final syllable being shorter than in English.

stə parti isɪt kɔ̃ːt pɔ◡; t ◡ fɛ mɪsdil
cette partie ici conte pas; tu as fait "misdeal"

N

85 *nansɪ* = E. Nancy (*nansɪ*). See p. 225, no. 52.

86 *nɥaːʒ* m. A translation of E. "cloud", a wrap for the head. Fr. *foulard.* Dunn gives *nuage* ou *nubée.*

mɛ tɔ̃ nɥaːʒ syˢ[6] *tɛːz ɔrɛːj*[7] *pur pɔ◡ awɛːr frɛt*[8]
mets ton nuage sur tes oreilles pour pas avoir froid

[1] For similar expressions, see p. 121, nos. 16, 17.
[2] See p. 223, no. 27.
[3] See Neuter verbs, pp. 161-2.
[4] See p. 89, no. 4.
[5] *fɛs* is more popular, see p. 77, list 49, no. 4. The word appearing so much in print, the French pronunciation in the above expression is retained.
[6] See the Prepositions, p. 171, no. 35.
[7] The form *arɛːj* can be heard but I do not think it is Carleton. See p. 23, Remark 2.
[8] See p. 73, list 47, no. 9.

87 *nʌt* f. = E. nut (*nʌt*), Fr. *écrou*. Caron notes "nut". Sometimes *nɔt*.

t ◡ pardy ɔn nʌt də ta wɔ◡gɲ
tu as perdu une "nut" de ta "wagon"

O

88 *ɔbʒɛkte* = E. to object (*ɔbʒɛkt*), Fr. *objecter*. While the form *ɔbʒɛkte* is French, the way in which it is continually used in the dialect recalls strongly the English sense: "to object".

1 *i s ◡ ɔbʒɛkte a sa*
il s'a (objecté) à ça

2 *i ɔ̃ vuly l nɔme kɔmisɛ:r d ekɔl, mɛ i ◡ ɔbʒɛkte*
ils ont voulu le nommer commissaire d'école, mais il a (objecté)

In both of these examples, *ɔbʒɛkte* is used in an English sense. Cf. Dunn *objecter* and *s'objecter*; also Clapin, Rinfret.

89 *ɔfis* f. = E. office (*ɔfis*), Fr. *bureau*. What has just been said of *ɔbʒɛkte*, no. 88 above, applies to *ɔfis* which is continually used where French employs *bureau*. Cf. Dunn under "office"; also Clapin, Rinfret.

l ɔfis ɛ ti[1] *uvart* (here used of a law office)
(l'office) est (ti) ouverte

90 *ovər◡le*[2] = E. overhaul (*ɔvərhɔ:l*), Fr. *examiner*. Caron gives *overhaler*.

i ◡ ovər◡le partu
il a "overhauled" partout

Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 256, no. 33, and p. 259, no. 63: *ovr◡:l* = E. over alls (*ɔvərɔ◡:lz*), Fr. *salopette*. "Ce dernier mot est nécessairement étranger à *ovər◡le*." Rivard.

P

91 *p◡:saʒe* m. Used for Fr. *voyageur*. The influence of E. "passenger" (*pæsɪndʒə(r)*) is seen in the sense in which the dialect word is used, i. e. not only on board boats but railroad trains as well. Fr. *passager*. See Dunn, *passager*; Clapin, Rinfret.

i ave ti[1] *bɔ◡:ku*[3] *də p◡:saʒe a bɔ:r de ʃ◡:r?*
il avait (ti) beaucoup de (passager) à bord des chars?

92 *patɛnt* (*cɥi:r a*). A semi-translation of E. "patent leather" (*pætnt lɛðə(r)*). Fr. *cuir verni*. See Dunn, *cuir à patente*; Rinfret.

93 *pemastɔ:r* m. = E. paymaster (*pɛma:stə(r)*), Fr. *payeur*. Cf. Rinfret. "A Québec, on dit aussi: paie-maître (*pɛmɛ:tr*)." Rivard.

lə pemastɔ:r ◡ arive
le "paymaster" a arrivé

[1] For *ti*, see p. 134, at the top.

[2] I noted in Quebec the form *ā:vr◡:le*, of which, however, M. Rivard says: "Je ne connais pas."

[3] See p. 47, list 35, no. 3.

94 *pɛdlœ:r* m. E. peddler (*pɛdlə(r)*), Fr. *colporteur*. For dialect ending *-œ:r* E. *er*, cf. nos. 39, 52, 70 and 78. See Dunn, *peddleur*; also Clapin who gives as well a feminine *peddleuse*. Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 256 (bottom); of this latter form Rivard remarks: "Jamais entendu, moi-même."

lə pɛdlœ:r k ◡ p◡:se avɑ̃ midi, s ɛ ɑ̃: ʒarze[1]
le "peddler" qui a passé avant midi, c'est un jersiais

95 *papœrman* m. The ordinary pronunciation of E. "peppermint" (*pɛpə(r)-mənt*). Fr. *menthe poivrée*. Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 262. About Quebec, *papœrman* is feminine: *papœrman fɔrt*.

1 *ʒ ɛm ti*[2] *le swɑti*[3] *də papœrman!* 2 *dɔn*[4] *mɯa de papœrman fo:r*
j'aime (ti) les (sweeties) de "peppermint"! donne moi des "peppermints" forts

96 *pail* f. = E. pile (*pail*), Fr. *pile, tas*. Cf. Rinfret under *piler*.

alɛk[5] *ɛ aprɛ fɛ:r ɔn pail də gwɛmɔ̃ sy*[6] *l bo:r d la ko:t*
Alexandre est après faire une "pile" de goëmon sur le bord de la côte

97 *pit*[7] = E. Pete (*pit*).

98 *plastœ:r* m. = E. plaster (*plastə(r)*), Fr. *emplâtre*. Caron notes "plaster".

kɔm ʒ avɛ mal o rɑ̃,ˎ ʒ e jy[9] *ɑ̃: plastœ:r dy dɔktœ:r e pi*[10] *s◡ m ◡ jɛri*[11] *tu tə syit*
comme j'avais mal aux reins, j'ai eu un "plaster" du docteur et puis ça m'a gueri tout de suite

Cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 254 where Rivard, treating *La francisation des mots anglais*, records *plastœ:r*, noting a slight change in the quality and quantity of the E. vowel *a*; i. e. the dialect has *a* rather than *a*, and the *a* is somewhat shorter than E. *a*.

99 *postɯdʒ* m. = E. postage (*povstɯdʒ*), Fr. *port des lettres*. Dunn and Caron note "postage"; cf. Rinfret. "La finale anglaise *-age* fait dans le Fr.-can. *-a:ʒ*. On dit *pɔsta:ʒ*. Ceux qui prononcent *po:stɯdʒ* parlent anglais." Rivard.

astœ:r[12] *ɔ̃ ɛ ublize*[13] *də pɛje lə postɯdʒ de lɛt*
à cette heure on est obligé de payer le "postage" des lettres

100 *postɔfis* f. = E. post-office (*povstɔfis*), Fr. *bureau de poste, la poste*. Dunn and Caron note "post-office"; cf. Rinfret. "A Québec *pɔstɔfis*." Rivard.

v◡ wɛ:r a la postɔfis si ʒ e p◡ køkə[14] *lɛt*
va voir à la "post-office" si j'ai pas quelques lettres

[1] See p. 27, 6. Special cases, no. 12.
[2] For *ti*, see p. 134, at the top.
[3] A noun coined from "sweet" in the English fashion by adding *-y*; in the plural, however, just as with "peppermint", no *s* is heard, here French analogy prevailing as noted already p. 230, no. 13, *bɛlt*, foot-note 1.
[4] See p. 45, no. 7.
[5] See p. 221, 2.
[6] See p. 171, no. 35.
[7] See p. 223, no. 28.
[8] For the nasal *ɑ̃*, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 19.
[9] For *jy*, see p. 131, at the top.
[10] For *pi*, see p. 52, Note.
[11] For the *jɛ*, see p. 88, list 56, no. 10.
[12] See p. 163, no. 3.
[13] See p. 48, no. 14.
[14] See p. 91, no. 4.

101 *pavtʃ* f. = E. pouch (*pavtʃ*), Fr. *blague.*

pjaro[1] ⌣ *tane la vɛsi:j dy kɔʃɔ̃ e s* ⌣ *fɛ ɔn pavtʃ a tab*⌣
Pierrot a tanné la vessille du cochon et s'a fait une "pouch" à tabac

102 *prɑ̃:d ɔn marʃ.* A translation of E. "to take a walk". Fr. *faire une promenade.* Noted also in Émile Chartier's article: *La propriété de l'expression, BPFC.,* VI, p. 10 (middle).

103 *pʌmps* f. — E. pumps (*pʌmps*), Fr. *escarpins.* Caron notes "pumps".

1 *r*⌣ *kri*[2] *me pʌmps* 2 ⌣ *ty ɔn bɛl pɛ:r də pʌmps?*
va quérir mes "pumps" as-tu une belle paire de "pumps"?

104 *pʌntʃ* m. = E. punch (*pʌntʃ*), Fr. *repoussoir.* Caron notes "punch"; cf. Rinfret, who notes the word used in the sense of Fr. *chasse-pointe, chasse-clou.*

pap⌣ *fɛ dəmɑ̃:de si vu vudre ji*[3] *prɛte vɔt pʌntʃ*
papa fait demander si vous voudrez lui prêter votre "punch"

105 *pʌŋ* m. = E. pung (*pʌŋ*). A low box conveyance usually on runners. The term is not in use about Quebec.

j[4] ⌣ *ase d kao d isit*[5] *a l eglɪ:z kə ʒ e k*⌣*:se lə b*⌣*:cy*[6] *də mɔ̃ pʌŋ*
il y a assez de cahots d'ici à l'église que j'ai cassé le bacul de mon "pung"

106 *pœrsɔ:r* m. = E. purser (*pə:(r)sə(r)*), Fr. *comptable.* Caron notes "purser".

cis ci ɛ pœrsɔ:r o bɔ:r dy stim
qui est-ce qui est "purser" au bord du "steamer"

107 *pvtin* f. = E. pudding (*pvdiŋ*), Fr. *pouding* m. Cf. *BPFC.,* VI, p. 100, where the pronunciation *pudɛ̃:g* is recorded. The popular Quebec pronunciation is *putin.*

məmɑ̃[7] ⌣ *fɛ ɔn bɔn pvtin o bəluɛ*[8]
maman a fait une bonne "pudding" aux bluets

R

108 *raf* m. = E. raft (*raft*); the final *t* being lost at the end of the breath group *ft,* cf. *bɛləban,* p. 230, 12. Fr. *radeau*; cf. *BPFC.,* V, p. 254, no. 1, *draf* - - Fr. *draft.*

dɑ̃ la gro:s tɑ̃pɛ:t də vɑ̃ (vɛ̃)[9] *c j*[4] ⌣ *y la s(ə)mɛn p*⌣*:se, j*[4] ⌣ *tɛri*[10] *trw*⌣[11] *raf*
dans la grosse tempête de vent qu'il y a eu la semaine passée, il y a terri trois "rafts"

isit,[5] *i ɔ̃ y bvku*[12] *d mizɛ:r a mni:r*[13] *le farʃe; lə tolain* ⌣ *k*⌣*:sə kat fwa*
ici, ils ont eu beaucoup de misère a venir les chercher; leur "towline" a cassé quatre fois

[1] See p. 223, no. 27 a.
[2] See p. 146, 6.
[3] See the pronouns, p. 115.
[4] See p. 90, foot-note 5.
[5] See p. 73, list 47, no. 10.
[6] See p. 183, no. 31; Quebec *bacy.*
[7] See p. 33, no. 2.
[8] Prof. Squair mentions this word in his *Contribution,* spelling *belouet.* I have mentioned the form on p. 44, under 9, Special cases; p. 47, Remark; p. 91, Remark; taking it to be Fr. *bluets* = blue berries.
[9] See p. 56, list 36 C, no. 23.
[10] For *tɛri,* see p. 215, no. 177.
[11] For the ⌣ of *trw*⌣, see p. 14, list 6, no. 7.
[12] See p. 47, list 35, no. 3.
[13] See p. 148, 11.

109 *rɔ̃:fl* and *rɔ̃:f* f. = E. raffle (*ræfəl*), Fr. *rafle* (d'une montre) in the sense of *mise en loterie d'une montre*. Clapin writes *râfle*.

j[1] ◡ *ən rɔ̃:fl a swɛ:r*[2] *sy*[3] *l wɛzã*[4]
il y a une "raffle" à soir (chez) le voisin

110 *rak*. Cf. the English expression "rack and ruin". Defined by Mlle Allard, the schoolmistress, as: "pas assez, ou trop étroit".

ʒ e jẽ[5] *kə aʒte*[6] *di varʒ d ẽjɛn,*[7] *ʒ e bẽ pø:r d ãn awɛ:r rak*
j'ai rien que acheté dix verges d'indienne, j'ai bien peur d'en avoir "rack"

Cf. also the example under no. 174, p. 215, *fɔ̃:to de kylɔt*.

111 *rʌf* = E. rough (*rʌf*), Fr. *rude*. Cf. Dunn *ruffe*; Rinfret *rough*; *BPFC.* VI, p. 10 (bottom). Clapin spells *roffe*, and *ruffe*. Quebec *rɔf*.

le ʃmẽ (*ʃ(ə)mã*)[8] *sɔ̃ rʌf*
les chemins sont "rough"

112 *rʌn* f. = E. run (*rʌn*), Fr. *course*. Caron notes "run"; cf. Rinfret.

mɔ̃ ʒvo[9] ◡ *pri tut ən rʌn*
mon cheval a pris toute une "run"

M. Rivard remarks: "Je ne comprends pas *toute* dans cette phrase; cela ne paraît pas du parler populaire." Cf. no. 120 where a like use in the Acadian dialect of *tut* or *tvt* is recorded.

S

113 *se:f* f. = E. safe (*sɛif, sɛef*), Fr. *coffre fort*. Caron notes "safe"; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.*, V, p. 258. About Quebec, the word is masculine.

lə kɔ̃'sɛ:j ◡ *fɛ mni:r*[10] *ən bɛl se:f*
le conseil a fait venir une belle "safe"

114 *sɔ̃'span* f. = E. saucepan (*sɔ̃'spæn*), Fr. *casserole*. Caron notes *sauce-pane*; cf. Rinfret: *sassepanne, sassepinte, chassepinte*; *BPFC.*, V, p. 262.

1 *lɛ:s dɔ̃ pɔ̃ la sɔ̃'span sy*[11] *l pwɛ:l; a vɔ̃ tu bryle e s defɛ:r*
laisse donc pas la "saucepan" sur le poêle; elle va tout brûler et se défaire

2 *fɛ kɥi:r le fajo*[12] *dã la sɔ̃'span*
fais cuire les faillots dans la "saucepan"

---

[1] See p. 90, foot-note 5.
[2] For *a swɛ:r*, see p. 170, at the top.
[3] See p. 172, no. 36, and cf. *sy* = Fr. sur, p. 171, no. 35.
[4] See p. 54, list 36 A, no. 27.
[5] See p. 89, no. 4.
[6] See p. 81, 5. Special cases, no. 1. M. Rivard of the Quebec speech remarks: "Je noterais *afte*. On dit *ʒ aʒɛt*, mais *ʒ e afte*."
[7] See p. 88, list 56, no. 6.
[8] See the nasals, p. 54, list 36 A, no. 24.
[9] See p. 81, list 52, no. 4.
[10] See p. 148, 11.
[11] See p. 171, no. 35.
[12] See p. 195, no. 83.

115 *sɛt* m. = E. set (*sɛt*), Fr. *service, garniture, assortiment, ameublement,* etc.

1 *sɛt də vɛsɛl* "set" de vaiselle — 2 *sɛt də stʌd(s)* "set" de "studs" — 3 *sɛt d uti* "set" d'outils — 4 *sɛt d salɔ̃* "set" de salon

About Quebec, the *s* in E. "studs" (*stʌdz*) is not sounded at all, cf. no. 142, below. Whether an *s,* or an *z,* or any attempt to make a sound indicating a plural of *stʌd* be heard, seems to depend on the speaker's knowledge of English, the steps being first *stʌd,* than *stʌds,* and finally as in English *stʌdz.* This word *sɛt* is constantly heard in many expressions like the above; cf. Caron under "set"; Rinfret; *BPFC.,* III, pp. 68, 196; V, pp. 205, 264.

116 *sɛtle* = E. to settle (*sɛtl*), Fr. *régler.* The final *l* is distinctly pronounced in the forms of the indicative. Caron notes *settler*; cf. Clapin; *BPFC.,* V, p. 264 (middle).

1 *məsjø ʒ avɛ*[1] *mny*[2] *wɛːr si ɔ̃ purɛ pᴗ sɛtle a swɛːr*[3]
monsieur j'avais venu voir si on pourrait pas "settler" à soir

2 *s ɛ mjø kə ty sɛtl*
c'est mieux que tu "settle"

117 *feːp* f. = E. shape (*fɛip, fɛep*), Fr. *forme, taille.* Caron notes "shape"; cf. Clapin: "pron. *shaîpe.*"

1 *si ty vᴗ o magazɛ̃ apɔrt mwa ən feːp də fapo*
si tu vas au magasin apporte moi une "shape" de chapeau

2 *vlᴗ ən krijatyːr*[4] *k ᴗ*
voilà une créature qui a

ən droːl də feːp
une drôle de "shape"

118 *fɛd* m. = E. shed (*fɛd*), Fr. *hangar.* Caron notes "shed"; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.,* I, p. 89; IV, p. 80; V, p. 264; VI, p. 11.

1 *vᴗ dɑ̃ l fɛd kri*[5] *dy ɛrɑ̃*[6] *pur dine*
va dans le "shed" quérir du hareng pour dîner

2 *i ᴗ ase vɑ̃te kə l kɔ̃ːb*[7] *dy fɛd*
il a assez venté que le comble du "shed"

ɑ̃ ᴗ parti
en a parti

119 *fɔp* f. = E. shop (*fɔp*); cf. Clapin; *BPFC.,* III, p. 344; IV, p. 80; V, p. 264 (middle).

1 *s ɛ al c ɛ bɔs*[8] *dɑ̃ la fɔp*
c'est elle qui est "boss" dans la "shop"

2 *s i vø trɔ feːr sɔ̃ bɔs*[8] *dɑ̃ la fɔp, ɔ̃ ji*[9] (*ji*)
s'il veut trop faire son "boss" dans la "shop", on lui

kɔɲrᴗ sy[10] *l ne*
cognera sur le nez

---

[1] See Neuter verbs, p. 161 (auxiliary *awɛːr*).
[2] See p. 148, 11.
[3] See p. 170, at the top.
[4] On *krijatyːr,* see p. 36, no. 6, and also p. 182, the example under no. 29, *ɑ̃muraſe,* as well as p. 182, foot-note 10.
[5] See p. 146, 6. Cf. also the example to no. 103 above.
[6] See p. 31, no. 3.
[7] See p. 200, no. 108.
[8] See p. 231, no. 20.
[9] See the pronouns, p. 115.
[10] See p. 171, no. 35.

120 *fi:r* f. = E. sheer (*fi:r*), Fr. *embarder, embardé.* This is used in speaking of boats swinging round. Caron notes "shire" which I fail to recognize unless this spelling be for "sheer"; cf. *BPFC.,* V, pp. 191. 256. Also M. Rivard's observation on *tut* in no. 112. In both cases the *tut* does not appear natural to him.

kã:t[1] *lə vã də nɔrwa*[2] ⌣ *pri, tõ flat*[3] ⌣ *pri tut ən fi:r*
quand le vent de nord-ouest a pris, ton "flat" a pris toute une "sheer"

121 *fe:ve* = E. to shave (*fɛiv, fɛev*), Fr. *raser.* Caron notes "*shéver*; voir *juiver*" and "*shéveur*; *Juif, usurier.*" Dunn notes these same words also; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.,* V, pp. 160, 258 (bottom).

cis ci t ⌣ *fe:ve*
qui est-ce qui t a (shavé)

122 *fipe* = E. to ship (*fip*), Fr. *mettre à la porte*; also *expédier*; cf. Rinfret, p. 197; *BPFC.,* V, p. 206.

s ɛ də valə:r[4] *kə ʒ ejə p*⌣ *ete l*⌣*; i s arɛ*[5] *fɛ fipe*
c'est de valeur que j'aie pas été là; il s'aurait fait (shippé)

123 *fatin* f. = E. shirting (*fa(r)tiŋ*), Fr. *calicot.* Caron notes "shirting"; cf. Clapin who says: "pron. *sheurtigne*"; cf. *BPFC.,* V, p. 260, no. 83.

vl⌣ *ti*[6] *d la bɔn fatin*
voilà (ti) de la bonne "shirting"

124 *saibo:r* m. = E. side-board (*saidbɔv(r)d*), Fr. *buffet.* Caron notes "side-board"; Clapin says: pron. *saïde-bôrde,* which seems to be an attempt to indicate the E. pronunciation. "Le peuple, ici, dit comme l'acadien *saibo:r* ou *saibɔ:r,* plus exactement, peut-être, *sajbɔ:r.*" Rivard.

œ̃ bo saibo:r tut[7] *garni də kristal*[8]
un beau "side-board" toute garni de cristaux

125 *slab* f. = E. slab (*slæb*), Fr. *dosse*; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.,* V, p. 254.

ʒ vjɛ̃ dy sy[9] *farfe ən barʒe də slab*[10]
je viens du sud chercher une bargée de "slabs"

126 *slak* m. = E. slack (*slæk*); used in the expression *dəne dy slak* = Fr. *donner du jeu.* Caron notes "slack"; Clapin notes *slaque,* adj.; cf. *BPFC,* V, p. 264 (middle) where the meaning noted is *morte saison*; cf. Rinfret for the meaning *mou.*

[1] For *kã:t,* see p. 164, no. 17.

[2] See p. 72, no. 6, and also the observation on p. 98, under no. 7.

[3] See p. 235, no. 47.

[4] See p. 217, no. 184 a.

[5] For the form *arɛ,* see p. 131, under 4.

[6] For *ti,* see p. 134, at the top.

[7] See p. 73, list 47, no. 16. When the final *t,* just as in modern French, is not pronounced, educational influence seems to prevail.

[8] See p. 110, list 69, no. 4.

[9] The Fr. *d* is silent here on the analogy of such forms as dialect *syɛtr,* see p. 72, list 46, no. 8.

[10] Usually no sound is heard indicating a plural. True of this and similar words about Quebec. Cf. remark on *stad,* under no. 115.

sa zymɛ̃[1] *ɛ amu̯ːre*[2] *trɔ sɛːre; vu̯ done*[3] *dy slak a l amu̯ːr*
sa jument est amarrée trop serrée; va donner du "slack" à l'amarre

127 *slace* = E. to slack (*slæk*), Fr. *larguer*. Caron notes *slacker*; simply a verb formed in the usual way from *slak*; cf. on such formations *BPFC.*, VI, p. 10 (top).

1 *slak dɔ̃!* 2 *ty slak pu̯ ase*
"slack" donc! tu "slack" pas assez

128 *slipors* = E. slippers (*slipə(r)z*), Fr. *pantouffles*. Cf. for the ending, no. 52 *ɟɛtərs*, p. 236, and no. 39 *kru̯kərs*, p. 234. Caron notes "slippers", as does Clapin; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 257.

nɔre[4] *m u̯ fɛ prezɑ̃ d on bɛl pɛːr də slipərs*
(Ho)noré m'a fait présent d'une belle paire de "slippers"

129 *smart* = E. smart (*smart*), Fr. *habile*. Dunn and Caron note "smart"; Clapin says: pron. *smartte*; Rinfret says: ". . . s'emploie, à tort, chaque instant pour *habile, entendu, industrieux, adroit,* etc."

1 *ʒ t e di kə s ɛ tut œ̃ gu̯*[5] *smart* 2 *ɛ ti*[6] *smart œ̃ pø!*
je t'ai dis que c'est tout un gars "smart" est (ti) "smart" un peu!

130 *snak* m. = E. snack (*snæk*), Fr. *repas, festin, régal.* Caron notes "snack"; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.*, V, p. 165; VI, p. 11.

j u̯ y œ̃ snak sy l wɛzɑ̃ jɛːr swɛːr[7]
il y a eu un "snack" (chez) le voisin hier soir

131 *fnice* = E. to sneak (*snik, snuik*), Fr. *se glisser furtivement, se dérober*; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 255, no. 14; p. 263, no. 130; cf. Rinfret and Clapin under *cheniquer*.

1 *i u̯ ti*[6] *bɛ̃ fnice œ̃ pø!* 2 *ʒ savɛ bɛ̃*[8] *c i fnicərɛ, i ɛ si pø corø*
il a (ti) bien (sneaké) un peu! je savais bien qu'il (sneakerait), il est si peu cœureux

Note. The pronunciation of the word, particularly the dialect *f* = E. *s* has been the subject of much discussion, a summary of which will be found in *BPFC.*, I, p. 121. In concluding, the *Comité du Bulletin* says: ". . . il n'y a pas d'exemple, dans les mots anglais francisés au Canada, d'*s* initiale permutant avec *f*." Dialect *faspɛːt* = E. saucepan is certainly an example of dialect *f* = E. initial *s*; as is also *fatsɛl* = E. satchel. The examples of dialect *f* = Fr. *s* are not infrequent: cf. p. 77, list 49. The discussion of *cheniquer* will be found continued *BPFC.*, I, pp. 144-6.

132 *span* m. = E. span (*spæn*), Fr. *paire de chevaux*; also *une arche*. Caron notes "span"; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.*, VI, p. 11 (top); Clapin spells *spanne*.

1 *gard dɔ̃ l bo span ci pu̯ːs* 2 *søːz k ɔ̃ œ̃ span də ʒval*[9] *ɔ̃ bu̯ku*[10] *gu̯ɲe*
garde donc le beau "span" qui passe ceux qui ont un "span" de chevaux ont beaucoup gagné

[1] For the nasal, see p. 56, list 36 C, no. 25.
[2] See p. 177, no. 9.
[3] See p. 45, no. 7.
[4] See p. 223, no. 25.
[5] See p. 99, no. 3.
[6] For *ti*, see p. 134, at the top.
[7] For references on *j u̯ y, sy,* and *wɛzɑ̃*, see p. 243, no. 109.
[8] For *bɛ̃* and *bjɛ̃*, see p. 165, no. 3 (bottom).
[9] See p. 81, list 52, no. 4.
[10] See p. 47, list 35, no. 3.

133 *spitf* m. = E. speech (*spitf, spuitf*), Fr. *harangue, discours.* Caron notes "speech".

1 *vjɛ̃ ty atɑ̃:d lə spitf?* 2 *ejus*[1] *c i sə mɛt pur fɛ:r lø (lr)*[2] *spitf*
viens-tu (en)tendre le "speech"? et où est-ce qu'ils se mettent pour faire leur "speech"

atɑ̃:d is here used for Fr. *entendre.* Manseau notes the use of *attendre* for *entendre* p. 89 of *Locutions vicieuses.* Such confusions are among the commonest in the popular speech.

134 *spri* m. = E. spree (*spri, sprii*), Fr. *bamboche.* Dunn notes "spree"; Clapin says: "pron. *sprie*"; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 255, no. 21. Professor Rivard in this instructive article on *La francisation des mots anglais,* notes the difference between the dialect pronunciation: *spri* (with quite short *i*) and the E. *spri* (with a long *i*) more accurately: *sprii.*

vlu trwu gu:r c i ɛ ɑ̃ spri
voilà trois jours qu'il est en "spree"

135 *sprɥ, sprɯ* m. = E. spring (*sprɥ*), Fr. *ressort.* Caron and Dunn note "spring". Clapin says: pron. *spri-gne.* The spellings offered by Clapin as a guide to pronunciation, in such cases as those noted in nos. 111, 117, 123, 126, 129, 132, 134 and 143 are of interest as showing conclusively how unsatisfactory such spellings are to note the sounds phonetically.

1 *jɛ:r swɛ:r, zidɔ:r,*[3] *flɔp*[4] *pi basjɛ̃*[5] *ɔ̃ ɑ̃:barce*[6] *tu le trwu*[7] *sy*[8] *l sje:ʒ*[9] *də lø*[10]
hier soir, Isidor, Philippe puis Sébastien ont embarqué tous les trois sur le siège de leur

wu:gɯ e su fɛ c i ɔ̃ ku:se le sprɥs[11] 2 *ɔ̃ dɔ:r ti*[12] *bɛ̃ sy*[8] *ɑ̃ sprɥ, nɔ̃ pu*
wagon et ça fait qu'ils ont cassé les "springs" on dort (ti) bien sur un "spring", non pas

sy[8] *ən pajas*
sur un paillasse

136 *stand* m. = E. stand (*stænd*), Fr. *huilier.* Caron and Dunn note "stand"; cf. Clapin and Rinfret for this word in the French sense of *station de voitures*; in the sense of *tribune, loge, BPFC.*, VI, p. 11 (top); cf. Lusignan, no. 59. Rivard comments as follows: "Tantôt m., tantôt f. Au sens de *station de voitures,* il est féminin: *la stand des charretiers.* Pris pour désigner un meuble, il est masculin: *un stand pour les parapluies.*"

[1] *ejus,* see p. 167, no. 8.
[2] For *lr,* see p. 95, list 60, no. 7; *lø,* p. 122, among the possessive pronouns.
[3] See p. 224, no. 34.
[4] See p. 222, no. 20.
[5] See p. 221, no. 6.
[6] See p. 191, no. 69.
[7] For the u, see p. 14, list 6, no. 7.
[8] See p. 171, no. 35.
[9] For the quality of the *e,* see p. 24, list 13, no. 12.
[10] See p. 122, among the possessive pronouns and cf. p. 95, list 60, no. 7.
[11] Here again (cf. p. 246, foot-note 10) an *z* is sounded, influence of English analogy. No sound indicating a plural is heard in Quebec.
[12] For *ti,* see p. 134, at the top.

pu:s mwa dɔ̃ lə stand s i vu plɛ
passe-moi donc le "stand" s'il vous plaît

137 *ste:k* m. = E. steak (*stɛek*), Fr. *bifteck*. Dunn notes "stakes"; cf. Clapin and Rinfret; for "beefsteak", the *BPFC.*, V, p. 99 notes *biftɛk*.

ɔ̃ u mɑ̃:xe də bɔ̃ ste:k[1]
on a mangé de bons "steaks"

138 *stim* m. = E. steam (*stim, stiim*), Fr. *vapeur*. Dunn notes "steam"; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 255 where the *i* is indicated, as ordinarily in such cases, a trifle shorter than the *i* in the English word. "*Steam* (vapeur) en fr.-can. est parfois m., mais le plus souvent f. Pour *steamer* il est toujours m." Rivard.

ʒ m e bryle la mɑ̃[2] *arɛk lə stim də la bɔ̃:b*[3]
je m'ai brulé la main avec le "steam" de la bombe

The word is also used for "steamer" (*stimə(r), stiime(r)*) (see p. 233, no. 38); cf. *BPFC.*, VI, p. 101 where the pronunciation indicated is *stimœ:r*.

lə stimœ:r dy:r o:xordɥi[4]
le "steamer" dure (tarde à venir) aujourd'hui

139 *stɔk* m. = E. stock (*stɔk*), Fr. *assortiment, fonds*. Caron notes "stock" in the sense of *col de cravate*. Cf. Dunn; *BPFC.*, III, p. 298; VI, p. 11 (top).

fardinɑ̃[5] *u rsy œ̃ gro stɔk(ə) st o:tɔn*
Ferdinand a reçu un gros "stock" cet automne

140 *stʊk(s)* m. = E. stooks (*stʊks*). For Quebec, Rivard comments: "Inconnu."

vu farʃe de u:r də varn[6] *pur amu:re*[7] *de stʊk(s) d awɛn*
vas chercher des harts de verne (vergne) pour amarrer de "stooks" d'avoine

141 *strap* f. = E. strap (*stræp*), Fr. *lanière, courroie*. Caron notes "strap". Dunn notes *strappe*; cf. *BPFC.*, VI, p. 10 (bottom); cf. Rinfret for several meanings.

mə fodrɛ ɔn strap də cɥi:r pur fɛ:r ɔn kɔrd a mɔ̃ mulɛ̃ a kud[8]
me faudrait une "strap" de cuir pour faire une corde à mon moulin à coudre

142 *stʌd(z)*[9] m. = E. studs (*stʌdz*), Fr. *boutons de chemise*. Caron notes *set de studs*; Clapin says: "pron. *stoddes* avec l'*o* bref"; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.*, V, p. 207 (top), article by P. J. Paradis: *Notre langage commercial*.

ʒ e pardy œ̃ butɔ̃ də mɔ̃ set[10] *də stʌd(z)*
j'ai perdu un bouton de mon "set" de "studs"

---

[1] No *s* is sounded.
[2] For the nasal, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 10.
[3] *bɔ̃:b*, see p. 186, no. 49.
[4] See p. 38, 5. Special cases, no. 8.
[5] See p. 222, no. 18 a.
[6] See p. 101, no. 6 (top).
[7] See p. 177, no. 9.
[8] See p. 206, no. 129.
[9] "Ici toujours *stʌd* au pluriel comme au singulier: *œ̃ stʌd*, de *stʌd*. Quand on dit *stʌdz*, on parle anglais." Rivard.
[10] See p. 245, no. 115.

143 *stʌf* m. E. stuff (*stʌf*), Fr. *étoffe.* Caron and Dunn note "stuff"; cf. Rinfret: Clapin says: "pron. *stoffe*" which indication, as observed under no. 135, is unintelligible. The Quebec pronunciation is *stɔf.*

1 *kɑ̃:t ɑ̃ vo awɛ:r dy bɔ̃ stʌf,*[1] *fo peje pur* 2 ◡ *ty vy la rɔ:b d la marje?*
quand on veut avoir du bon "stuff", faut payer pour as-tu vu la robe de la marié?

f tə di kə s e dy bɔ̃ stʌf[1]
je te dis que c'est du bon "stuff"

144 *sywɛje* m. This is not, according to M. Rivard. E. surveyor (*sə(r)vɛɛə(r)*), Fr. *surveillant de chemins,* as the following example of its use led me to believe when noting the word.

j ◡ t i pɔ◡ də sywɛje par isit pur fɛ:r arɑ̃:xe le f(ə)mɑ̃[2]
y a-t-il pas de "surveyor" par ici pour faire arranger les chemins

Note by M. Rivard. "Le *sywɛje* n'est pas un "surveyor". Voici ce qu'il m'en paraît: 1°. *sywɛje* doit être une altération de notre fr.-can. *suwɛje.* 2°. Le fr.-can. *suwɛje* est le vieux français *sous-voyer.* 3°. Il y avait autrefois au Canada trois espèces d'officiers pour surveiller les chemins de campagne: 1° Un *grand-voyer* dans chacun des districts de Québec, de Montréal, et des Trois-Rivières. 2° Un inspecteur dans chaque paroisse. 3° Un *sous-voyer* dans chaque division de paroisse (cf. J. F. Perrault, *Questions et réponses sur le droit criminel,* p. 146). Chacun de ces officiers avaient certaines attributions concernant les chemins publics et leur entretien (Voir le statut 36, Georges III, chapitre 9, §§ 1, 25. 26, 27, etc.). Aujourd'hui, ces officiers sont remplacés par des "inspecteurs de voirie"; mais nos paysans les appellent encore parfois: *voyers, grands-voyers, sous-voyers. voyer* vient de *voie*; un *voyer* est un officier chargé de surveiller l'entretien et le bon état des *voies* de la *voirie,* des chemins. Le *grand-voyer* est le *voyer* qui a la juridiction le plus étendu; le *sous-voyer* est celui qui est placé *sous* le *grand-voyer* et exerce ses fonctions *sous* sa direction, ou au-dessous de lui. *grand-voyer* et *sous-voyer* sont de vieux mots du droit français. Je n'ai nul doute que l'acadien *sywɛje* = *sous-voyer.*"

145 *swite* m. = E. sweety (*switi, swiɪti*), Fr. *sucreries.* Cf. p. 242, no. 95. Tho used as a plural there is no *z* heard. Not in use about Quebec.

obli[3] *pɔ◡ d apɔrte de swite pur lə pti*
oublie pas d'apporter des "sweeties" pour le petit

146 *swɪtʃ* f. = E. switch (*swɪtʃ*), Fr. *aiguille.* Caron and Dunn note "switch"; cf. Clapin; Rinfret; *BPFC.,* I, p. 6 (top) under *aiguille.*

le ʃ◡:r sɔ̃ ɑ̃:kɔ:r sy la swɪtʃ
les chars sont encore sur la "switch"

[1] *dy bɔ̃ stʌf* is on the analogy of such expressions in French as *du bon sens.* See Grandgent's *Short French grammar,* § 111, b, p. 117. Beyer and Passy in *Das gesprochene Französisch* have the following (p. 105): *ʒ e dy bõ ta'ba dã ma tabat'jɛ:r* = Fr. j'ai du bon tabac dans ma tabatière.

[2] For the nasal, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 24.

[3] See p. 38, 5. Special cases, no. 7.

T

147 *tẽ:k* f. = E. tank (*tæŋk*), Fr. *fontaine, réservoir*; Caron notes "tank"; cf. Rinfret; *BPFC.*, II, p. 77, where the sense as applied to the maple sugar industry is explained. The pronunciation noted is *tẽ:k*.

gard wɛ:r[1] *la bɛl tẽ:k*
garde voir la belle "tank"

148 *tap* f. = E. tap (*tæp*), Fr. *soufflet, tape*. This should not be taken at all, as when originally observed, noted, and numbered as due to E. "tap", inasmuch as the expression *donner une bonne tape* is thoroly French. Simply to avoid renumbering, and to retain the example, *tap* is allowed to remain.

ʒ ji e done[2] *ɔn tap*
je lui ai donné une tap

149 *tebo:r* m. = E. tea-board (*tibɔ(r)d, tibou(r)d*), Fr. *plateau*; cf. Clapin; Rinfret; *BPFC.*, V, p. 261, no. 89.

mɛ le bɔl[3] *dã lə tebo:r pur pᴗ rãvərse*[4] *lə te sy la nap*
mets les bols dans le "tea-board" pour pas renverser le thé sur la nappe

150 *tim* f. = E. team (*tim, tiim*). The dialect pronunciation of the *i* in this word is a trifle shorter than is the E. pronunciation; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 255, no. 8.

ɔn bɛl tim
une belle "team"

The word can be heard as masculine but it is usually used as feminine. The *s* (pronounced as a *z*) in the English plural is not sounded; for an example, see p. 237, no. 63.

151 *taiz* = E. railroad ties (*taiz*), sleepers, Fr. *traverses*. The *s* (= *z*) is pronounced; I was told the word was probably feminine. Caron notes "ties"; cf. Rinfret for other meanings. *tai* is also used in the singular.

j ᴗ dø gwɛlɛt ci sɔ̃ farze də taiz
il y a deux goëlettes qui sont chargé de "ties"

152 *ticɛt* m. = E. ticket (*tikit*), Fr. *billet*. Caron notes "ticket". Cf. Dunn; Clapin; *BPFC.*, I, pp. 7, 8, under *billet*.

ʒ e oblie[5] *mɔ̃ ticɛt*
j'ai oublié mon "ticket"

153 *trɛmɛn* m. = E. trimming (*trimiŋ*), Fr. *garniture*.

vlᴗ ti dy bo trɛmɛn
voilà (ti) du beau "trimming"

---

[1] See p. 69, list 45, no. 14.
[2] *done*, see p. 45, no. 7.
[3] For the gender of *bɔl*, see p. 108, list 67, no. 7.
[4] See p. 44, list 31, no. 14.
[5] See p. 250, no. 145, and p. 38, 5. Special cases, no. 7.

154 *trub(l)* m. = E. trouble (*trʌbəl*). Fr. *trouble*. The way in which the word is used calls forcibly to mind the English word. For an example see p. 232, no. 30. The *l* is sometimes heard. Cf. Dunn, Clapin, Rinfret, for many uses of the word; also the *BPFC.*, II, p. 192; III, p. 232; IV, p. 299.

155 *to:s* f. = E. toast (*tɔost, tɔ:st*), Fr. *pain rôti*. Clapin says: "pron. *tóste*": cf. observation under no. 135. M. Rivard notes: "Presque toujours *to:s*; et parfois *to:st*, mais avec *t* peu sensible."

1 *ʒ ɛm ti*[1] *le to:z!* j'aime (ti) les "toasts"

2 *məmɑ̃*[2] *vule vu*[3] *kə ʒ vu fɛ:z*[4] *de to:z a ko:z*[5] *kə ruz ɛ:t mala:d?* maman, voulez-vous que je vous fasse des "toasts" à cause que vous êtes malade

156 *tɔ̃·be ɑ̃ amu:r*. From E. "to fall in love". Fr. *devenir amoureux*; cf. Clapin and Rinfret under *amour* where the difference between the English and French sense of the expressions *tɔ̃·be ɑ̃ amu:r* and *ɛ:t ɑ̃ amu:r* is shown.

ʃ krwa kazimɛ̃ kə dʒak ɛ tɔ̃·be ɑ̃ amu:r avɛk bɛtsi
je crois quasiment que "Jack" est tombé en amour avec "Betsy"

157 *tɔ̃·blœ:r* m. = E. tumbler (*tʌmblə(r)*), Fr. *verre*. For *-œ:r* = E. *-er* see p. 236, no. 52, and p. 238, no. 70. Caron notes "tumbler"; cf. Clapin and Rinfret under *tombleur*; also *BPFC.*, V, p. 260, no. 76.

1 *u:t lə tɔ̃·blœ:r də dəl◡* ôte le "tumbler" de delà

2 *kɑ̃:t*[6] *ʒ e*[7] *arive də l egli:z, ʒ arɛ ase frɛt*[8] *kə ʃ trɑ̃·blɛ; s◡ fɛ kə ma tɑ̃:t tazi*[9] *m ◡ done ɑ̃ plɑ̃*[10] *tɔ̃·blœ:r də brande*[11] quand j'ai arrivé de l'église, j'avais assez froid que je tremblais; ça fait que ma tante Tasie m'a donné un plein "tumbler" de "brandy"

158 *tʌf* = E. tough (*tʌf*), Fr. *dur*. Caron notes "tuff"; cf. *BPFC.*, V, p. 264 (middle) where the pronunciation is explained to be about as in English. Rivard comments: "Ici *tɔf*." Cf. no. 111.

1 *s ɛ p◡ mal tʌf də travaje dɑ̃ l bw◡* c'est pas mal "tough" de travailler dans le bois

2 *sɔ̃ ʒvo*[12] *ɛ tʌf kɔm l j◡:b*[13] son cheval est "tough" comme le diable

159 *tolaɪn* = E. towline (*tɔolaɪn, toulaɪn*), Fr. *touée, corde de halage*. For an example, see p. 243, no. 108, *raf*. Caron notes "tow line"; cf. the pronunciation in the French Canadian dialect of such words as "drive", "climb", "blind", "wire", that is *draɪv, klaɪm, blaɪn, waːr* or *wɛːr* given in *BPFC.*, V, p. 258, nos. 45, 46, 47, 48.

[1] For *ti*, see p. 134, at the top.
[2] See p. 33, no. 2.
[3] In some families *vu* = Fr. *vous* is used altogether, the *ty* = Fr. *tu* being discarded.
[4] For this form, see p. 156, no. 3.
[5] See Conjunctions, p. 173, no. 2.
[6] For the *t*, see p. 164, no. 17.
[7] Neuter verbs are conjugated with *awɛ:r*, see pp. 161-2.
[8] See p. 112, list 71, no. 6.
[9] See 225, no. 54.
[10] See p. 54, list 36 A, no. 18.
[11] See p. 231, no. 21.
[12] See p. 110, 7.
[13] See p. 88, list 55, no. 14, and compare with Quebec cases on pp. 83-4, Note.

160 *tʌfe.* Verb formed from E. "tough"; see above no. 158, just as *slake,* no. 127, is formed from *slak.* About Quebec *tɔfe.* Fr. *endurer.*

ʒ e tɔʒu[1] *tʌfe*
j'ai toujours (toughé)

Note. For *cjyn* f. = E. tune (*tjun, tjuvn*), see p. 239, no. 73. Rivard comments: "J'entends *cun*; parfois *tjun*; quelquefois *u* tend vers *y*, cependant."

W

161 *wᵕgɪn* f. = E. wagon (*wægən*), Fr. *voiture.* See p. 35, list 22, no. 21.

s ɛ la wᵕgɪn a[2] *yʒɛn*[3]
c'est la "wagon" à Eugène

wᵕ:k f. = E. walk (*wᵕ:k*), Fr. *promenade.* Noted in Bonaventure. Cf. no. 102 *prɑ̃:d ɔn marʃ* = Fr. prendre une marche.

ɔn wᵕ:k
une "walk"

162 *wᵕran* m. = E. warrant (*wɔrənt*), Fr. *mandat de perquisition.* Caron notes "warrant". For this pronunciation of E. *-ant,* cf. that of E. *-ent* in *papᵊrman,* p. 242, no. 95. Cf. Clapin; Rinfret. The *BPFC.,* VI, p. 101, notes the pronunciation *warɑ̃.* M. Rivard notes: "Jamais *wᵕran.*"

i ᵕ pardy sa mɔ̃:t; mɛ i vᵕ la truve, kar i ᵕ sɔ̃ wᵕran dɔ rʃarʃ
il a perdu sa montre; mais il va la trouver, car il a son "warrant" de recherche

163 *waʃø:r* m. = E. washer (*waʃə(r)*), Fr. *rondelle.* Cf. the references under no. 157. Caron notes "washer"; cf. Rinfret.

mɛ dɔ̃ lɔ waʃø:r a ta ru si ty vø pᵕ k a kri(j)
mets donc le "washer" à ta roue si tu veux pas qu'elle crie

164 *watʃe* = E. to watch (*watʃ*), Fr. *guetter.* Caron notes *watcher.* This is one of many words (cf. no. 158) the pronunciation of which is said to be about as in English: "ils n'ont encore à peu près rien perdu de leur forme anglaise", *BPFC.,* V, p. 264.

watʃ le;[4] *vu fɛt bɛ̃*[5] *dɔ vu t(ə)ni:r trɑ̃ᵕcil;*[6] *s ɛ mwa ci vᵕ vu watʃe*
"watch"-le; vous faites bien de vous tenir tranquille; c'est moi qui va vous (watcher)

165 *watʃman* m. = E. watchman (*watʃmən*), Fr. *homme de guet.* Caron notes "watchman". Cf. the pronunciation of "alderman" (*aldɛrman*) noted in *BPFC.,* VI, p. 99, (E. *ᵕldə(r)mən*).

[1] See p. 165, no. 27.
[2] For this use of *a,* see p. 169, no. 1.
[3] See p. 224, no. 32.
[4] For *le* in imperatives, see p. 117, 7.
[5] *bɛ̃, bjɛ̃,* see p. 165, no. 3.
[6] Cf. p. 34, list 20, no. 10 and foot-note 2; also p. 86, list 53a, no. 28. The popular form about Quebec and the dialect appears to be *trɑ̃ᵕcil.*

ʃ t di c j ʊ̃ pɔ̃ tã d rɔdø[1] *dəpy*[2] *c j ʊ̃ ø watʃman*
je te dis qu'il y a pas tant de rôdeur depuis qu'il y a un "watchman"

166 *wo!* Cf. pp. 236-7, nos. 56, 57, 59, 60, and particularly 61. E. whoa! (*hwɔo, hwoe*). Clapin gives: "*ouo! ouo!* interjection usitée pour faire arrêter un cheval." Referring back to no. 61: Clapin (p. 345) gives *aya*: "cri d'appel à un cheval pour le faire tourner à gauche." M. Rivard comments as follows: "En fr.-can. pour arrêter un cheval on dit *wo, who*; pour faire aller à gauche *dja, gja, ja, ja*; pour faire aller à droite *hy*. Si Clapin écrit *aya* (*aja*), c'est une erreur pour *dya* (*dja*). *dji* ne se dit pas aux chevaux, mais aux bœufs."

167 *rɛnf* m. = E. wrench (*rɛntf*), Fr. *clé anglaise*; cf. Clapin, Rinfret. For the Canadian-French pronunciation, the *BPFC.*, V, p. 262, under no. 107, gives *rinf*.

dœ̃[3] *mwa dɔ̃ lə rɛnf pur devire le nʌts*[4] *e mɛt le waʃœ:r*[5]
donne moi donc le "wrench" pour (dévirer) les "nuts" et mettre les "washers"

168 *rit* m. = E. writ (*rit*), Fr. *ordonnance*. Larousse gives the word spelled as in English; cf. Clapin, Rinfret.

i vʊ̃ j awɛ:r dɛ:z elɛksjɛ̃,[6] *le rits ɔ̃ sɔrti*
il va y avoir des élections, les "writs" ont sorti

Y

169 *ist* m. = E. yeast (*jist, jiist*), Fr. *levure*. Cf. Caron: "yeast (iste)"; Rinfret notes the word under the spelling *iste*. The *BPFC.*, V, p. 255, no. 15 and p. 261, no. 95, notes the pronunciation as *is*, the *i* being short. M. Rivard notes: "*yeast* ici est feminin."

mɔ̃n ist etɛ sy:r; mɔ̃ pã[7] *ɛ pɔ̃ ləve*
mon "yeast" était sur; mon pain est pas levé

Indian words.

§ LXVII. Words of Indian origin belonging properly to the dialect and not to French or English are very rare. I was told that the old inhabitants know more Indian words than the young generation and that such words are becoming unknown. The common words of Indian origin heard in the dialect such as *alpakʊ̃* = Fr. alpaca, *amak* = Fr. hamac, *patat* = Fr. patate, *tabʊ̃* = Fr. tabac, *tɔmak* = Fr. tomate, are apparently the same that French already possesses; or, having been borrowed

[1] See p. 95, list 60, no. 12.
[2] See p. 51, 4. Special cases, no. 2.
[3] *dœ̃*, see p. 45, no. 7.
[4] See p. 241, no. 87.
[5] See no. 163, above.
[6] See p. 56, foot-note 3.
[7] For the nasal, see p. 54, list 36 A, no. 16.

from Indian earlier by English, have been taken from thence into the dialect, coming in a number of cases *via* the West Indies. A discussion of most of these words will be found in Professor Chamberlain's articles in vol. I and II of *American notes and queries* for 1888-89, running *passim* thru two volumes in alphabetical order. Also some of these are discussed by Professor Elliott in vol. VIII of the *American journal of philology,* pp. 145-151; 338-340. The information on this subject contained in Sylva Clapin's *Dictionnaire* is in many cases taken from good sources. This dictionary contains a much larger number of words of Indian origin than any other of the dialect dictionaries that have as yet appeared.

1 *alpakᵕ*[1] f. = Fr. alpaca. The word is taken from the original Peruvian name of the animal. The accent is rather on the penult in the dialect than on the last syllable, perhaps because the word is so common in English. For an example, see p. 108, 3, example no. 2.

2 *amak* m. = Fr. hamac. Cf. Sp. *hamaca,* and for the origin see Webster's new Dictionary. (Indian origin.)

3 *atɔkᵕ* m. = popular Fr. pomme de pré. Spelled by Chamberlain *atoca, atocca* (vol. I, p. 221, of *American notes and queries*); by Professor Elliott *otoka* (*American journal of philology,* vol. VIII, p. 338). The meaning is cranberry, the word is widely used about the Bay. Noted by Bibaud in the *Mémorial,* p. 56; Clapin says: "pron. *ataka*." In the Appendix (p. 345) he spells *atoca* and quotes l'abbé Cuoq. Cf. *BPFC.,* III, pp. 254, 293; V, p. 65.

4 *babif, babiʃ* f. Spelled by Chamberlain *babiche* and defined a leather or skin thong (p. 232). It is applied in Carleton to a kind of strap; cf. Clapin, p. 32 and p. 345; *BPFC.,* II, p. 145; III, p. 19; V, p. 65.

5 *bukã* m. = Fr. boucan. Originally a small place where the Caribee Indians smoked their meat. Used mostly in the popular French sense of *bordel.* Taken from the Caribee dialect. H., D., T. Chamberlain, p. 232; cf. Clapin; *BPFC.,* II, p. 76; III, p. 181.

vᵕ dɔ̃ pᵕ dã st mɛzɔ̃ lᵕ, s ɛ œ̃ vrɛ bukã
va donc pas dans cette maison là, c'est un vrai boucan

6 *bukane* = Fr. boucaner. Derived from no. 5 above, but the sense is to smoke or dry meat, being nearer the primitive sense of the original word; cf. *BPFC.,* III, p. 181; *bukan* = boucane, is applied to the smoke itself, *ibidem,* and II, p. 111.

vᵕ dã la bukanəri mə farfe ɔn bajɛt[2] *d ɛrã*[3] *bukane*
va dans la (boucanerie) me chercher une baguette de hareng boucané

---

[1] For the gender, see p. 107, list 67, no. 2.

[2] See p. 88, list 56, no. 1; I have also heard *ɔn brɔʃte* = (brocheté), meaning a lot strung together.

[3] See p. 31, 5. Special cases, no. 3.

7 *bukanəri* f. This is the place where the meat is smoked; see the preceding example. The Comité du *BPFC.*, III, p. 182, defines: "Établissement de celui qui fume la viande."

8 *dore* and *dɔre* f. = E. dory (*dɔəɹi, dɔɹɪ*). Probably of Indian origin, the name of a canoe in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico, hollowed out of a log of wood. Chamberlain, p. 279. It seems quite possible the word has come thru English. Clapin spells *dorie* and says: "Ce mot dérive de *dorey,* expression locale pour *canot* dans les Antilles, avec lesquelles régions les Acadiens de la Nouvelle Écosse ont toujours entretenu des relations de commerce."

9 *kanɔt* m. = Fr. canot. The final *t* is sounded. Caribbean *canaoa.* For the etymology, see Chamberlain, p. 259; cf. Clapin (p. 350) who quotes Lescarbot's definition of Caribbean *canoa.*

cɛ̃![1] *gard lə kanɔt ci pu̯:s o larʒ; j u̯ ɑ̃ sova:ʒ e ɔn savaʒɛs ci paga:j*[2]
tiens! garde le canot qui passe au large; il y a un sauvage et une sauvagesse qui (pagayent)

10 *karibu* m. = Fr. caribou. North American reindeer, Huron origin, Chamberlain, p. 270; cf. Clapin, p. 68.

11 *manitu* m. = Fr. manitou. Littré gives: "Nom des divinités de l'Amérique du Nord." In the Carleton dialect the meaning, while connected with divinity, is extremely vague. Of Algonquin origin, Chamberlain, pp. 305-6. The *Grand Manitou* is over all the other "manitous"; cf. Clapin, pp. 209, 359; *BPFC.*, IV, p. 65 for an XVIIIth century usage (1744): "Ce chien avait le Manitou pour la perdrix, i. e. il chassait bien".

12 *maɔgani* m. = E. mahogany (*məhɔgəni*), Fr. *acajou.* Chamberlain gives opinions of different authorities in regard to the etymology which appears to be South American. The word looks as tho it were taken into the dialect thru English. According to Professor Chamberlain it is supplanting popular Canadian *arkaʒu* = Fr. acajou, p. 305. Cf. p. 221, no. 4, for *arcajou.* Dunn notes "mahogany" as does Caron and Clapin. The Canadian-French pronunciation is *mɔ:gne.*

vlu̯ ti[3] *ɔn bɛl tab; al ɛ fɛt ɑ̃ maɔgani*
voilà (ti) une belle table; elle est faite en "mahogany"

13 *maskwabina* m. The name of a sorbtree or cormier, of Algonquin origin, see Chamberlain, vol. II, p. 2. Noted by Bibaud in *Le mémorial,* p. 56, spelling *mascouabina*; cf. Clapin who spells the word in the same way (p. 359).

14 *mekɔk* m. = popular Fr. savane. Chamberlain spells "mokok" and says that the word is of Micmac origin. It was explained as: "savane, forêt d'arbres résineux". Clapin (p. 362) spells *mokok* and says: ". . . usité surtout parmi les Acadiens."

[1] See p. 87, list 54, no. 11.
[2] See p. 209, no. 142.
[3] For *ti,* see p. 134, at the top.

ɔ̃n ◡ ete ramɔ̃:se de bɔlwɛ[1] *dɑ̃ lə melɔk a*[2] *dʒo*[3]
on a été ramasser des bluets dans le "mokok" à "Jo"

15 *mikmak* m. = Fr. and E. Micmac applied to the tribe of Indians known as such. The sense given by Dunn of *embarras, intrigue,* is not Carleton. It appears not unlikely that the trouble they occasioned the early French and English settlers brought about the meaning in the French Canadian dialect of "a general mix-up." H., D., T.: "Origine inconnue." See Chamberlain, vol. II, p. 17; cf. Clapin, p. 361.

16 *mikwan* f. Meaning a large wooden spoon. Chamberlain quotes authorities showing the word to be probably of Algonquin origin, vol. II, p. 17. Dunn spells *micouenne.* Noted by Bibaud in the *Mémorial,* p. 56, spelling *micouanne.* Clapin spells *micouenne,* p. 217 and p. 361. Cf. *BPFC.,* II, p. 78, showing this to be the name of the spoon used in the making of maple sugar; III, p. 220, the spelling here being *micoine*; IV, p. 144, *micouenne*; V, p. 65, *micouanne.*

17 *mitas* f. Meaning in the dialect is "leggings". Of Algonquin origin, Chamberlain, vol. II, p. 30; Elliott, p. 148 of vol. VIII of the *American journal of philology.* See also Dunn *mitasse.* Bibaud notes the word spelling *mitas.* In XVIIIth century French, *mitasses de poule, de dinde* = le bas de la cuisse (*BPFC.,* III, p. 291). Clapin *mitasse.*

18 *mɔ·gasɪn* m. = Fr. mocassin, E. moccassin. According to Chamberlain, vol. II, p. 31, of Algonquin origin. See Dunn, *mocassin,* and cf. Professor Elliott's remarks in the *American journal of philology,* vol. VIII, p. 339; Clapin, pp. 218, 362; *BPFC.,* II, p. 146, *mogassines.*

s fɛ:r fɛ:r de mɔ·gasɪns[4] *pur ale o bw◡ kɑ̃:t i fɛ frɛt*[5]
se faire faire des mocassins pour aller au bois quand il fait froid

19 *magwa.* This expression can be heard used occasionally by old people. I was told that it was Indian and meant *je ne peux pas.*

20 *nagan* f. This name came from Quebec. Upon asking what the word was, I was told it was the name of a popular waltz played around Quebec. The author of the waltz is Louis Lionais. Upon looking the word up, I find, according to Chamberlain, p. 31, the meaning of Indian cradle, Algonquin origin. The word is used by the Canadian poet L. Frechette. *nagane* is the usual spelling. Clapin spells *nagane* and *nugâne* and defines: "sorte de filet servant aux mères indiennes pour porter leurs enfants sur le dos"; cf. also p. 362 for more precise information.

21 *nigɔg* m. I was told by the teacher that this word was applied to some kind of an instrument, but to just what kind she did not know. Upon consulting Chamberlain, p. 52, I find the meaning to be a fishspear common in the Acadian and

[1] See p. 44, 9. Special cases.
[2] For this use of *a,* see p. 169, no. 1.
[3] See p. 220, no. 12; I have also noted *ʒo.*
[4] The plural appears to be owing to English influence.
[5] See p. 73, list 47, no. 9.

Gulf region and probably of Micmac origin, spelled *nigog, nigogue.* Well defined in Clapin.

22 *pā·bina* m. As far as I have been able to make out, this means the same as no. 13 above: *maskwabina,* that is a kind of a sorbtree. The word much resembles, however, *pimbina* given by Clapin "comme une variété de la canneberge du Maine et du Canada."

22a *pagaːj* f. See p. 209, no. 142; also no. 6 above. Chamberlain says (p. 62) not derived from any dialect adjacent to Canada, but from some dialect about French Guiana. Clapin gives: "*pagaie,* petit aviron court, dont l'usage nous vient des sauvages," and the verb *pagayer* meaning to paddle with a *pagaie.*

23 *papina* m. Meaning precisely the same as no. 22, *pā·bina.*

24 *patat* f. = Fr. patate. From the Haytian word *batata,* Chamberlain, p. 63; it is the regular dialect word for the ordinary white "potato", called *pomme de terre* in French and distinguished from the *patate* or pomme sucrée. Cf. Rinfret. Clapin says: "On dit aussi *pataque* et *petaque.*" Cf. *tɔmak* for Fr. tomate. For an example, see p. 152, Remark; also p. 211, no. 153.

25 *pikwa* m. I heard this in the expression *mɛg kɔm ɑ̃ pikwa* = Fr. maigre comme un (picois), and upon looking among the Indian words given by Chamberlain, p. 76, I find *picouille* discussed, meaning "un animal maigre à l'excès", obscure origin. I cannot say whether possibly there be a connection or not. Clapin gives: "*picouille* du sauvage Cri *piku,* signifiant briser, fracasser. Tout animal étique, maigre, décharné à l'excès."

26 *pinkɛ̃* m. This was described as either a bird or a fish. Chamberlain, p. 63, gives *pécan* animal known as the fisher *martes canadensis.* I have been unable to trace the word. Cf. Clapin *pécan.*

27 *pirɔg* f. = Fr. pirogue, E. pirogue, dugout. Chamberlain says (p. 77) from some west Indian or Caribee dialect. Cf. *periagua.* Clapin spells *piroque* and defines: "Mot sauvage francisé, et désignant soit un canot d'écorce, ou un canot fait d'un tronc d'arbre creusé."

28 *sezɑ̃* m. Spelled by the teacher *cézan* and translated as "dessus de souliers appelés mocassins".

ʒ e tu̯ːje mɔ̃ sezɑ̃ d suje[1] *trɔ pti*
j'ai taillé mon (cézan) de souliers trop petit

I have not been able to find this word; I merely suspected it might possibly be connected with no. 18 above, *mɔ·gasɪn.*

29 *skwu̯* f. = E. squaw. *savaʒɛs,* however, is commoner; cf. no. 9; *sɔvaʒɛs* is sometimes heard; "squaw" is of East Algonquin origin and came into English America very early, Chamberlain, p. 88.

[1] See p. 89, no. 2.

30 *fagamo* m. Used in the sense of "chief". I take this to be the word Chamberlain notes as *sagamo* meaning an Indian chief (p. 87), Massachusetts Indian "sagamore". Clapin notes "*sagamos,* chef de tribut indienne."

31 *tabʊ* m. = Fr. tabac. Chamberlain says both *tabac* and *petun* have survived in Canada. Indian *tabaco* meant the tube in which the Caribees smoked the weed. For an example, see p. 243, no. 101.

32 *tamɔhʊk* m. = Fr. tomahawk, E. tomahawk. Taken into both English and French from Indian. See Chamberlain, p. 88. Cf. Clapin who spells as in French and who says: "Lacombe fait dériver ce mot du dialect Cri *otomahuk,* assommez-le, ou *otâmahwaw,* il est assommé."

33 *tabagan* m. = E. toboggan. Chamberlain says the East Algonquin forms are nearer *tabagan* than the West. The Micmac form is *tubagun* (p. 88). See Dunn *tobogane.* Clapin spells *tabagane, tabogine, tobagane.* He adds after giving the origin and definition: "On dit aussi *traîne sauvage.*" Cf. *BPFC.,* II, p. 47: *tabagan* = tobagane.

34 *tɔmak* m. = Fr. tomate, E. tomato. American Indian origin; cf. Canadian *patak* = Fr. patate.

35 *wʊwarɔ̃* m. Meaning a bullfrog. Chamberlain says (p. 52) of Huron or Iroquois origin. Dunn notes: *ouaouaron* and *wawaron.* Legendre (*Langue française,* 1890, p. 31) says: "il vient du mot huron *ouaroune* et rend exactement le cri de l'animal." The word is commented on by Bibaud who says: "voir *Vocabulaire de la langue huronne* du Récollet Sagard," p. 56 of the *Mémorial.* Well defined in Clapin. For an example of the word *wawaron* in Canadian French literature, see *BPFC.,* IV, p. 184.

Before leaving this subject, it is of interest in this connection to note that some fifty or more Indian words not found in the above list, words by no means uncommon in various parts of Canada, have been recorded by Sylva Clapin (see his *Dictionnaire, passim*) and by Father Lacasse (see *BPFC.,* V, pp. 65-66). As a step towards partial completion of common Indian words heard in various sections of French Canada, these words are here listed and defined.

Mots indiens dans le parler français du Canada.

1	*achigan*	(*aʃigan*)	perche noire, E. black bass
2	*almouchiche*	(*almuʃiʃ*)	variété de chiens
3	*apanac*	(*apanak*)	farine
4	*apola*	*apola*	variété de ragoût
5	*assinabe*	*asinaːb*	lourde pierre qui sert à retenir un filet au fond de l'eau

6	*autmoin*	*o·tmwɛ̃*	prêtre ou sorcier indien
7	*batiscan*	*batiskã*	sapristi
8	*cacaoui*	*kakawi*	variété de canard
9	*canaoua*	*kanawa*	terme dérisoire appliqué aux sauvages par les blancs
10	*canaouache*	*kanawaʃ*	v. *canaoua*
11	*cannibale*	*kanibal*	anthropophage
12	*caouin, -e*	*kaouɛ̃, kaouin*	terme dérisoire pour sauvage, sauvagesse
13	*chouayen*	*ʃwajɛ̃*	terme dérisoire appliqué au Can.-Fr., particulièrement aux "bureaucrates" de 1837-1838
14	*dodiche*	*dodiʃ*	jupon d'enfant
15	*esurgnis*	*ɛsyrɲi*	graines de porcelaine dont les sauvages confectionnent des colliers
16	*iroquois*	*irɔkwa*	langage incompréhensible
17	*kayak*	*kajak*	canot de pêche
18	*kini-kinik*	*kinikinik*	je mêle
19	*mashicoté, matchicoté*	*maʃikɔte, matʃikɔte*	jupe, jupon
20	*mackinaw*	*makinᴗ*	couverture de laine, pelisse
21	*malachigan*	*malaʃigan*	cf. no. 1 *mal* + *achigan*? variété d'*achigan*
	manachigan	*manaʃigan*	mal conformé
	manacigan	*manasigan*	
22	*maskeg*	*maskɛg*	marais, savane
23	*maskinongé*	*maskinɔ̃·ge*	variété de brochet
24	*matachias*	*mataʃias*	rassades dont les sauvagesses ornent leurs habits
25	*matachier*	*mataʃje*	s'enjoliver la figure, le corps
26	*micoinée*	*mikwane*	ce que contient la cuillère appelée *micoine*
27	*ondatra*	*ɔ̃·datra*	rat musqué
28	*oualamiche*	*walamiʃ*	poisson d'eau douce, fort estimé
	ouananiche	*wananiʃ*	
29	*ouragam*	*wragam*	ouragon
30	*outiko*	*wtiko*	géant, monstre fabuleux
31	*pacane*	*pakan*	noix du noisetier ou du coudrier
32	*petun*	*p(ə)tœ̃*	tabac
33	*petuner*	*ptœne*	prendre du tabac, fumer
34	*petuneur*	*ptœnœ·r*	fumeur de tabac
	petuneux	*ptœno*	
35	*pétouane*	*petwan*	arbuste, arbrisseau
36	*pembina*	*pɛmbina*	(corruption de *pipeybinao*) (cf. 22 and 23 of preceding list)
37	*pémicam*	*pemikã*	viande empaquetée
38	*péribonka*	*peribɔ̃·ka*	se rassembler
39	*piwi*	*piwi*	plume menue des oiseaux

40	*ouache*	*waʃ*	conduit sous terre du castor
41	*ouiche*	*wiʃ*	retraite du castor
42	*quiliou*	*kiliu*	le grand aigle royal
43	*sawayenne*	*sawajɛn*	racine bienfaisante
44	*sakawa*	*sakawa*	il pousse des cris pour empêcher, quelqu'un de parler
45	*sagamité*	*sagamite*	bouillie quelconque
46	*tikouapé*	*tikwape*	l'homme au caribou
47	*watap*	*watap*	racine d'épinette

V. Results of the Study.

It has been shown in the Introduction (p. 1) that, at the time of the colonization of Acadia during the early part of the XVIIth century, the standard or Ile-de-France French was to a certain extent in a transition state. The language in gaining its ascendancy over the speech of the provinces round about had not as yet acquired that stability which has since given it full supremacy as the national French language. It had, however, during the XVth and XVIth centuries made its influence more widely felt, owing to the great advantage of its being the language of the political and social center, than was possible for the speech of any other province to do. Yet nearly all the speech forms in the provinces had a certain influence on the make-up of what was to be standard French. It has been the object of this study to find out what the mother tongue of this Acadian-French dialect was, and to ascertain to how great an extent the latter has been indebted to the speech of any one of the French provinces more than another, and in how far the Acadian-French has adhered to its original old form, or separated from it, and for what reasons.

The provinces from which the first inhabitants came have been named in the Introduction (p. 1). It can hardly cause surprise then if we find in this Acadian dialect some traces of the speech of this and that particular province from which the ancestors of these Acadians may have come. Such speech characteristics of different French provinces have been noted here and there thruout the Study. Were it possible to make an approximately correct estimate of the component parts of the Acadian-French dialect from the continual references given in regard to such parts, without investigating minutely in order to verify the assumed correctness of the data, the result would in all likelihood be something like the following:

1°. The numerous and continual references to Thurot's work on the literary French of the XVIth century would lead most naturally to suppose that the French of that day must have formed an important part in the make-up of the Carleton speech. 2°. The many constant references not only to similarities, but to identical features, in the dialect and in popular or rural French around Paris, as shown by Beyer and Passy, Agnel, and Nisard, point to a like origin for the popular rural

French about Paris and the French of the Carleton dialect. 3°. The references, by no means few, that occur thruout the study, particularly in the Special case lists, to like or identical forms in Saintonge and Center of France point to a certain amount of influence which the French of these localities, more than that of elsewhere, has had on this particular dialect. It seems hardly possible to ascertain with much certainty to what extent the dialect is indebted to one of these provincial speech forms rather than to another, so much are they alike, and so many traits do they have in common.[1] 4°. Besides influence of the dialects of Saintonge and Center of France, the references show influence of the French of other provinces upon the Carleton dialect. This latter influence is, however, in the main, that of the speech of Normandy. 5°. The references show a few traces of Picard influence. 6°. Finally there occurs here and there a sporadic case, due possibly to importation or to causes not easily determined.

By summarizing in tabular form the data recorded in this Study, the inferences just drawn can be shown to be justified. To illustrate this fact, a brief summary and comment in regard to each of the component factors of the Carleton dialect will now be given. It is obvious that a great many of the French dialect traits which are seen in the dialect of Carleton appear not only in one, but in two, or even several French dialects. Therefore the difficulty becomes at once apparent of determining from which province any particular word or expression common to two or more dialects may be taken. Moreover, there may be no reason why such word or expression may not have come into the Carleton dialect from several provinces at about the same time. It would be impracticable in a summary to include all the features noted in the work itself. Therefore an effort has been made to select thruout the Study what is most characteristic in the formation of the component parts. These traits are here concisely presented. From them, viewed as a whole, it will be quite possible to draw a general conclusion.

Beginning now with what appears to be of the least importance in the dialect composition, that is with traits that are isolated or uncommon, a few examples are given of what has apparently no sensible effect upon the dialect and which perhaps may best be termed sporadic cases.

List 74.

1	*ekartije*	écarquiller	Poitou	p. 74, 9. Special cases, no. 1
2	*galɑ̃:s*	balance	Geneva	p. 83, 5. Special cases, no. 2
3	*galɑ̃:se*	balancer	Geneva	p. 83, 5. Special cases, no. 3
4	*galɑ̃:sin*	balancine	Geneva	p. 83, 5. Special cases, no. 4
5	*lyrɛt*	lurette	Lorraine	p. 201, no. 114

[1] ". . . traversez le Poitou et le Berry dont l'idiome est à peu près le même que celui de Saintonge" etc., p. 4 of the introduction to Jônain's *Saintonge dictionary*. Cf. also Goerlich's remarks in the beginning of the important article: *Die südwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl*, p. 3, *Französische Studien*, III. Band, 1882.

Not having found nos. 2, 3, and 4 in the dialect dictionaries of Geneva and Switzerland which were available, I do not feel sure that they do belong to the Geneva dialect.

The next element, of comparatively little importance, tho more so than the preceding, is the possible Picard dialect influence, examples of which are the following:

List 75.

1	*asawɛːr*	à savoir	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 20, list 12, no. 7
2	*asiːr*	asseoir	Pic., Stge., OFr.	p. 144, 1
3	*au*	août	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 21, foot-note 6
4	*faro*	faraud	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Poit.	p. 194, no. 81
5	*friko*	fricot	Pic.	p. 196, no. 88
6	*grifu*	(grichu)	Pic.	p. 196, no. 93
7	*karge*	carguer	Pic., Stge.	p. 199, no. 101
8	*limɔro*	numéro	Pic., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 91, no. 7
9	*marb*	marbre	Pic.	p. 240, no. 82
10	*ɔstine*	obstiné	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Stge., XVI	p. 66, 3., no. 1
11	*pepeːr*	pépère	Pic., Poit.	p. 210, no. 146
12	*pomɔnik*	pulmonique	Pic., Norm., XVI	p. 211, no. 154
13	*pursqiːr*	poursuivre	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Stge., OFr.	p. 147, 9
14	*sjo*	seau	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Lorr., Nor., XVI	p. 36, no. 12
15	*sy*	sur	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., XVI	p. 171, no. 35
16	*fɔ*	chez	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Stge., XVI	p. 172, no. 36
17	*taloːr*	(tout à l'heure)	Pic., Ch., Lorr., Rouchi.	p. 164, no. 25
18	*ʒiʒje*	gésier	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Nor.	p. 35, Spec. cases, no. 16
19	*ʒonɛs*	jeunesse	Pic., Ctr. of Fr., Nor.	p. 219, no. 195
20	*ʒykwɛːr*	jouchoir	Pic.	p. 85, no. 8

Here, too, what belongs to Picard alone must be in a very small ratio. For instance, *ʒykwɛːr* = Fr. juchoir (origin unknown, H., D., T.) may be a genuine Picard form; the correspondence between the two words in Picard and in French being precisely like that of the well known case of Pic. *camp* = Fr. champ. There may be other words, too, in the list that are legitimate native Picard forms, tho, as is seen, most of the words belong as well to some other dialect or dialects. This comparatively small list, then, shows relatively, in a general way, the importance, small indeed, of Picard influence as a factor in the make-up of the Carleton French.

Next in order as a factor of apparently greater moment than the Picard, come the traces in the Carleton French of the Norman dialect features. Here again, because of the identity of the forms in other dialects with those in the Norman itself, it becomes a difficult matter to say to what extent the Carleton speech is indebted particularly to it. The following list, however, will show some of the

Norman features together with those of other dialects entering into the composition of Carleton French.

List 76.

1	◡	â	Cf. for this sound p. 10, 1 and foot-note 7	
2	*a brɔ̃:s ko:r*	(à bras le corps)	Nor.	p. 188, cf. no. 55
3	*amɔ̃:re*	amarrer	Nor.	p. 177, no. 9
4	*aplɔ̃:b (atɑ̃:d sez)*	aplombs (attendre ses)	Nor.	p. 180, no. 21
5	*astø:r*	à cette heure	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 163, no. 3
6	*batəri*	batterie	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Stge., OFr.	p. 184, no. 35
7	*bɔte*	(botter)	Nor.	p. 186, no. 47
8	*bzɔ̃*	pesat	Nor., OFr.	p. 191, no. 67
9	*debagaʒe*	(débagager)	Nor.	p. 191, no. 68
10	*ɛskus*	(secousse) cf. OFr. *esquerre*. See Dunn	Nor.	p. 64, Note
11	*eju*	et où	cf. Nor. *iou*	p. 167, no. 8
12	*ejus*	et où est-ce que	cf. Nor. *ious, iousque*	p. 167, no. 8
13	*flɑ̃:b*	flamme	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Stge., OFr.	p. 66, 6.
14	*flo*	fléau	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 39, no. 3
15	*gɔ̃*	gars	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Stge., OFr.	p. 99, 3
16	*isit, isɪt*	ici	Nor., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 73, list 47, no. 10
17	*kɑ̃*	camp (sur le)	Nor.	p. 200, no. 106
18	*kɑ̃:te*	canter	Nor.	p. 200, no. 107
19	*kɑ̃:t e*	quand et	Nor., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 171, no. 22
20	*mɛ kə*	mais que	Nor.	p. 173, no. 18
21	*meta:j*	(for Fr. métaux)	Nor., OFr. *mitaille*	p. 204, no. 121
22	*mitɑ̃*	mitan	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Poit., OFr.	p. 205, no. 124
23	*myk*	mucre	Nor., OFr.	p. 207, no. 134
24	*nik*	nid	Nor., Poit., Stge.	p. 208, no. 137
25	*nø*	neuf	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., OFr.	p. 70, 6.
26	*ɔstine*	obstiné	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Pic., Stge., XVI	p. 66, 3, no. 1
27	*paʒe*	(pagée)	Nor., OFr.	p. 209, no. 145
28	*plas*	place	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Poit.	p. 211, no. 152
29	*pomɔnik*	pulmonique	Nor., Pic. (XVI *poumonique*)	p. 211, no. 154
30	*py*	plus	Nor., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 168, 6^0
31	*pursqi:r*	poursuivre	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Pic., Stge., OFr.	p. 147, 9.
32	*rəbu:r (a)*	rebours (à) adv.	Nor., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 170, no. 9
33	*sjo*	seau	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Lorr., Pic., Stge. (XVI *séo*)	p. 36, no. 12

34	*surifod*	(souris chauve)	Nor., Ch., Ctr. of Fr., Stge.	p. 69. Note
35	*fo*	chez	Nor., Pic., Stge., XVI	p. 172, no. 36
36	*vɛlimo*	venimeux	Nor., Ch.	p. 92, no. 15
37	*ʒɛrgo:d*	(gergaude)	Nor.	p. 219, no. 194
38	*ʒiʒje*	gésier	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Pic.	p. 35, Spec. cases. no. 16
39	*ʒœnes*	jeunesse	Nor., Ctr. of Fr., Pic.	p. 219, no. 195
40	*ʒyce*	jucher	Nor.	p. 85, no. 7
41	*ʒvo*	cheval	Nor., XVI	p. 81, list 52, no. 4; p. 110, 7
42	*ʒvø*	cheveux	Nor., XVI	p. 81, list 52, no. 8

The inference drawn from the words noted in the above list is that the Norman dialect has made its influence more plainly felt upon the Carleton speech than has the Picard dialect. And, as will be seen by comparing this list 76 with the following lists 77 and 78, less plainly than the Center of France and Saintonge dialects.

Just as the vocabulary of the dialects of the various French provinces is in many cases similar or identical, so, too, the phonology of these dialects is in many instances the same or nearly so. If the attempt be made to determine in how far the phonology of any of the provincial dialects influences the Carleton speech, the difficulty is practically the same as that just met with in attempting to show the influence of the vocabulary of any one of the French dialects on the Acadian dialect.

In regard to what is often termed the Norman *a* (see no. 1 in the above list) that is the ◡ described in the first seven lists of this Study, it can hardly be said to be more characteristic of Normandy than of other provinces.[1] In a word, this pronunciation is simply a widely known provincial trait. In like manner, a number of other traits of phonology which the French dialects have in common, may easily be cited to show that there is little reason to ascribe such a feature to one particular dialect rather than to another.

Taking up now the elements of Center of France French which appear in the Carleton dialect, it must be obvious from a glance at the following list that such elements are more numerous than those noted in Picard and in Norman. Besides the likeness of words, some comparisons can easily be made of similarity to or identity of some of the features of the phonology with those described in the Carleton dialect. This does not necessarily imply that the Carleton speech has taken these traits directly from Center of France French; in many cases, it is not at all improbable; but inasmuch as many of these same features are those of Ile-de-France, or old French, or of some other province, they may quite as well be taken from there.

List 77.

1	*aji* (*ʒ aji*)	hais (je hais)	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 145, 2.
2	*al* (*a*)	elle	Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 116, 4.

[1] See the dialect dictionaries under *a*, particularly Jaubert.

3	*al* (*c i*)	aille (qu'il)	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 135, top
4	*alymɛl*	alumelle	Ctr. of Fr., OFr. *alemele*	p. 176, no. 8
5	*a matɛ̃*	(for ce matin)	Ctr. of Fr., Stge.	p. 163, no. 2
6	*amice* (and many like words)	amitié	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 86, list 54
7	*asawɛːr*	à savoir	Ctr. of Fr., Pic., Stge., XVI	p. 20, list 12, no. 7
8	*astøːr*	à cette heure	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., XVI	p. 163, no. 3
9	*au*	août	Ctr. of Fr., Pic., Stge., XVI	p. 21, 3, no. 9, and foot-note 6
10	*balje*	balayer	Ctr. of Fr. (1740)	p. 35, Spec. cas., no. 3
11	*barode*	(renverser)	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 184, no. 34
12	*bør, før, gør, kør, pør, tør*	for bre, fre, tre, etc.	Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 93
13	*e* (= *ei*)	for Fr. *è*	Ctr. of Fr., cf. OFr. forms: *frére, mére, pére*	pp. 24, 25
14	*fal* (*c i*)	faille (qu'il)	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 156, no. 4
15	*faro*	faraud	Ctr. of Fr., Pic.	p. 194, no. 81
16	*fɛ*	faîte	Ctr. of Fr., OFr. *fest, feste*	p. 195, no. 84
17	*flãːb*	flamme	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Stge., OFr.	p. 66, 6.
18	*flo*	fléau	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Stge., XVI	p. 39, no. 3
19	*forbiːr* (and like words)	fourbir	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 38, 5. Spec. cases
20	*frɛt*	froid	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 73, list 47, no. 9
21	*gᴗ*	gars	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Stge., OFr. nom. *gars*	p. 99, no. 3
22	*kataplam*	cataplasme	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 78, Note
23	*katɛ̃*	(catin)	Ctr. of Fr., Stge.	p. 199, no. 104
24	*kãːt e*	quand et	Ctr. of Fr., Nor.	p. 171, no. 22
25	*katefim*	catéchisme	Ctr. of Fr., Stge.	p. 78, Note
26	*kastɔnad*	cassonade	Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 75, no. 3
27	*lɛ̃di*	lundi	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 58, 7
28	*limɔro*	numéro	Ctr. of Fr., Pic.	p. 91, no. 7
29	*mãːtr*	menteur	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 95, list 60, no. 9
30	*mitã*	mitan	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Poit., OFr.	p. 205, no. 124
31	*nø*	neuf	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., OFr.	p. 70, 6.
32	*o* = Fr. *o* before final *r* (*foːr*)		Ctr. of Fr.	p. 37, list 25, and following list
33	*obli*	oubli	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 38, 5., no. 7
34	*oˑʒordɥi*	aujourd'hui	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 38, 5., no. 8
35	*ɔstine*	obstiner	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Pic., Stge., XVI	p. 66, 3.
36	*ø* (closed quality)	eu	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 42, 2., and foot-note 3

37	*ɤ*	eur	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 95, lists 60, 61; cf. p. 43, list 30
38	*plas*	place	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Poit.	p. 211, no. 152
39	*plyme*	plumer	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 211, no. 153
40	*pretr*	préteur	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 95, list 61, no. 5
41	*pursɥiːr*	poursuivre	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Pic., Stge., OFr.	p. 147, 9.
42	*py*	plus	Ctr. of Fr., Nor.	p. 168, 6⁰
43	*rətirãːs*	retirance	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 213, no. 166
44	*rodɤ*	rôdeur	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 95, list 60, no. 12
45	*sejɔ̃*	sillon	Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 27, 6., no. 10
46	*sjo*	seau	Ctr. of Fr., Lorr., Nor., Pic. (XVI *seo*)	p. 36, no. 12
47	*sije*	(sîler)	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 214, no. 172
48	*sur*	sous	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 98, no. 6
49	*surifod*	souris chauve	Ctr. of Fr., Ch., Nor., Stge.	p. 69, Note
50	*sy*	sur	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Pic., Stge., XVI	p. 171, no. 35
51	*fɛse*	sécher	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 77, list 49, no. 5
52	*fə*	chez	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Pic., Stge., XVI	p. 172, no. 36
53	*u* (*aruze*)	= Fr. *o*	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 47, list 35
54	*y*	= Fr. *eu*	Ctr. of Fr., Stge., XVI	p. 50, list 36
55	*val* (*c i*)	vaille (qu'il)	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 156, no. 4
56	*we*	= Fr. *oir*	Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 96, list 62
57	*ʒiʒje*	gésier	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Pic.	p. 35, Sp. cas., no. 16
58	*ʒys*	juste	Ctr. of Fr.	p. 78, list 51, no. 8
59	*ʒval, ʒvo*	cheval, chevaux	Ctr. of Fr., Nor., XVI	p. 81, 4, and p. 110, 7

From what can be gathered from the phonology of the above list, the most striking features may be briefly resumed thus: 1⁰. *e* = Fr. *è* in such words as *arjeːr, freːr, meːr, peːr,* a very closed sound which Jaubert writes *ei*,[1] which may be even closer than the Carleton *e* in these words (no. 13); 2⁰. *o* = Fr. *o* before final *r* in such words as *foːr, soːr, toːr* (no. 32); 3⁰. *o* for Fr. *ou* in many words such as *forbiːr, obli* (nos. 19 and 33); 4⁰. *u* for Fr. *o* in many words like *aruze* (no. 53); 5⁰. *y* = Fr. initial *eu* in many learned words like *yʒɛn,* etc. (no. 54); 6⁰. *bør, før, gør, kør, pør, tør* = Fr. *bre, fre, gre, cre, pre, tre* (no. 12); 7⁰. *ɤ* = Fr. final *-eur*: *rədɤ, marfɤ* (no. 37); 8⁰. *we* = Fr. final *-oir*: *mufwe* = Fr. muchoir (no. 56); 9⁰. *c* = Fr. *k* before front vowels: *cɛ̃* = Fr. tiens (no. 6); 10⁰. *ʒ* = Fr. *ch* in cases like *ʒval, ʒvo* (no. 59). This list might, like the above (76), easily be made more complete. It might have been noted above that *a* = Fr. *e* before *r* + consonant, very generally

[1] I take this to be not a diphthong but a very closed sound.

thruout the Center of France, a trait which applies to a large class of words. It is quite evident, however, that nearly all of these features, if indeed not all, are found in the surrounding dialects; so that the influence of this particular French dialect, like that of the others upon the Carleton speech, is not easy to estimate. Nevertheless the list itself is the best advocate of what the possible influence may have been, and as such it seems fitting to leave it to speak for itself.

Next, as appears, in relative importance of dialect influence upon Carleton French, come the traces of the dialect of Saintonge. Indeed, whether the Carleton dialect contains more Saintonge or Center of France characteristics, is so much the more difficult to say inasmuch as these traits are, as has just been noted,[1] in so very many instances identical or nearly so. The similarity of the above list 77 to that of Saintonge which here follows will be at once obvious.

List 78.

1	*a*	à	Stge.	p. 169, no. 1
2	*a, al*	elle	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 116, 4.
3	*agrɛ̃*	(mauvais) grains	Stge.	p. 21, no. 1 at the top
4	*a matɛ̃*	(for ce matin)	Stge., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 163, no. 2
5	*asawɛːr*	à savoir	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Pic., XVI	p. 20, list 12, no. 7
6	*asiːr*	(asseoir)	Stge., Pic., OFr.	p. 144, 3°. 1.
7	*au*	août	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Pic., XVI	p. 21, 3, no. 9, and foot-note 6
8	*baljɛ*	balayer	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Nor. (1740)	p. 35, no. 3
9	*bajɛt*	baguette	Stge.	p. 88, list 56, no. 1
10	*bør, før, gør, kør, pør, tør*	for bre, fre, gre, cre, pre, tre	Stge., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 93
11	*burase*	(bourasser)	Stge., from OFr. *bourre*	p. 189, no. 61
12	*brᵕse*	brasser	Stge., OFr.	p. 188, no. 55
13	*dezabrjɛ*	(desabrier)	Stge., cf. OFr. adj. *desabrié*	p. 192, no. 73
14	*ekarde*	(carder)	Stge.	p. 64, no. 4
15	*fajo*	(fève)	Stge., Nor.	p. 195, no. 83
16	*flɑ̃ːb*	flamme	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., OFr.	p. 66, 6. Spec. case
17	*flo*	fléau	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 39, no. 3
18	*gᵕ*	gars	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., OFr.	p. 99, no. 3
19	*x* (= *ʒ, h, ʃ*)	= Fr. *g, j, h, ch*	Stge.	p. 103, list 66
20	*karge*	carguer	Stge., Pic.	p. 199, no. 101
21	*kataplam*	cataplasme	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 78, Note
22	*katɛ̃*	catin	Stge., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 199, no. 104
23	*katefim*	catéchisme	Stge., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 78, Note
24	*lɔ̃ʒi*	(longi)	Stge., OFr.	p. 201, no. 112

[1] See p. 263, foot-note 1.

25	*mitɑ̃*	(mitan)	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Poit., OFr.	p. 205, no. 124
26	*mɔrtwɛ:z*	mortaise	Stge., XVI	p. 205, no. 126
27	*mœje*	meunier	Stge.	p. 206, no. 131
28	*mujase*	mouillasser	Stge.	p. 207, no. 133
29	*nik*	nid	Stge., Nor., Poit.	p. 208, no. 137
30	*ɔstine*	obstiné	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Pic., XVI	p. 66, 3.
31	*pœ̯re*	paré	Stge.	p. 209, no. 141
32	*pursqi:r*	poursuivre	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Nor., Pic., OFr.	p. 147, 9.
33	*rœ̯tɛ:r*	ras de terre	Stge.	p. 212, no. 161
34	*rɑ̃ʒe*	ranger	Stge.	p. 213, no. 164
35	*sejɔ̃*	sillon	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 27, 6., no. 10
36	*sjo*	seau	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., Pic., Lorr. (XVI *séo*)	p. 36, no. 12
37	*sije*	(sîler)	Stge., Ctr. of Fr.	p. 214, no. 172
38	*sy*	sur	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 171, no. 35
39	*surifo*	souris chauve	Stge., Ch., Ctr. of Fr., Nor.	p. 69, Note
40	*farfœ:j*	cerfeuil	Stge.	p. 77, list 49, no. 1
41	*fo*	chez	Stge., Nor., Pic., XVI	p. 172, no. 36
42	*u*	= Fr. *o*	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 47, list 35
43	*y*	= Fr. *eu* initial	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 50, list 36
44	*we*	= Fr. final *-oir*	Stge., Ctr. of Fr., XVI	p. 96, list 62
45	*j*	= Fr. *gu* before front vowels	Stge.	p. 88, list 56
46	*vijœ:r*	vigueur	Stge.	p. 88, list 56, no. 8
47	*jɛ:r*	guère	Stge.	p. 88, list 56, no. 14
48	*jid*	guide	Stge.	p. 88, list 56, no. 18
49	*jø*	gueux	Stge.	p. 88, list 56, no. 23
50	*jø:z*	gueuse	Stge.	p. 88, list 56, no. 25

To mention, then, as under the preceding list some of the most frequently recurring features, there are to be noted: 1°. Cases of dialect *u* = Fr. *o* as in *rutiːr* = Fr. rôtir, *ute* = Fr. ôter (no. 42). This occurs, as mentioned in list 36 a, p. 49, in many Acadian districts (tho not in Carleton) regularly before *m* or *n* + so-called mute *e*. 2°. *y* = Fr. *eu* initial in learned words, particularly proper names (no. 43). 3°. *bør, før, gør, kør, pør, tør* = Fr. *bre, fre, gre, cre, pre, tre* (no. 10). 4°. *x* = Fr. *ch* (no. 19). 5°. *ʒ* (= Fr. *z*) (no. 19). 6°. Cases of prefixed *é* or *è* like *ekarde, ɛstaty* (no. 14). 7°. *j* = Fr. *gu* before front vowels (nos. 9, 45). 8°. *we* = Fr. final *oir* (no. 44).

Of all the traits noted either in the Saintonge or Center of France dialect, there is one that has left its impress not only on the Carleton dialect but on the popular speech heard thruout Acadia and Canada: that represented by the character

x (see p. 103, list 66). Another marked Saintonge trait in Carleton French is that of dialect *j* = Fr. *gu* before front vowels, occurring in a long list of words. The striking peculiarity current in XVIth century French, as well as to-day in the Saintonge dialect, of the plural with the first person, as for example *ʒ avjõ* = Fr. (j'avions) is not a characteristic of the Carleton speech. This may be owing to educational or possibly other influences. It is one of the marked features of the morphology of other Acadian districts. It now must appear quite plain from the dialect lists already given in this summary that the Center of France and Saintonge dialects have contributed to a greater degree than the other French dialects to Carleton French. The similarities and identities of the Center of France and Saintonge are so numerous as to render the question of precedence of influence of either one of these dialects over the other upon the Carleton speech largely conjectural. Then, too, because of this very likeness, the question here has really no capital importance, for the two lists tell practically the same story with merely local variations.

The popular French in and about Paris has formed the subject of many a work of philological interest, among the latest and best of which is Beyer and Passy's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Französisch.*[1] The present *Study of an Acadian French Dialect,* nearly the same in form and substance as found here, had been written before the *Elementarbuch* appeared. After the appearance of this latter work, it became plain that its two well known authors had recorded many linguistic features found in the present Study and, moreover, explained them better than it was possible for the author of the Study to do. It became more than ever apparent that the Carleton speech is essentially nothing other than popular spoken French such as was more common some fifty years ago than to-day among the uneducated in the rural districts about Paris, and even in Paris itself. Of late years, education has in a great measure caused many of these speech traits to disappear. Yet even to-day, in some very provincial nooks, where the efforts of civilization have made but little headway, many of the same characteristic features of these modes of speech may still be recognized. Not only in these provincial nooks, but even in the unstudied popular language of Paris itself, these traits are apparent, as must be evident from a perusal of Beyer and Passy's book. Two other works to which reference has freely been made, one by Agnel, the other by Nisard, bear direct testimony to the essential identity of the Carleton dialect and of that popular speech heard in the rural districts about Paris as well as in the city itself. This identity can best be seen at a glance by presenting a list of common characteristics as has been done in showing dialect influence, with references to where they are noted in this Study.

List 79.

1	◡	= Fr. *â*		pp. 10-11, § II
2	◡*b*, ◡*br*	arbre	XVI	p. 95, Note

[1] See the articles in connection with this book by A. Rambeau in *Modern languages notes,* vol. VIII, 1893, pp. 161-6, 193-9, 242-3. The second edition appeared in 1905.

3	*a*	= Fr. *e* in *verte*	XVI	pp. 18-19
4	*a, al*	elle	XVI	p. 116, 4.
5	*aji:r, ʒ aji*	haïr, je hais	XVI	p. 145, 2.
6	*a matɛ̃*	(for) ce matin		p. 170, at the top
7	*amlɛt*	omelette	XVI	p. 23, 6.
8	*animo*	(animal)		p. 110, 7.
9	*apsəlymɛ̃, apsɛ̃*	absolument, absent		p. 67, 3.
10	*are*	aurai	XVI	p. 131, 4.
11	*arkaʒu*	acajou		p. 221, no. 4
12	*armanak*	almanach		p. 97, list 63, no. 2
13	*asawɛ:r*	à savoir	XVI	p. 20, list 12, no. 7
14	*asi:r*	(asseoir)	OFr.	p. 144, 1.
15	*a stø:r*	à cette heure	XVI	p. 170, at the top
16	*a vu*	(avez-vous)	XVI	p. 132, 6.
17	*awɛn*	avoine	XVI	p. 61, list 40, no. 2
18	*ã: mulã*	Fr. *-in*: moulin		p. 54, list 36 A
19	*ɛ̃: kɔmɛ̃*	Fr. *-en*: comment		p. 56, list 36 C
20	*bør, dør, før, pør, tør, vør*	bre, dre, fre, pre, tre, vre		p. 93, list 57
21	*dutã:s*	(doutance)	OFr.	p. 192, no. 75
22	*dy* e. g. *dy bɔ̃ stʌf*	du e. g. du bon "stuff"		p. 250, no. 143
23	*e* in *arje:r, fre:r, me:r, pe:r*	*è* in arrière, frère, mère, père	XVI	pp. 24, 25, list 13, 14
24	*ɛskəlɛt, ɛstaty*	squelette, statue	XVI	p. 64, list
25	*ɛsky:z, ɛscy:z, ɛsprɛ*	excuse, exprès	OFr.	p. 77, list 50
26	*ə* in *ʒ(ə)val, ʃ(ə)mɛ̃*	"mute" *e* in cheval, chemin		p. 106, foot-note 4
27	*fatik*	fatigue		p. 84, 4. Spec. cas., no. 2
28	*flã:b*	flamme	OFr.	p. 66, 6. Special case
29	*ganıf*	canif	XVI	p. 82, list 53, no. 4
30	*gørne*	grenier		p. 95, Note
31	*ʃɔ̃:b*	diable		p. 83, Note
32	*ʃamɛ̃*	diamant		p. 83, Note
33	*ʃø*	dieu		p. 83, Note
34	*i*	= Fr. il	XVI	p. 116, 3.
35	*kas*	casque		p. 78, list 51, no. 5
36	*klɛrte*	clarté	XVI	p. 31, no. 4
37	*køk, cøk, kɛk, cɛk*	quelque	XVI	p. 113, 7, (end)
38	*køkã, kɛkã, cɛkã*	quelqu'un	XVI	p. 128, § LI (A), no. 2
39	*krijaty:r*	créature		p. 36, no. 6
40	*kuvri, ɔfri, sufri, uvri*	(couvert), (offert), (souffert), (ouvert)		p. 147, 7.
41	*-ce*	-tié		p. 86, list 54
42	*cøl*	quel		p. 127, 1°.

43	Fr. whispered *l* unrepresented		XVI	p. 90, 4.
44	*lasɛl* (Canadian form)	(la celle)		p. 126, 2.
45	*le* (*fɛt le*)	le (faites-le)	XVI	p. 117, 7.
46	*matɑ̃*	matin		p. 54, list 36 A, no. 12
47	*mudɔ̃, mude, mu:d*	moulons, moulez, moulent		p. 151, no. 6
48	*mwɛce*	moitié		p. 87, list 54, no. 18
49	*ɲ*	= Fr. *ni* + vowel	XVI	p. 101, list 64
50	*o* (*fo:r*)	= Fr. *o* before *r* final (fort)		p. 37, list 25
51	*o'ʒordɥi*	aujourd'hui	XVI	p. 38, 5. Sp. cas., no. 8
52	*ɔptəni:r*	obtenir		p. 67, list 44, no. 12
53	*ɔstine*	obstiné	XVI	p. 66, 3.
54	*r* or very close *o*	= Fr. final *-eur*	XVI	p. 95, list 60, 61
55	*ør* (see no. 20)	= Fr. *re* in bre, fre, etc.	XVI	p. 93, list 57
56	*pɔtrin*	poitrine		p. 40, Note
57	*pursɥi:r*	poursuivre	XVI	p. 147, 9.
58	Fr. whispered *r* unrepresented		XVI	p. 97, 7.
59	*sa vu*	savez-vous	XVI	p. 132, 6.
60	*sjo*	seau	XVI	p. 36, no. 12
61	*sɔɲø*	soigneux	XVI	p. 40, Note
62	*sy*	sur	XVI	p. 171, no. 35
63	*sɥilᵕ* (Canadian)	celui-là		p. 126, 2.
64	*syme*	semer		p. 52, no. 10
65	*t* (before a vowel)	= Fr. *tu*	XVI	p. 116, 2.
66	*ti* interrogative		XVI	pp. 133-4, Note
67	*ᵘbliɑ̃:s*	(oubliance)	XVI	p. 193, cf. no. 75
68	*ᵘte*	ôter		p. 48, no. 16
69	*yʒɛn*	Eugène	XVI	p. 50, list 36, no. 8
70	*vakabɔ̃*	vagabond	XVI	p. 84, 4. Spec. cas., no. 5
71	*vɛlimø*, Quebec *vlimø*	venimeux	XVI	p. 92, no. 15
72	*ɯe, ɯɛ*	= Fr. *oi*	XVI	p. 61, Note
73	*ɯe*	= Fr. *-oir*	XVI	p. 96, list 62
74	*ji*	lui		p. 117, 5.
75	*jø*	leur		p. 117, 6.

As stated above, Beyer and Passy's *Elementarbuch* appeared when the present Study was practically complete. Quite a number of dialect works had been carefully consulted thruout the preparation of the Study with the object in view of trying to prove conclusively the identity of some one of the dialects examined with that of Carleton-French. As has been shown above under the Picard, Norman, Center of France, and Saintonge lists, most of the dialects already investigated contain many features in common. Nevertheless the phonology and morphology of the dialects examined fail to reveal so many and such traits in common as to lead to the conclusion of a common origin of any one and of the Acadian-French dialect. But in

the *Elementarbuch* will be found a phonology and a morphology which, in the most essential features, are those of the dialect of Carleton. Moreover, the continual references to the spoken language in and about Paris in Agnel and Nisard, pointing to identical traits, leave no doubt in regard to the identity of popular Parisian speech and that of the Carleton dialect. To resume briefly these essentials, we have: 1°. ◡ = Fr. *â* (no. 1). 2°. *a* = Fr. *e* before *r* + pronounced consonant (no. 3). 3°. *ã* = Fr. *in* (no. 18). 4°. *ɛ̃* = Fr. *an* (no. 19). 5°. *e* = Fr. *è* in such words as *frère, mère, père* (no. 23). 6°. Types like *ɛskəlɛt* = Fr. squelette (no. 24). 7°. Types like *ɛsky:z* = Fr. escuse (no. 25). 8°. Omission of Fr. so-called *e* mute in cases like *ʒral* = Fr. cheval, *fmɛ̃, fmã* = Fr. chemin (no. 26). 9°. *o* = Fr. *o* before final *r*: *fo:r* = Fr. fort (no. 50). 10°. *ø* or *r* = Fr. final *-eur* (no. 54). 11°. *u* in many words for Fr. *o*: *u'te* = Fr. ôté (no. 68), as well as the reverse *o* = Fr. *ou*: *o'gordyi* (no. 51). 12°. *y* = Fr. initial *eu* in names particularly (no. 69). 13°. *we* and *wɛ* = Fr. *oi* (no. 72). 14°. *we* = Fr. final *-oir* (no. 73). 15°. Unvoicing of voiced consonants in cases like *ɔptəni:r* = Fr. obtenir (no. 52). 16°. Further, total assimilation of voiced consonants in cases like *ɔstine* = Fr. obstiné (no. 53). 17°. Insertion of a *j* before front vowels in cases like *cəl* = Fr. quel (no. 42), merely a *k* pronounced farther forward than the French *k*. 18°. *c* = Fr. *t* + *i* + vowel: *mwɛce* = Fr. moitié (no. 41). 19°. Fr. whispered final *l* unrepresented (no. 43). 20°. Fr. whispered final *r* unrepresented (no. 58). 21°. *ɲ* = Fr. *ni* + vowel (no. 49). 22°. *bør, dør, før, pør, tør, vør* = Fr. *bre, dre, fre, pre, tre, vre* (no. 20, or no. 55). 23°. Compare the table of personal pronouns in the Carleton dialect (p. 115) with that of Beyer and Passy (p. 123 of the *Elementarbuch*): *ʒ* = Fr. je, *t* = Fr. tu (no. 65), *i* = Fr. il (no. 34); *a* or *al* = Fr. elle. 24°. The identity of the verb structure in the popular spoken French and in the Carleton dialect suggested, as already noted, (p. 130, Note) following Beyer and Passy's classification. It seems unnecessary to recapitulate the numerous identical features recorded under the verb itself (pp. 129-162). Perhaps the most conclusive piece of evidence of all, pointing directly to the identity of popular Parisian French and of the dialect of Carleton, is the striking feature in both of the non-existence of the preterit tense and consequently of the imperfect subjunctive. This trait, as Beyer and Passy remark, (printing purposely the observation in very large type),[1] is a feature of north France French. The dictionaries of the center and south of France all indicate a preterit in *i* (written *is*); for example *j'aimis, j'allis, j couris,* etc. This preterit made its influence felt more or less even in XVIth century literary French.[2] Here then, in this important feature, it is clear the Acadian dialect has followed none of those south of France dialects as Canadian French has done; for this is one of the most characteristic traits of the speech of Canadian districts. Some years ago, in an article dealing with the subject of *American French dialect comparison,*[3] the writer

[1] *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Französisch,* pp. 155-6.

[2] Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *XVI^e siècle en France,* p. 237, § 113.

[3] *Modern languages notes,* February 1894, p. 56, column 112.

of this Study had occasion to quote a statement made by Professor Elliott showing what investigation then disclosed and what the present Study has verified: "... we often find to our surprise in these Acadian dialects that both the phonetics and morphology are nearer the model of the north French than the Canadian of the province of Quebec . . ."[1]

It would be easy to add here other traits of common identity such as can readily be found by consulting the above table. This, however, seems unnecessary in order to establish what has already been so clearly demonstrated.

Having now shown by comparing the material of the Carleton dialect with that of popular French that the two dialects are essentially identical, the question now remains: what is popular spoken French? This subject already mentioned (p. 271) has long since formed the theme of many scholars interested in the spoken language; and among them, of Agnel and of Nisard, to whose works reference has repeatedly been made in this Study. In order to arrive at their conclusions, these scholars have compared the language of the XVth and XVIth centuries, as made known thru the writers of those times, with the popular language in and about Paris. In this way, the identity of the main features of the phonology and morphology of XVth and XVIth century French with those of the present day popular idiom about Paris has been clearly established. Thruout this Study not only have comparisons with other dialects been constantly made, but at the same time comparisons with the earlier standard French have been repeatedly noted. Many have been the traits common to the Acadian dialect and to the other French dialects as shown in the list summaries 74-78. Yet the traits found to be identical in the dialect and in the French of the XVth and XVIth centuries far outnumber any others made the subject of this dialect comparison. The result of this final comparison points clearly to one conclusion, namely: The Carleton speech is nothing other than the old idiom of the forefathers of the present Carleton Acadians. The latter have retained quite perfectly this, at the present day, somewhat antiquated manner of speech. The isolated life which the Acadians have led, their lack of education, as well as of almost all those influences which have rendered standard French what it is to-day, have contributed to retain, in a state of preservation quite intact, the idiom of their forefathers. This conclusion can best be drawn by the student of this subject from the following summarized table of references to features of the Carleton dialect identical with or similar to those of XVIth century or older French.

List 80.

1	*ᵕb, ᵕbr*	arbre	XVI	p. 95, Note
2	*a* (*vart*)	= Fr. *e* before final *r* + consonant	XVI	pp. 18, 19, lists 10, 11
3	*a, al*	elle	XVI	p. 116, 4.
4	*alymɛl*	alumelle, OFr. *alemele*		p. 176, no. 8

[1] *American journal of philology*, vol. VII, 1886, p. 143, note.

5	*amlɛ̀t*	omelette	XVI	p. 23, 6., no. 1
6	*amjɛle*	emmieller	OFr.	p. 178, no. 13
7	*are*	aurai	OFr.	p. 131, 4.
8	*asawɛ:r*	à savoir	XVI	p. 20, list 12, no. 7
9	*asi:r*	(asseoir) cf. XVI *assisons-nous*		p. 144, 1.
10	*astø:r*	à cette heure	XVI	p. 163, no. 3
11	*au*	août	XVI	p. 20, list 12, no. 9
12	*a vu*	avez-vous	XVI	p. 132, 6.
13	*aji*	hais	XVI	p. 145, 2.
14	*awɛn*	avoine	XVI	p. 61, list 40, no. 2
15	*aʒøte*	acheté	XVI	p. 81, no. 1
16	*ɑ̃ˈfarʒe*	(enfargé), OFr. *enfergier*		p. 182, no. 27
17	*balje*	balayer	(1740)	p. 35, no. 3
18	*bør, før, gør, kør, pør, tør*	bre, fre, gre, cre, pre, tre	XVI	p. 93
19	*brᴗˑse*	brasser	OFr.	p. 188, no. 55
20	*burase*	(bourasser) from OFr. *bourre*		p. 189, no. 61
21	*bzᴗ*	pesat	OFr.	p. 191, no. 67
22	*dezabrje, dezabrije*	(desabrier) cf. OFr. adj. *desabrié*		p. 192, no. 73
23	*ditɛl*	(ditel)	OFr.	p. 192, no. 74
24	*dutɑ̃:s*	doutance, OFr. *dotance*		p. 192, no. 75
25	*e* in *arje:r, fre:r, me:r, pe:r*	è in arrière, frère, mère, père	OFr.	pp. 24, 25, lists 13, 14
26	*ecìpɔlɑ̃*	équipollent	OFr.	p. 193, no. 76
27	*ɛskɔlɛt, ɛstaty*	squelette, statue	XVI	p. 64, list, nos. 10, 11
28	*ɛsky:z, ɛscy:z*	excuse	OFr.	p. 77, list 50, no. 2
29	*etale*	étaler	OFr.	p. 193, no. 78
30	*ezarbe*	(esherber)	OFr.	p. 194, no. 79
31	*ə* in *ʒ(ə)val, ʃ(ə)mɛ̃, ʃ(ə)mɑ̃*	cheval, chemin	OFr.	p. 106, foot-note 4
32	*ʃlɑ̃:b*	flamme	OFr.	p. 66, 6. Special case
33	*ʃlo*	fléau	XVI	p. 39, no. 3
34	*fɔ̃ˑsy:r*	fonçure, OFr. *fons(e)ure*		p. 195, no. 86
35	*frɛt*	froid	XVI	p. 73, list 47, no. 9
36	*gᴗ*	gars, OFr. *gars* (subject case)		p. 99, no. 3
37	*ganif*	canif	XVI	p. 82, list 53, no. 4
38	*i*	= Fr. il	XVI	p. 116, 3.
39	*kafje:r*	cafetière	XVI	p. 198, no. 99
40	*kastɔnad*	cassonade	XVI	p. 75, no. 3

41	*kataplam*	cataplasme cf. OFr. *cataplamer*		p. 78, Note
42	*kɑ̃:t e*	quand et	OFr.	p. 171, no. 22
43	*kɛk, cɛk*	quelque	XVI	p. 113, 7.
44	*kɛkœ̃, cɛkœ̃*	quelqu'un	XVI	p. 128, list, no. 2
45	*klɛrte*	clarté	XVI	p. 31, no. 4
46	*kri*	quérir	XVI	p. 27, 6. Spec. cas., no. 4
47	Fr. final whispered *l* unrepresented		XVI	p. 90, 4.
48	*l* "mouillée" lost		XVI	p. 102, 3.
49	*le* in *fɛt le*	*le* in: faites-le	XVI	p. 117, 7.
50	*lɔ̃·ʒi*	(longi)	OFr.	p. 201, no. 112
51	*mekœrdi*	mercredi	XVI	p. 94, Remark, no. 4
52	*meta:j*	métal, cf. OFr. *mitaille*		p. 204, no. 121
53	*metive*	(métiver)	OFr.	p. 204, no. 122
54	*mitɑ̃*	(mitan)	OFr.	p. 205, no. 124
55	*mœrtwɛ:z*	mortaise	XVI	p. 205, no. 126
56	*myk*	mucre	OFr.	p. 207, no. 134
57	*nœ*	neuf	XVI	p. 70, 6
58	*ɲ*	= Fr. *n* + *i*	XVI	p. 101, list 64
59	*o·bɛl*	(aubel)	OFr.	p. 208, no. 139
60	*o·ʒordɥi*	aujourd'hui	XVI	p. 38, 5. Spec. cas., no. 8
61	*ɔstine*	obstiné	XVI	p. 66, 3.
62	*œ*	= Fr. *-eur*	XVI	p. 95
63	*pɔmɔnik*	polmonique (XVI poumonique)		p. 211, no. 154
64	*pursɥi:r*	poursuivre	OFr.	p. 147, no. 9
65	Fr. whispered *r* unrepresented		XVI	p. 97, 7.
66	*rœtirɑ̃:s*	(retirance)	XVI	p. 213, no. 166
67	*sare*	saurai	XVI	p. 158, no. 8
68	*sa vu*	savez-vous	XVI	p. 132, 6.
69	*sejɔ̃*	sillon	XVI	p. 27, Spec. cases, no. 10
70	*sjo*	seau (cf. XVI *séo*)		p. 36, no. 12
71	*sy*	sur	XVI	p. 171, no. 35
72	*fœ*	chez	XVI	p. 172, no. 36
73	*t* (⌣)	= Fr. *tu as*	XVI	p. 116, 2.
74	*ti* = sign of interrogation		XVI	p. 133-4, Note
75	*u* = Fr. *o*: *aruze*	arroser	XVI	p. 47, list 35
76	*u·bliɑ̃:s*	(oubliance)		p. 213, under no. 166
77	*y*	= Fr. initial *eu* in names	XVI	p. 50, list 36
78	*vakabɔ̃*	vagabond	XVI	p. 84, 4. Spec. cas., no. 5, and foot-notes 3, 4
79	*vɛlimœ, vlimœ*	venimeux	XVI	p. 92, no. 15
80	*we* and *wɛ*	= Fr. *oi*	OFr. and XVI	p. 60 *et seq.*
81	*we*	= Fr. final *-oir*	XVI	p. 96, list 62

82	*wɛt*	ouate	XVI	p. 218, no. 189
83	*ʒval*	cheval	XVI	p. 81, list 52, no. 4
84	*ʒvø*	cheveux	XVI	p. 81, list 52, no. 8

From the above list it appears that the number of traits common to Carleton French and to the old or XVIth century French forming the basis of popular French is greater than that existing between the Acadian dialect and any other French dialect. Moreover the identity of the essential features of the phonology of XVIth century French and of those of the Carleton dialect is at once apparent. This can best be seen by a résumé such as was made in comparing the Carleton dialect French with the popular French spoken in and around Paris:

1°. ◡ = Fr. *e* before *r* + consonant (no. 2). 2°. *e* = Fr. *è* in *arje:r, fre:r, me:r, pe:r* (no. 25). 3°. *ɛ* prefixed in words like *ɛskəlɛt* (no. 27). 4°. *ɛs* = Fr. *ex-*: *ɛsky:z,* etc. (no. 28). 5°. Fr. so-called mute *e* unrepresented in words like *fmɛ̃, ʒval* (no. 31). 6°. *o* = Fr. *ou* in a number of words like *o·ʒordɥi* (no. 60). 7°. *ø* = Fr. final *-eur* (no. 62). 8°. *u* = Fr. *o* in many cases like *aruze, aruzwɛ:r* (no. 75). 9°. *y* = Fr. *eu* initial, especially in names and learned words (no. 77). 10°. *we* and *wɛ* = Fr. *oi* (no. 80). 11°. *we* = Fr. final *-oir* (no. 81). 12°. Assimilation in cases like *ɔstine* (no. 61). 13°. *f* pronounced in the plural of words like *øf*: sing. *øf,* plural *øf* (see p. 70, 5, 6). 14°. *g* = Fr. *k* (written usually *c*) in a number of words like *ganif* (no. 37). 15°. Fr. final whispered *l* unrepresented (no. 47). 16°. Fr. *l* mouillé completely palatalized (no. 48). 17°. *ɲ* = Fr. *ni* + vowel (no. 58). 18°. Fr. final whispered *r* unrepresented (no. 65). 19°. *bør, før, gør, kør, pør, pør, tør* = Fr. *bre, fre, gre, cre, pre, tre* (no. 18). 20°. *ʒ* = Fr. *ch* in cases like *ʒval, ʒvø* (nos. 83. 84).

For many other common traits consult the above list. The old French, or more especially that of the XVth and XVIth centuries, which by these lists has been shown to be the basis of popular Parisian French, as well as the principal factor of Carleton French, enters largely into the composition of the other French provincial dialects. In fact, about one half of the words given in the lists here presented, by actual count, bears testimony that they belong to XVIth century or to older French. Yet so large and so identical is the proportion of linguistic phenomena making up the sum total of popular Parisian French and of Carleton dialect French as clearly to lead to the conclusion that they are essentially one and the same speech. Such differences as may now exist, having sprung up since those early days, owe their origin: 1°. mainly to differences of environment, 2°. to influence of civilization. Many of them recorded, particularly in the phraseology and under Anglicisms, are thus to be explained.

It will now have been made plain how indispensable is comparison with the French of the XVth and XVIth centuries in order rightly to determine the constituent parts of the Acadian French dialect. Indeed, what Agnel has said of the rural speech about Paris, applies to-day no less aptly to this Acadian dialect: "Quoique le langage de nos campagnes aille toujours en se perdant, il est nécessaire de constater, qu'il existe encore dans son entier au milieu de certaines localités qui, soit

par leur position topographique, soit par la nature de leurs relations, se trouvent plus éloignées du mouvement progressif dont l'influence se fait journellement sentir. Cette langue ainsi parlée se conserve surtout dans les villages dont les habitants ont pour profession ordinaire les travaux des champs. . . . J'ai voulu constater l'état actuel du langage rustique des environs de Paris et montrer que ce langage qui semble si dur et si grossier à nos oreilles modernes, n'est autre que notre langue nationale des quinzième et seizième siècles, telle au reste, qu'on la retrouve dans les meilleurs écrivains de ces époques."[1] It only remains here to add that just as M. Agnel's object was to show the rural speech about Paris to be simply the old French which used to be spoken there, so here the object of this Study has been to prove that the Carleton dialect is essentially the same popular spoken French which is described in Beyer and Passy's *Elementarbuch* and the basis of which is nothing other than earlier Ile-de-France French, or, as has been seen in so many cases, Parisian French itself of the XVth and XVIth centuries.

[1] *Langage des environs de Paris*, pp. 4, 5.

Table of names and titles.

Académie, see *Dictionnaire de l'Académie.*
Acadia, 1, 2.
Acadia. Missing links of a lost chapter in American history, Richard, . . . 1.
Acadians, 1, 2, 3.
Acadians of Louisiana, Fortier, in *T. M. L. A. of America,* 199, 238.
Acadian French, 2; distinguished from Canadian French, linguistic traits, etc., 16, 23, 48, 49, 60, 74, 103, 115, 116, 263, 274.
Acadie, 1.
Acadiens, 4.
Acadiens, 2; de la Nouvelle Écosse, 256.
Adam, L., see *Patois lorrains.*
Agglutination de l'article, Rivard, in *BPFC.,* 179.
Agnel, Émile, see *Langage des environs de Paris.*
Aim and principles of the I. P. A., 7, 8.
a latin in *Grammaire des langues romanes,* Meyer-Lübke, 10.
Alexis poem, edition of G. Paris and L. Pannier, 38, 50, 52.
Allard, Mlle Elmina, 3, 175, 185, 200, 201, 210, 212, 218, 231, 244.
Altfranzösische Grammatik, Suchier: *Die betonten Vokale,* 133.
American French dialect comparison, Geddes, in *Modern language notes,* 87, 129, 189, 274.
American journal of philology, A. M. Elliott's articles on the *French language in Canada,* 1, 227, 255, 257, 275.
American notes and queries, Chamberlain, 221, 255.
Amyot, 163.
an et *en toniques,* Paul Meyer, 52.
Anciens Canadiens, de Gaspé, 193.
Anglicismes et Canadianismes, Buies, 227.
Antilles, 256.
Aquoddianke, 1.
Aquoddie, 1.
Araujo, F., *Recherches sur la phonétique espagnole,* in *Phonetische Studien,* 7, 103.
—, description of Spanish *j,* in *Phonetische Studien,* 7, 103.
Art de conjuguer, Bescherelle aîné, 140.
Auvergnats, pronunciation, 80.

Baie des Chaleurs, 2, 3.
Baie-du-Febvre, maple sugar industry, 183.
Barrachois de Carleton, 185.
Bartsch, Karl, *Chrestomathie,* 131, 158.
Bathurst, N. B., 3.
Behrens, D., *Unorganische Lautvertretung, etc.,* 155.
Belle Nivernaise, Daudet, 131.
Benjamin, S. C. W., *Acadian customs,* in *Century magazine,* 1884, 3.
Bérain (1675), 116.
Berri pronunciation, 22, 32, 36, 44, 46, 48, 69, 78, 96, 99, 102.
Bernardin de St Pierre, *Paul et Virginie,* 135.
Berry, pronunciation, 152, 263.
Bescherelle aîné, *L'art de conjuguer,* 140.
Beyer, Franz, see *Französische Phonetik.*
Beyer and Passy, see *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Französisch.*
Bèze, T. de, (1584), 53, 66, 102, 119.
Bibaud, M., see *Mémorial, etc.*
Bibl. Ec. des chartes, 208.
Blois pronunciations, 85, 87.
Bôcher, F., see *Petite Fadette.*
Bonaventure, 4; pronunciations, 37, 54, 55, 56, 94, 141, 144, 148, 177, 210, 211, 234, 253.
Bourciez, E., *Précis de phonétique française,* 43, 77.

Bourgeois gentilhomme, Molière, 160.
Bretagne, 2; family names 219.
Breul, Karl, and Sudre, Léopold, translators of Tobler's *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*, 96.
Bridel, D., *Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande*, 83.
Brunot, F., see *Grammaire historique*.
Buffet (1668), 92.
Buies, A., *Anglicismes et Canadianismes*, 227.
Bulletin du parler français au Canada, Adjutor Rivard, éditeur, Québec, depuis septembre 1902. Éditeur-dépositaire Honoré Champion, Paris. 16, 17, 20, 31, 45, 61, 64, 90, 91, 95, 118, 129, 141, 144, 145, 170, 175, 176, 177, etc. See Chartier, Jutras, Lacasse, Laflamme, Paradis, Potier, Rivard.
Burgundian forms, 85, 87.

Cadie, 1.
Canada 1.
Canadian French, linguistic traits, forms, pronunciation, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 75, 93, 94, 96, 97, 101, 103, 107, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139, 143, 144, 146, 161, 167, 172, 180, 202, etc.; 274.
Canadians, 1, 2.
Cape Breton island, 1.
Caribee Indians, dialect, 255.
Carleton, 3, 4; nasals, 56; family names, 219; Christian names, 220; dialect 278.
Caron, l'abbé N., see *Petit vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadiens français*.
Casgrain, l'abbé, H. R., *Un pelerinage au pays d'Évangeline*, 2, 204.
—, "à la pêche aux *moucles*", 205.
Cauvet, Alfred, *La prononciation française et la diction*, 11.
Center of France, pronunciations, 81, 85, 92, 95, 110, 145, 147, 158, 168, 266; influence, 263.
Century magazine, S. C. W. Benjamin's article on Acadian customs, 3.
Chabaneau, C., *Conjugaison française*, 158.
Chamberlain, A. F., *The Granby dialect*, in *Modern language notes*, 7, 16, 17, 34; *Words of Indian origin*, in *American notes and queries*, 221.
Chambure, E., see *Glossaire du Morvan*.
Champagne, pronunciations, 92.
Champlain, 1, 2.
Chanson de Roland, see *Extraits*. Müller edition, 118.
Charlevoix. 185.
Chartier, E., *Propriété de l'expression*, in *BPFC.*, 243.
Châteauroux, 38.
Châtre, environs de la, 144.
Cheticamp, C. B., linguistic features and pronunciations, 38, 40, 45, 49, 68, 75, 89, 101, 102, 129, 131, 136, 144, 145, 146, 147, 202, 212.
Chrestomathie, Bartsch, 131.
Chronicle, Jean Froissart, 21, 170.
Clapin, Sylva, see *Dictionnaire canadien français*.
Colonie féodale, Rameau de Saint-Père, 1, 2.
Comité du BPFC., 247, 256.
Comparison of two Acadian-French dialects, Geddes, in *M. L. N.*; see *American French dialect comparison*.
Congrès (XV^e^) International des Américanistes, à Québec, septembre, 1906, 207.
Conjugaison française, 158.
Contribution to the history of the French language in Canada, A. M. Elliot, in *American journal of philology*, 1.
Contribution to the study of the Franco-Canadian dialect, J. Squair, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; criticized by A. Rivard, 16, 68; 17, 19, 23, 24, 57, 60, 61, 62, 68, 76, 80, 97, 98, 103, 225, 243
Corblet, l'abbé, see *Glossaire du patois picard*.
Cotgrave, Randle, 98, 191, 206.
Création actuelle de mots nouveaux, etc., Darmesteter, 87, 198, 227.
Cuoq, J. A., *Lexique iroquois*, 255.

Darmesteter, A., *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux, etc.*, 87, 198, 227; *Réponse à M. Talbert: De la prononciation de la lettre U au XVI^e^ siècle*, 43, 50.
Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, see *Seizième siècle en France*.
Daudet, Alphonse, *La belle Nivernaise*, 131.
De Bèze (1584), see Bèze.
De francicae linguae recta pronuntiatione, De Bèze, 102.
De la Touche (1696), see La Touche.
Delbouille, A., 39, 94.
Delbrück, 224.
Deols, 38.
Detroit, 210.
Dialecte blaisois, Talbert, 14, 67, 75, 78, 82, 85, 87, 95, 108, 129, 131, 132, 144, 202.

Dialectes français dans le parler fr. can., Rivard, in *BPFC.*, 207.
Dickens, Charles, *Pickwick Papers*, 9.
Dictionnaire de l'Académie, 25, 90, 112, 191, 198.
Dictionnaire canadien-français, Clapin, 175, 180, 182, 184, 227, 241, etc.; 255, etc.
Dictionnaire de nos fautes, R. Rinfret, 68, 88, 182, 227, 241, etc.
Dictionnaire franco-normand, Métivier, 85.
Dictionnaire général de la langue française, Hatzfeld, Darmesteter et Thomas, *passim* thruout; 8, 15, 16, 42, 83, 125, 131, 132, 177, etc.
Dictionnaire de la langue des Cris, Lacombe, 259.
Dictionnaire des locutions vicieuses du Canada, J. A. Manseau, 21, 67, 68, 108, 168, 169, 170, 177; *ars* 179; 179, 182, etc.
Dictionnaire du patois Bas-Gâtinais, C. Puichaud, in *Revue de philologie française et provençale*, 184.
Dictionnaire du patois normand, H. Moisy, 31, 36, 50, 64, 67, 74, 78, 80, 81, 85, 92, 94, 96, 98, 99, 107, 108, 109, 116, 123, 125, 127, 131, 133, 146, 147, 160, 163, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 176, 177, 178, 180, etc.
Dictionnaire du patois poitevin, G. Lévrier, 39, 48.
Dictionnaire du patois saintongeais, P. Jônain, 21, 22, 28, 32, 35, 36, 39, 44, 46, 47, 48, 52, 61, 64, 67, 69, 70, 75, 77, 78, 80, 83, 88, 89, 96, 97, 98, 99, 102, 104, 107, 112, 115, 116, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 160, 164, 170, 171, 179, 180, 182, etc., 263.
Dictionnaire phonétique, Michaelis-Passy, 5, 12, 78, 165.
Dictionnaire wallon-français, Le Remacle, 201.
Dictionary of Trévoux, balier, 35.
Diez, F., Etymologies *passim* thruout; *Begünstigung des a*, 23; *ars*, 179; *aveindre*, 180, 182, etc.
De Monts, 1. 2.
Digby, N. S., 3.
Domergue (1805), 75.
Dominion of Canada, 1.
Don Juan, Molière, 84.
Dottin, Georges, see *Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine.*
Douchet (1762), 133.
Du Bois, L., augmenté par Travers, *Glossaire du patois normand*, 70, 187, 192.
Duez (1639), *oi* in *oignon*, 40.
Dunn, Oscar, see *Glossaire franco-canadien.*
Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch, Henry Sweet, 5.
Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Französisch, Beyer and Passy, 10, 13, 69, 70, 81, 89, 90, 91, 97, 102, 105, 106, 107, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 143, 144, 145, 157, 160, 259, 262; criticism by A. Rambeau in *Modern language notes*, 271; 273, 274, 279.
Elemente der Phonetik, W. Vietor, 15.
Elliott, A. Marshall, *Contribution to a history of the French language in Canada*, see *American journal of philology.*
English, 2, 3.
English conquest, 2.
Esquisse sur la Gaspésie, J. C. Langelier, 3.
Estienne, H. (1582), 18, 92, 224.
Étude sur les changements phonétiques, Paul Passy, 7, 10, 17, 18, 21, 22, 28, 33, 36, 38, 39, 41, 44, 49, 51, 52, 58, 59, 64, 66, 69, 72, 75, 78, 80, 81, 85, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 113, 121, 129, 145, 148, 158, 165, 179, 184, 192, 208, 210, 222, 223, 224, etc.
Évangéline, 3.
Éveillé, M. A., *Glossaire saintongeais*, 145.
Extraits de la Chanson de Roland, G. Paris, development of the French vowels from vulgar Latin, 10, 25, 28, 38, 46, 52, 70, 192.
Façons de parler des Canadiens au XVIII^e siècle, le père Potier, S. J., 180, 182, 203, 210, 212, 216, 238.
Falls of Montmorency, 15, 16, 51, 58, 60, 107, 114, 126, 127, 154, 196.
Fautes à corriger, Lusignan, 227, 232, 233, 235, 248.
Favre, Léopold, see *Glossaire du Poitou.*
Formenbau des französischen Verbums, Körting, 134.
Fortier, A., see *Acadians of Louisiana.*
Français et le provençal, H. Suchier, 58, 77, 93, 134.
France, 2; pronunciations, 24; north and south France, 274.
France aux colonies, Rameau de Saint-Père, 1, 2.
Francisation des mots anglais, Rivard, in *BPFC.*, 248.
Franco-Canadian, see Canadian French.
Französische Phonetik, Franz Beyer, 8, 9, 10, 32, 59.

Französische Studien, Behrens' *Unorganische Lautvertretung*, 155; Goehrlich, *Die südwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl*, 263.
Fréchette, Louis, *Sainte Anne d'Auray et ses environs*, in *Mémoires de la Société royale*, 1; makes use of the word *nagan* in his poetry, 257.
French, 2, 3.
French and English dictionary, Spiers and Surenne, 12.
French provinces, 1.
Froissart, Jean, *Chronicle*, 21, 170, 176.

Gaspé, 211.
Gaspé de, P.-A., *Les anciens Canadiens*, 193, 205.
Gaspésie, 3.
Gaudy et Lefort, *Glossaire genevois*, 83.
Geddes, J., *A universal alphabet*, in *Die neueren Sprachen*, 7; *American French dialect comparison*, in *M. L. N.*, 87, 129, 189, 226; criticism on literary output of Canadian-French, in Karl Vollmöller's *Jahresbericht*, 175.
Geneva dialect, 83; pronunciations, 263, 264.
George Sand, see *Petite Fadette*.
Gerbié, F., *Les Acadiens*, in *Soirées canadiennes*, 2.
German, words of German origin, 103; German *ch* in *ich*, 103.
German and English sounds, C. H. Grandgent, 28.
Gingras, J. F., *Manuel des expressions vicieuses*, 20, 28.
Glossaire du Centre de la France, le comte Jaubert, 9, 19, 21, 22, 24, 28, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 58, 60, 61, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 101, 103, 107, 112, 115, 116, 117, 131, 135, 144, 145, 146, 147, 156, 158, 160, 163, 166, 167, 171, 172, 177, 178, 179, 180, etc.
Glossaire franco-canadien, Oscar Dunn, 17, 50, 75, 78, 83, 92, 93, 101, 108, 144, 163, 164, 168, 171, 173, 176, 177; *ars* 179; 180, 182, etc.
Glossaire genevois, Gaudy et Lefort, 83.
Glossaire de la langue romane, J. B. B. Roquefort, 60, 66, 85, 97.
Glossaire du Morvan, Chambure, 64, 83, 86, 184.
Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine, Dottin, 82, 83, 87, 89, 91, 93, 180.
Glossaire patois du département d'Ille et Vilaine, A. Orain, 93.
Glossaire du patois normand, Du Bois, augmenté par Travers, 70, 187, 192, 195, 218, 230.
Glossaire du patois picard, l'abbé Corblet, 21, 36, 85, 91, 147, 165, 194, 196, 197, etc.
Glossaire du patois de la Suisse romande, D. Bridel, 83.
Glossaire du Poitou, L. Favre, 16, 19, 69, 75, 110, 131, 145, 158, 163, 166, 202, 204.
Glossaire saintongeais, Éveillé, 145, 160, 171.
Glossaire de la vallée d'Yères, A. Delbouille, 94.
Godefroy, *coulte* 38; *cataplamer*, 78; *nic*, 85; *gars*, 99; *longis*, 112; *assire*, 144; *porsuir*, 147; *ensement*, 166; *quant et*, 171; *amieler*, 178; *ars*, 179; *aplommer*, 180, 182, etc.
Goehrlich, E., *Die südwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl*, in *Französische Studien*, 263.
Grammaire française et les grammairiens au XVI^e siècle, Ch. L. Livet, 25.
Grammaire historique de la langue française, F. Brunot, 98, 99, 193, 202.
Grammaire des langues romanes, Meyer-Lübke, 10.
Grammatik des Altfranzösischen, Eduard Schwan, 44, 82, 122, 146; Schwan-Behrens, 6th edition, 8, 48, 77, 146, 226.
Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, G. Gröber, Suchier's *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache*, 58, 77, 93, 134.
Granby dialect, 7, 16, 17, 34.
Grandgagnage, *Dictionnaire de la langue wallone*, 81.
Grandgent, C. H., *German and English sounds*, 28; *Short French grammar*, 250.
Great Britain, 2.
Gröber, Gustav, see *Grundriss*; *Zeitschrift*.
Grundzüge der Phonetik, Eduard Sievers, 64, 141.
Guerlin de Guer, Charles, *Introduction à l'étude des parlers normands*, 69, 77; *Le parler populaire dans la commune de Thaon* (Calvados), 89, 93, 213.
Guernsey, 208.
Guiana, 258.
Gulf of Mexico, 256.

Hamilton et Legros, *Dictionnaire français-anglais*, 12.
Hatzfeld, Darmesteter et Thomas, see *Dictionnaire général de la langue française*.
Havet, L., L. *d* = OFr. *r* thru the medium of *ð*, 98.
Henry, V., notes the pronunciation *mi/ɛl əstrɔgɔf*, 64.

Hiatus dans notre langage populaire, Rivard, in *BPFC.*, 148.
Hildreth, Richard, *History of the United States,* 1. 2.
Hindret (1687), 90, 93, 102, 119.
Histoire du Canada, etc., E. Réveillaud, 181.
Histoire de l'idiome bourguignon, Mignard, 194.
Histoire de la Nouvelle-France, Lescarbot, 256.
History of the United States, Hildreth, 1, 2.

Ile-de-France French, 262, 266, 278.
Industrie du sucre d'érable à la Baie-du-Febvre, Jutras, 183.
Indians, 2.
International French-English and English-French dictionary, 237.
International Phonetic Association, 7.
Introduction à l'étude des parlers normands, Charles Guerlin de Guer, 69, 77, 89, 93.
Introduction to phonetics, L. Soames, 13, 32.

Jal, Auguste, origin of *flat,* 22.
Jaubert, M. le comte, see *Glossaire du Centre de la France.*
Jenkins, T. Atkinson, Professor, the preterit in French, 131.
Jônain, P., see *Dictionnaire du patois saintongeais.*
Joret, Ch., *Un signe d'interrogation,* 118; *non', on,* 119.
Joslin, Al., letter to M. Rivard, 185.
Jutras, V. P., see *Lexicologie, etc.*

Körting, G., *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch,* 1., 2., 3. Aufl. Etymologies *passim* thruout. — *Formenbau des französischen Verbums,* 134.
Kurze Darstellung des französischen Lautsystems, Paul Passy, in *Phonetische Studien,* 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 31, 58, 59, 182.

Lacasse, Z., 259.
Laflamme, C., *quatre-temps,* 199.
Lacombe, A., *Dictionnaire de la langue des Cris,* 259.
Lacurne de Sainte-Palaye, 170.
Langage commercial, P. J. Paradis, in *BPFC.*, 199.
Langage des environs de Paris, Émile Agnel, 9, 21, 24, 32, 36, 37, 38, 40, 51, 52, 61, 64, 66, 67, 78, 82, 84, 87, 90, 92, 93, 97, 101, 107, 111, 116, 117, 123, 126, 130, 132, 142, 145, 148, 151, 161, 170, 172, 193, 221, 262, 271, 274, 275, 278.
Langage populaire de Paris, Charles Nisard, 15, 18, 23, 32, 35, 36, 45, 48, 51, 52, 54, 56, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72, 78, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 90, 92, 95, 97, 100, 110, 116, 126, 127, 132, 147, 172, 193, 263, 271, 274, 275.
Langelier, J. C., *Esquisse sur la Gaspésie,* 3.
La langue acadienne, Pascal Poirier, in *Soirées canadiennes,* 39, 48, 116, 193.
La langue française au Canada, N. Legendre, 16, 17, 31, 40, 44, 51, 52, 59, 80, 88, 103, 107, 114, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 126, 127, 129, 135, 138, 141, 146, 154, 160, 161, 175, 184, 193, 197, 202, 207, 210, 211, 259.
langue d'oc, 1, 78.
La langue française en Canada, B. Sulte, 1.
La langue que nous parlons, N. Legendre, 12.
langue d'oïl, 1.
Lanvue (1696), *cheureuil,* 45.
Larive et Fleury, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique,* see Petit Larive et Fleury.
La Rochelle (St Grégoire de Nicolet), 59.
Larousse, 216.
Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch, Körting, Etymologies *passim* thruout.
La Touche, de, (1696), *creion,* 35; *fléau,* 39.
Legendre, Napoléon, see *La langue française au Canada* and *La langue que nous parlons.*
Le Remacle, L., *Dictionnaire wallon-français,* 201.
Lesaint, M. A., see *Prononciation française.*
Lescarbot, 1, 2, 256.
Lévrier, G., *Dictionnaire du patois poitevin,* 39, 48.
Lexicologie franco-canadienne de la vieille grange, V. P. Jutras, in *BPFC.*, 184.
Lexique canadien-français de la SPFC., 179, 180.
Littré, É., *Dictionnaire de la langue française,* etymologies *passim* thruout; 11, 13, 14, 21, 22, 38, 39, 47, 60, 83, 85, 99, 101, 102, 112; *quérir,* 146; *à la main,* 170; *à la grosse,* 176; *main,* 176; *attise,* 180; *aveindre,* 180; 182, 183, etc.
Livet, Ch. L., see *Grammaire française, etc.*
Logie, T., *Patois of Cachy,* 83.
Lionais, Louis, 257.
Logeman, W. S., *Remarks on Paul Passy's French phonetics,* in *Phonetische Studien,* 14, 58; (the references apply to both Passy's and Logeman's statements on pp. 170-172 of *Phonetische Studien,* Bd. I, 1888).

Longfellow, H. W., *Evangeline*, 3.
Lorraine, pronunciation, 263.
Lower Canada, 1.
Lusignan, A., 227; see *Fautes à corriger*.

Maguasha, 4.
Maine, canneberge du Maine, U. S. A., 258.
Maine, French province, pronunciation, 152.
Malade imaginaire, Molière, 56.
Manseau, J. A., *Dictionnaire des locutions vicieuses du Canada*, 21, 67, 68, 108.
Manuel des expressions vicieuses, J. F. Gingras, 20, 28.
Manuel de la parole, A. Rivard, 42, 52.
Marceau, E., *Notre prononciation*, in *Soirées canadiennes*, 14.
Maria, 4; family names, 219.
Maritime provinces, Sweetzer, 1, 3.
Martin (1632), 92.
Martin, S., 210.
Massachusetts Indian "sagamore", 259.
Matzke, J. E., *Mouilliertes l*, in *Modern language publications*, 83.
Mémoires de la Société de linguistique, Paul Meyer, *an* et *en*, 52.
Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société royale du Canada, L. Fréchette, *Sainte Anne d'Auray et ses environs*, 1; N. Legendre, *La langue que nous parlons*, 12; *La langue française au Canada*, 119.
Mémorial, etc., Bibaud, 227, 255, 256, 257.
Ménage (1672), 60, 75, 206, 211.
Métivier, *Dictionnaire franco-normand*, 85.
Meyer, Paul, *an* et *en*, in *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique*, 52, 53.
Meyer-Lübke, L. *a*, in *Grammaire des langues romanes*, 10.
Michaelis-Passy, *Dictionnaire phonétique*, 5, 12, 78.
Michel Strogof, popular pronunciation, 64.
Mignard, P., *Histoire de l'idiome bourguignon, etc.*, 194.
Miramichi, 2.
Modern language notes, Granby dialect, A. F. Chamberlain, 7, 16, 17, 34; *Dialect comparison*, Geddes, 87, 129, 189, 226; *Elementarbuch*, Rambeau, 271.
Modern language publications, or *transactions*. Since 1888 known as *Publications*; before that, and from 1884 when vol. 1 appeared, as *Transactions*. See Fortier, Logie, Matzke, Sheldon.
Moisy, H., see *Dictionnaire du patois normand*.
Molière, *Malade imaginaire*, 56; *Don Juan*, 84; *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, 160.
Monet, le père Philibert (1635), 206.
Monet, P., *Le français et le provençal*, translation of Suchier's article in Gröber's *Grundriss*, 58, 77, 93, 134.
Montaigne, 163, 171.
Montesson, Royer de, see *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine*.
Montmorency Falls, see Falls of Montmorency.
Mouilliertes l, J. L. Matzke, in *Modern language publications*, 83.
Murray, J. A. H., see *New English dictionary*.

Neueren Sprachen, A universal alphabet, Geddes, 7.
New English dictionary, J. A. H. Murray, 188, 199.
Nisard, Charles, see *Langage populaire de Paris*.
Noms populaires de quelques plantes canadiennes, C. Laflamme, in *BPFC.*, 199.
Norman Conquest, 52.
Normandy, 3; pronunciations, 60, 81, 92, 118, 119, 152, 158, 168, 173, 265; family names, 219; influence, 263.
Notre langage commercial, P. J. Paradis, in *BPFC.*, 199, 206, 230, 233, 249.
Notre prononciation, E. Marceau, in *Soirées canadiennes*, 14.
Nouvelle, family names, 219.
Nouvelle-France, 1.
Nova Scotia, 1.
Nyrop, 224.

Orain, A., *Glossaire patois du département d'Ille et Vilaine*, 93.
Oudin (1633), 94.

Palsgrave (1531), 14, 31, 47, 53, 58, 66, 73, 90, 102, 131.
Paradis, P. J., see *Langage commercial*.
Paris pronunciations, 18, 27, 58, 60, 64, 81, 87, 91, 92, 93, 102.
Paris suburbs, furnish colonists to Canada, 2; pronunciations, 18, 23, 58, 64, 95, 131; comments on the French in and about Paris, 262, 263, 271, 274, 275, 278.
Paris, Gaston, 10; observations on the nasal in Fr. *femme*, 22; *o fermé*, 22, 43, 52; old Fr. diphthong *ie*, 25; accented *è*, 28; *ǫ* and *ǫ*,

38; unaccented open *o*, 46; *ö*, 50; *rondicare*, 55; *escouer*, 64; old French declension, 70; old Fr. *mire*, L. *medicum*, 98; *t* in *a-t-il*, 118; weak forms of pronouns, 122; *t* in *voila-t-il*, etc., 134; *sur*, 171; *fastigium*, 195.

Parkman, Francis, *Pioneers of France*, 1, 2.

Parler populaire dans la commune de Thaon (Calvados), Guerlin de Guer, 89, 93, 213.

Pashébiac, pronunciations, 64, 94, 113, 154.

Passy, Paul, see *Etude sur les changements phonétiques*; *Phonetische Studien*; *Sons du français*.

Patois of Cachy, Logie, 83.

Patois lorrains, Adam, 201.

Patois picard, l'abbé Corblet, 21, 85.

Patois de Saint-Genis-les-Ollières, E. Philipon, in Clédat's *Revue des patois*, 18.

Paul et Virginie, Bernardin de St Pierre, 135.

Pèlerinage au pays d'Evangeline, l'abbé Casgrain, 2, 204.

Péletier (1549), 118.

Perrault, J. F., *Questions et réponses sur le droit criminel*, 250.

Petite Fadette, rural terms commented upon by F. Bôcher, 19, 148, 163, 182, 185, 193, 194.

Petit Larive et Fleury, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique*, 180.

Petit vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadiens français, Caron, 177, 182, 183, etc.

Philipon, E., *Patois de Saint-Genis-les-Ollières*, in Léon Clédat's *Revue des patois*, 18.

Phonetics and reform method, Rambeau, in *Modern language notes*, 271.

Phonétique française, an et en toniques, Paul Meyer, 52; E. Bourciez, 43, 77.

Phonetische Studien, Kurze Darstellung des französischen Lautsystems, Paul Passy, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 31, 58, 59, 182; Araujo, description of Spanish *j*, 7, 103.

Picardy, pronunciations, 60, 81; influence, 263, 264.

Pickwick Papers, Dickens, 69.

Pioneers of France, F. Parkman, 1, 2.

Poitou, pronunciation, 263.

Poirier, Pascal, *La langue acadienne*, 1, 39, 48.

Pontgravé, 1.

Port Daniel forms, 89, 92, 94, 234.

Port Royal, 1, 2.

Portuguese, confusion of the prefixes *per* and *pre*, 93.

Potier, le père, S. J., see *Façons de parler*.

Poutrincourt, 1, 2.

Primer of phonetics, Henry Sweet, 6, 7, 23, 29, 41, 49.

Prince Edward's Island, 1.

Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, 1888; J. Squair's *Contribution*, etc., 17, 19.

Prononciation, Marceau, see *Notre prononciation*.

Prononciation française, M. A. Lesaint, 12, 36, 66, 67, 73, 76, 78, 82, 164.

Prononciation française du XVI^e^ siècle, Charles Thurot, 14, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 102, 106, 111, 116, 117, 118, 119, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 145, 146, 166, 172, 179, 193, 198, 205, 206, 211, 218, 222, 223, etc.

Prononciation française et la diction, Alfred Cauvet, 11.

Puichaud, C., *Dictionnaire du patois Bas-Gâtinais*, in *Revue de philologie française et provençale*, 184.

Propriété de l'expression, E. Chartier, in *BPFC.*, 243.

Publications of the Modern language association, see *Modern language publications*.

Quebec, city, 1; province, 3, 275; linguistic traits, forms, pronunciations, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 48, 51, 52, 57, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 74, 76, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 100, 106, 107, 109, 113, 117, 119, 120, 121, 123, 128, 148, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 164, 169, 170, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 185, etc.

Quelques mots sauvages, Z. Lacasse, 259.

Questions et réponses sur le droit criminel, Perrault, 250.

Rabiet, E., French translation of Meyer-Lübke's *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, 10.

Rambeau, A., *Phonetics and reform method*, articles I and II; Passy-Beyer, *Elementarbuch* III, in *Modern language notes*, 271.

Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une colonie féodale*, 1, 2; *La France aux colonies*, 1, 2.

Raynouard, *Lexique*, 144.

Recensement du Canada de 1871, 2.

Recherches sur la phonétique espagnole, F. Araujo, in *Phonetische Studien*, 7, 103.

Reliques scientifiques, vol. II, Darmesteter's reply to Talbert, 43, 50.

Remarks on Paul Passy's French phonetics, Logeman, 14, 58.

Réveillaud, E., see *Histoire du Canada, etc.*

Revue des patois, see Philipon.

Revue de philologie française et provençale, 184.

Richard, Edward, see *Acadia. Missing links, etc.*

Richelet (1680), *arignée*, 35; *cataplâme*, 78; *anicle*, 100; *n + i*, 102; *cafetière*, 198; *mortaise*, 205.

Rimouski, 185.

Rinfret, Raoul, see *Dictionnaire de nos fautes contre la langue française.*

Rivard, Adjutor, 16, 33, 40, 42, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 68, 75, 80, 81, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 101, 107, 108, 109, 113, 115, 118, 121, 127, 132, 133, 134, 135, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 164, 172, 173; *Manuel de la parole*, 175, 176, 178, 179; *ars*, 179; *awɛr ɑ̃ but*, 181, etc.

Roland chanson, see *Extraits*; Müller ed., 118.

Romania, I, G. Paris, *fastigium*, 195; V, Darmesteter's reply to Talbert's *U au XVI^e siècle*, 43, 50; VI, G. Paris, old Fr. *mire*, L. *medicum*, 98; interrogation, *t* in *a-t-il*, 118; *voilà-t-il*, etc., 134; VII, *Id.*, the nasals, 52; VIII, Joret, Norman *non', on*, 119; X, G. Paris, *phonétique d'un patois roman*, 8; the nasals, 52, 53; **rondicare*, 55; *escouer*, 64; *sur*, 171.

Roquefort, J. B. B., *Glossaire de la langue romane*, 60, 66, 85, 97, 164, 166; *quant et eux*, 171, 182, etc.

Rousselot, l'abbé, 54.

Royer de Montesson, *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine*, 64, 86, 94.

Rustebuef, 193.

Sagard, G., *Vocabulaire de la langue huronne*, 259.

Sand, George, see *Petite Fadette.*

Sainte-Anne d'Auray et ses environs, L. Fréchette, in *Mémoires de la Société royale*, 1.

Sainte-Anne de Beaupré, see *Contribution to the study of the Franco-Canadian dialect.*

Saint Lawrence river and gulf, 1, 3.

Saint Liens (1580), 111.

Saintonge, 1; pronunciations, 40, 47, 82, 83, 95, 98, 104, 116, 152, 158, 164, 169, 170, 171; influence, 263.

Sam Weller, 69.

Sarcelles, 54.

Schwan, Eduard, etymologies *passim* thruout; see *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen.*

Schwan-Behrens, see *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen.*

Seizième siècle en France, Darmesteter et Hatzfeld, 18, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 38, 43, 53, 73, 77, 108, 131, 163, 274.

Shediak, N. B., 3.

Sheldon, E. S., 192; see *Specimens of a Canadian-French dialect.*

Short French Grammar, Grandgent, 250.

Sievers, E., *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, 64, 141.

Signe d'interrogation, Joret, in *Romania*, 118; *non', on, ibidem*, 119.

Simard, Alexandre, native of Rimouski, 185.

Sixteenth century French, see *Seizième siècle en France*, 274; forms grouped together, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279.

Soames, Laura, *Introduction to the study of phonetics*, 13, 32.

Soirées canadiennes, Pascal Poirier, *La langue acadienne*, 1, 39, 48, 116, 130, 193; F. Gerbié, *Les Acadiens*, 2; E. Marceau, *Notre prononciation*, 14.

Sons du français, 3^e, 4^e, 5^e, 6^e éd., Paul Passy, 6, 7, 10, 14, 15, 24, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 41, 42, 67, 79, 81, 85, 89, 90, 91, 101, 106, 115, 121, 122.

Spanish *j*, 103.

Specimens of a Canadian-French dialect spoken in Maine, Sheldon, 7, 8, 48, 57, 75, 80, 84, 87, 103, 104, 106, 178.

Specimens of Old French, Paget Toynbee, 21, 193.

Speech mixture in Canada, Elliott, *Am. journal of philology*, 227.

Squair, J., see *Contribution to the study of the Franco-Canadian dialect.*

St Malo, 1.

St Pierre, Île d'Orléans, 55.

Spiers and Surenne, *French and English dictionary*, 12.

Stuart, Charles, 4.

Suchier, H., *Le français et le provençal*, 58, 77, 93; *Altfranzösische Grammatik: Die betonten Vokale*, 133.

Sudre, Léopold, see Breul.

Südwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl, Goerlich, in *Französische Studien*, 263.
Sully (XVII siècle), 208.
Sulte, Benjamin, *La langue française*, 1.
Sweet, Henry, *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch*, 5; *Primer of phonetics*, 6, 7, 23, 29, 41, 49.
Sweezer, M. F., *Maritime provinces*, 1, 3.

Talbert, F., *U au XVI^e siècle*, 43, 50; *Du dialecte blaisois*, 14, 67, 75, 78, 82, 85, 87, 95, 108, 129, 131, 132, 144, 202.
Tardivel, J. P., 227.
Thurot, Charles, see *Prononciation française*.
Tobler, A., *Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit*, 25, 96, 146; reprint of De Beze's *De francicae linguae recta pronuntiatione*, 102.
Toynbee, Paget, *Specimens of Old French*, 21, 193.
Tracadie, 3.
Tracadiegash, 3.
Tracadiegetche, 4.
Traduction française de la Grammaire de Meyer-Lübke, par Rabiet, 10.
Traité de la formation de la langue française, (H., D., T.) 42.
Transactions of the Modern language association, see *Modern language publications*.
Tremblay, Mlle, native de Charlevoix, 185.
Trieste German, 36.
Tulluk-cadie, 3.

U au XVI^e siècle, F. Talbert, 43, 50.
Uniform international dictionary, 237.
Universal alphabet, Geddes, in *Neueren Sprachen*, 7.
Unorganische Lautvertretung, etc., D. Behrens, 155.
Utrecht treaty, 2.

Van der Aa (1622), 119.
Vaugelas (1647), 61, 81, 84.
Vie de saint Alexis, Paris-Pannier edition, 38, 50, 52.
Vietor, W., *Elemente der Phonetik*, 15.
Vieille grange, Jutras, in *BPFC.*, 200.
Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine, Royer de Montesson, 64, 86, 94.
Vocabulaire de la langue huronne, Sagard, 259.
Vocabulaire à l'usage des Canadiens français, Caron, see *Petit vocabulaire, etc.*
Voltaire, 59.
Vom französischen Versbau alter und neuer Zeit, A. Tobler, 25, 96.

Waterville, Maine, dialect, see *Specimens of a Canadian-French dialect*.
West Indies, 256.

Zaïre, 59.
Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Gröber; articles *f*, II, 70; X, 70; *itel*, XIII, 192.

Word index.

The order of the phonetic alphabet is as follows: *a ɑ̃ ã æ æ̃ ɛ̃ b d e ɛ ɛ̃ ə f g ʃ h x i ɪ k c l m n ɲ ŋ o ɔ ʌ ɔ̃ ø ɤ œ œ̃ p r s ʃ t u ʊ y ʏ w j z ʒ ɥ*; *ː* = long; *ˑ* = half as long as *ː*

abese (rather than *abese*) 74
aˑmɛn 100
avɛk 126, 169

ᵕ Fr. â 271, 274
ᵕ Fr. ah 165, 174
ᵕ*b* 95, 271, 275
ᵕː*b* 66
ᵕ*br* 95, 271, 275
ᵕː*br* 66
ᵕː*l* E. haul 237
ᵕː*l ɔbɔr(d)* 228
ᵕː*l raʊt* 229
ᵕː*n* 220, 224
ᵕ*pørmɛ̃* 94
ᵕː*r* Fr. art 13
ᵕː*r* Fr. hart 15, 106, 249
-ᵕ*sjɛ̃* Fr. -ation 12
ᵕː*t* Fr. hâte 162
ᵕ*jɔ̃* Fr. haillon 12
ᵕː*z* 186

a Fr. à 169, 175, 214, 253, 269, *passim*
a Fr. elle 21, 22, 63, 90, 91; 115, 116, 266, 269, 272, 275, *passim*
-aːb 16
abɑ̃ːdɛ̃ 55
abe 24
abese (read *abese*) 74
abi 71, 106
abit, abɪt 116
abije 149
abijmɛ̃ 107, 108
abɔrʒe 94
abɪrʒe 27, 28, 94
a brᵕːs koːr 188, 265
a bras koːr 78, 175
a brysk pwal (*pwɛl*) 50, 85, 176
a bʊt 183
abwɛt 190, 212
-aːd 16
ade (not *ade* 224) 220, 221, 224
adɔf 220, 221
adrwɛt 73, 112
advarsite 19
afɛ̃ kə 172
afeˑbliːr 26
afɛbli Fr. affaiblir 129
afɛːr 124, 128, *passim*
afɔrmiːr 43
afʲyze 176
agle 220, 224
a grɑ̃ marʃe 169
agrɛ̃ 20, 88, 269
agrejɛ̃ 88, 176
agrejɛ̃ 88
ai Fr. hais 136
aide Fr. aider 226
aiːr 102
-ak 16
akajɛ̃ 88
akajɛn 88
akoːr 17, 37
a kote də 169
a koːz də 169
a koːz kə 172, 178, 215
akɔrdjɔ̃ 140, 228
akɔt Fr. accote 195
akørte 93
akrɔʃe 205
akrɔʃɯe 96
akte 17, 228
a ku 169
akyle 22
al Fr. elle 21, 22, 109, 112, 115, 116, 120, 266, 269, 272, 275, *passim*
al (*c i*) Fr. qu'il aille 267
-al 16
alᵕːr (family name) 219
a la groːs 176
a la mɛ̃ 170
a la mɛ̃ (*mɛ̃*) 176
a la rəvy 170, 176
alart 18
a la rvwɛjyːr 176
a l avᵊ(ə)mir (*iːr*) 165
a l ɑ̃ˑtuːr də 169
alɛ̃ (family name) 219
ale conjugated, etc. 134, 135
a l egᵕːr də 169
alɛk 220, 221, 242
alɛne 100
alɛn 102
alɛːʒ 231
alɛ̃ 17, 58
alfabɛt 74
alimɛ̃ 90
alimo 90, 91, 92, 100, 214
almufiʃ 259
aloːr 37, 163
alɔ̃ 174
alpakᵕ 107, 108, 254, 255

alymɛl 20, 176, 267, 275
alymɛt 207
aljœːr 166
amɔːr 13, 247
amɔːre 60, 177, 247, 249, 265
amak 254, 255
amarinad 177
a madɑ̃ for Fr. ce matin 170, 233, 236
a matɛ̃ for Fr. ce matin 148, 163, 170, 195, 226, 267, 269, *passim*
amɑ̃ːfe 177
amɑ̃ːfyːr 177
americɛ̃ 86
amɔne 127
amice 86, 267
amlɛt 21, 23, 272, 276
amɔ̃ 169, 170
amne 138; conjugated, etc. 139
amny 100
amɔ̃ 195
amurə 178
amyːz 127
amyzɔːr 20, 178
amyzard 178
amyze 21
a mwɛ̃ kə 172
amjɛle 178, 276
an 107, 119
ane Fr. année 211, 230
ane E. Annie 224, 228
anɛgdɔt 82
animo 100, 110, 272 *passim*
anɪ 220, 224, 228
apɪɛs 204
apɪo 101
apɪɔ̃ 23, 40
ao Fr. août 20
apɔ 9
a pɔːr də 169, 170
apɔtiːr (rather than *apɔtiːr*) 20
apanak 259
aparsəwɛːr 19, 68
aparsy 119
aparswa (not *aparswa*) 59
apɛl 116
a pik 210
apiti 35, 220, 225
aple 138
aplɔ̃ːb 180, 265
apola 259
apɔrt 245
apɔrte 208, 250
apɔstɔl 9
apɔl Fr. appel 67
apɔl Fr. (il) appelle 116, 125
apɔl Fr. épelle 207
aprɛ̃ Fr. apprend 222
aprɛ̃ːd 56
aprɛ 136, 169, 194, 235, *passim*
aprɛ (cf. Fr. après à) 178, 199, 226, 242
aprɛ midi 233
apriwɛze 62, 68
aps 67, 68, 178
apsɛ̃ 65, 67, 272
apsɛ̃ːs 17, 56
apsɛ̃ːt Fr. absinthe 67
apsɔlymɛ̃ 67, 158, 272
apsɔlysjɑ̃ (not *apsɔlusjɑ̃*) 67
apstəniːr 67
apstinɛ̃ːs 67
apsuːd 67; forms 150
apsude 67
apsudɔ̃ 67
a py prɛ 51, 168
apwɛ̃ːte kɛcɑ̃ 229
a ra tɛːr 212
araːb 19
arafe 50
arafre 194
arɑ̃ːxe 103, 203, 230, 250, *passim*
arɑ̃ːʒ Fr. arrange 23, 119
arb Fr. herbe 18, 171
arbaːʒ 19, 66
arɛ̃ Fr. hareng 56, 222
are Fr. aurai 223, 272, 276
arɛ Fr. aurait 246
arɛraːʒ 31
arɛf 80
arɛte fə nu 172
arɛːj Fr. oreille 23, 240
arɛːje 23, 109
a rəburːdə 169, 170, 265
arəmiːz 20, 179
arərjɛ̃ 20
argo 19
aridɛl 20, 21
arimaʒ 21
arime 21
arine 109
arive 17, 21, 34, 136, 162, 217, 240, 241, *passim*
arije 23, 216
arkaʒu 207, 221, 272
arkɑ̃ːsjɛl 107, 108
armanak 85, 97, 272
armitik 35
armɔnjɔm 107
arɔ̃ːdziːr 81
armwɛːr 17, 61
arnɛst 220, 221
arnwa 59, 193
aroːzwe 97
arɔzwe 96
arə 19
arə(r) 223
arpɛ̃ 114
ars 18, 165, 179
arse 19
arsəno (family name) 219
arfɑ̃ːbo (rather than *arfɑ̃ːbo*) 221
arfilɔk 221
arfimɛːd 221
arfil (*il*) 220, 221
arfil 207
artɪs 34, 35, 69, 78
artyːr 221
aruze 47, 277, 278
aruzwɛːr 47, 278
ary(r) Fr. erreur 19
arjeːr (not *arieːr*, 200) 17, 25, 189, 200, 272, 276, 278, *passim*
arjeraːʒ 31
arʒɛ̃ 17, 56, 108, 233
asawɛːr 20, 155, 170, 264, 267, 269, 272, 276
asɑ̃ːble 113
ase 24, 165, 228, 243
asej Fr. essai 21, 22
asej Fr. (il) essaie 194
asinab 259
asiːr conjugated, etc. 144, 145; 264, 269, 272, 276
asp 68
asparʒ 17, 18
astinɔsjɑ̃ 66
astine 66
a st oːr 122
a stəːr 170, 272
astoːr 163, 214, 242, 265, 267, 276
asyːr 177, 197, *passim*
a swɛːr 170, 244, 245
afɔ 9

afal 125
afale 179
afigan 259
afte 114, 176
aftr 95
aftrɔ̃ 118
afty:r 204
atɑ̃:d 248
atɑ̃:d sez aplɔ̃:b 180, 265
atɛ̃:t 56
atɔkᵕ 255
atrap 20
a trap 170
atrape 109, 167, 191, 210, *passim*
a tu bʊt t fɑ̃ 168
a tu d rɛs 172
au Fr. août 20, 264, 267, 269, 276
arᵕ:r 13
aval (not *a:val*) 17
avard 71, 72
avars 18
avarti 116
avartɪsmɛ̃ 19
avɑ̃ 169, 242
avɑ̃ kə 173
avɑ̃:z jɛ:r 147, 163, 173
avɛ̃ 56
avɛ̃ kə 173
avɛ 169
avɛk 123, 169, 170, 204, *passim*
avɪs 20, 34, 76
(*aṽnɑ̃*) 100
avɔkᵕ 9
avo:g 42
a vu Fr. avez-vous 109, 113, 179, 236, 272, 276, *passim*
awɛ̃:d 180
awɛn 32, 61, 68, 249, 272, 276
awɛ:r 50, 61, 68, 129; conjugated 130, 131, 132
awɛ:r kək fo:z etc. 181
awɛ:r ɑ̃ bʊt a ɛ:t sy l mɔ̃:d 181
awɛ:r rak 244
aji Fr. (je) hais 266, 272; 276
aji:r conjugated 145; 272
ajø Fr. adieu 88
ajys 220, 223
azᵕ:r 79
-a:ʒ 16
aʒɛ̃ 17
aʒɛt 81, 116
aʒəte 276
aʒi 116
aʒøt Fr. achète 116, 234, 239
aʒte 108, 126, 139, 229, 233, 239, 244, *passim*
aʒve Fr. achevé 65, 81, 226

ɑ̃ 169
ɑ̃·barde 181, 182
ɑ̃·barke 182
ɑ̃·barce 248
ɑ̃·bɛlzi:r 144
ɑ̃·barᵕ 9
ɑ̃·do:r 212
ɑ̃·drwɛt 73
ɑ̃·farze 19, 182, 276
ɑ̃·flᵕme 12
ɑ̃·flame 22
ɑ̃·fle 210
ɑ̃.førme 43
ɑ̃·gaxe Fr. engager 103
ɑ̃·gaxe Fr. engagés 182
ɑ̃·gla 16
ɑ̃·gorne Fr. engrener 93
ɑ̃·xɛ̃ Fr. engin 103
ɑ̃ kᵕ 213
ɑ̃ kᵕ kə 173
ɑ̃·klym 84
ɑ̃·ko:r 158, 163, 178, *passim*
ɑ̃·kɔɲy:r 40
ɑ̃·krie 84
ɑ̃·krije 84
ɑ̃·krije 84, 124
ɑ̃·krje 84
ɑ̃·ce Fr. entier 86
ɑ̃ mas 165, 200, *passim*
-ɑ̃mɑ̃ Fr. -amment 56
ɑ̃·mɑ̃·fy:r 177
ɑ̃·murafe 182, 245
ɑ̃n on sɔl fwa 163
ɑ̃·nwɛje conjugated 140, 141
ɑ̃·nɥije 119
ɑ̃·sɥit 163
ɑ̃·sɥɪt 163
ɑ̃·pᵕje 12
ɑ̃·pɛf 29
ɑ̃·plwa 59
ɑ̃·plwɛje 63
ɑ̃·povri:r 183
ɑ̃·prɛ̃ Fr. emprunt 58
ɑ̃·pwezɔne 60
ɑ̃·sɑ̃·swɛ:r 61
ɑ̃·sɛm Fr. Anselme 220, 221
ɑ̃·sørmɛ̃ 147, 166, 167
ɑ̃·sjɛnmɛ̃ 165
ɑ̃:t Fr. entre 169
ɑ̃·tᵕ:se 12
ɑ̃·tᵕ:j 11
ɑ̃·tɛrmɛ̃ 108
ɑ̃·tɛ·te 30
ɑ̃·tikɔs 78
ɑ̃·tørmy 97, 98
ɑ̃·tørpørnø 93
ɑ̃·tørprɑ̃d 93
ɑ̃·tørpri:z 93
ɑ̃·tørtəni:r 93
ɑ̃·tørry 93
ɑ̃·trᵕ:j 11
ɑ̃ trarɛ:r 231
ɑ̃·tre 162
ɑ̃·trecɛ̃ 86
ɑ̃·trɔcɛ̃ (rather than *ɑ̃trɔcɛ̃*) 86
ɑ̃·tune 49
ɑ̃·tunwɛ 49
ɑ̃·vale 140
ɑ̃·vɛ:r 169
ɑ̃·wɛje 63, 69, 232
ɑ̃:z 178
ɑ̃·zarba:z 19
ɑ̃·zarbe 19, 66

ɑ̃ Fr. un 107
ɑ̃n Fr. en 113
ɑ̃n Fr. un 107

ærzɛ̃ (not *ærzɛ*) 17

æ, the low-front-wide nasal, sometimes heard instead of the low front narrow *ɛ̃*; cf. p. 207, note 1

ɛ̂ Fr. un 58, 107
ɛ̃·depɑ̃·dɛ̃ 119
ɛ̃·dice 86
ɛ̃·fᵕ:m 15
ɛ̃·farnal 19
ɛ̃fɛ̃ 57
ɛ̃·fɛ̃ 56, 106, 113, 212, *passim*
ɛ̃·jɛ̃ Fr. indien 83
ɛ̃·krwɛja:b 63
ɛ̃·kjɛt (better *ɛ̃·cɛt*) 73, 74, 112
ɛ̃·cɛt 74, 86, 112, 113
ɛ̃·cɛto:z 112, 113

ɶn Fr. un 107
ɛ̃·si 166
ɛ̃·si ka 173
ɛ̃·siste 76
ɛ̃·stɛ̃ 56
ɛ̃·sylte 136
ɛ̃·tɛrnɔ 9
ɛ̃·trɔdɥi:r on parsɔn 237
ɛ̃·jɛ̃ Fr. Indien 88
ɛ̃·jɛn 88, 244
ɛ̃·ʒɑ̃ Fr. engin 54
ɛ̃·ʒɑ̃ Fr. engin 56
ɛ̃·ʒɛ̃ Fr. engin 56, 81

ba:li Fr. barley 227, 229
bɔ Fr. bah 174
bɔ Fr. bas 9, 124
bɔ Fr. bas, chaussettes 213
bɔ·d(r) 50
bɔ·ky 183
bɔ·cy 243
bɔ:r Fr. barre 13, 142, 229, 234
bɔ:r dy ʒuːr 142
bɔ·re 14, 200, *passim*
bɔ·ri 124
bɔ·rje:r (rather than *bɔrje:r*) 25
bɔ:s 109, 171
bɔ·tɪs Fr. bâtisse 221
bɔ·j 183, 189
bɔ·tɛ:m 29
bɔ·ti:r 12, 143
bɔ·tɪs Fr. Baptiste 34, 78 (probably a mistake for *batɪs*; see p. 221, no. 7)
bɔ·tɪs Fr. bâtisse 12, 34, 35, 65, 78, 221
bɔ·tɔ̃ 12
bɔ:j 11, 111, 117, *passim*
bɔ:je 12
bɔ·jmɛ̃ 12
bɔ:z 12
babe 220, 224
babiʃ 255
babijɔ:r 13
babuʃ 255
ba:g 16
bak E. back 229
bal 16
bali Fr. balaye 140, 206
bali:z 183
balɪs 211
balje 35, 267, 269, 276
banɛ:r (not *banɛ:r*) 25, 101
barbi 95
bargɛn 229, 234
barle 227, 229
barode 184, 267
barso (not *barso*) 19
bart 220, 225
bartɛl 23, 93, 94, 95
barjo (family name) 219
barʒ 184
barʒe 19, 246
barʒri (not *barʒri*) 19
basjɛ̃ (not *basjɛ̃* 222) 220, 221, 222, 248
bat 16, 119, 137; conjugated, etc. 149; 212, *passim*
batɔ:j 11, 87
batəri 184, 265
batiskɑ̃ 260
batɪs Fr. Baptiste 208, 220, 221
bat(r) le kart 188
bato 110
baty:r 184, 188, 206
barɔ:r 13
bajɛt 17, 88, 255, 269
baʒɔ·mɑ̃ Fr. Benjamin 54
bɑ̃ Fr. banc 124, 184, 210
bɑ̃:d 188, 213
bɛ̃ 109, 118, 117, 165, *passim*
bɛ̃ vɪt 165
bɛ̃ wi 65
bebɛl 184, 208
becij 86
benɛri 185
benice 86
beni:r 24
beto 163
bɛd 229, 230, 234
bɛg 82
bɛksi 185
bɛl 50, 65, 108
bɛ·le 30
bɛleban 230, 234
bɛlt 230
bɛsɔ̃ 185
bɛf 28
bɛ·fe 30
bɛ:t 29, 136
bɛ:t a kɔrn 191
bɛti:z 34
bɛ·ti:z 30
bɛto 164
bɛtse 220, 225, 230
bɛtsɪ 220, 225, 252
bɛ:ze 30
bədɛn 28
bəlyɛ 47
bəluɛ (not *balue* 91) 44, 47, 91, 243
bəlwɛ (not *bəlwe* 91) 44, 47, 91, 225, 257
bəlyɛ (not *balye* 91) 47, 91
bərwɛt 65, 172
bəto 164
bəzwɛ̃ 65
b(ə)zwɛ̃ 178, 183
biganɛ:r 185
bisɥi Fr. biscuit 85
bite 230
bijo 216
bizo (family name) 219
biʒuce 86
bɪl E. bill 230, 234
blɔ:m 11
blɔ·me 12
blak 230
blak aj 230
blake 230
blan 252
blasfɛ̃:m 20
blasfɛ:m 29
ble 218
blɛ:m 29
blɛmzi:r 144
blɔ̃:d 178
blo 42
bløvzi:r Fr. bleuir 144
blu:z 167
bo 36, 50, 109
bolt 230, 232
bo:r 37, 172, 218, 222, 233, 239, 241, 243
bɔ·dre 185, 229
bɔl 251
bɔnɛt 74
bɔl 108
bɔn 118
bɔnø:r (*ɣ:r*) 106
bɔnɪ:r 7, 43
bɔrda:ʒ 186
bɔs 227, 231, 245
bɔse 186
bɔt 122, 221, 230

bɔte 186, 265
bɔtin 173
bɔjʊ̯ːr 186
bʌkhwit 206
bʌkwit 231
bʌl 41
bʌn Fr. bonne 41
bʌn E. bun 231
bɔ̃ːb 186, 249
bɔ̃ˑbard 187
bɔ̃n 53
(*bɔ̆n*) 41
bø Fr. bœuf 42, 65, 70, 111, 121, 199, 214, *passim*
bøf 70
bøːr 42
børbi 94
børduje Fr. bredouiller 93
børgo 187
børgɔte 187
børlɑ̃ 94
børlɑ̃ˑde 94
børlikɔko 187
børlɪn 43
børly 43
børnʊ̯ːr 43
børnɛːf 31, 44, 187, 188
børnɪk 43, 44
børse 44
børso 44
bortaɲ 94
børtɛl 93
børvaːʒ 93
børvje 94
børwɛt 94
børʒɪt 94, 220, 225
børʒri 44
bøte Fr. beauté 45, 188
bʏrtɛl 28, 93
bœto Fr. bientôt 164
brʊ̯ 9, 119, *passim*
brʊ̯ˑse 188, 269, 276
brʊ̯ːjʊ̯ːr 12
brʊ̯ːje 12
brande 231, 252
brɛ̃ Fr. brin 218
brɛ̃ Fr. brun 58
brɛf 29
brɛ/f 28
brigaːd 16
brikʌl 41
brize 190, 236
brɔʃte 255
brɔʃyːr 171, 188
brœf 29
brœmase 189
bru d savɔ̃ 189
bruijʊ̯ːr 13
bryle 217, 244, 249
brylo 190
brymas 207
brynʊ̯ːt 11
brynɑ̃ːt 189
brynziːr 144
brytal 113
bukan 255
bukane 255
bukanəri 255, 256
bukɑ̃ 255
bukle 84
buktuʃ 189
buku 113, 119, 152, 165, 222
bʊ̯ku 47, 166, 217, 241, 243
bukjɛ 46
buce 86
bulɑ̃ 189
bulɑ̃ːʒeːr (not *bulɑ̃ːʒːer*) 25
bulvarse 69
bun 49
bunɛ 49
burase 189, 202, 269, 276
burdziɲɔ̃ 84
burʒwa 240
buʃe 110
but Fr. bout 60
butɔɲeːr 101
butɔ̃ 239, 249
bu t tɛ̃ 218
butɥeːr 49
buj Fr. bouille 186
buːʒ 81
bʊ̯k 49
bʊ̯l 231
bʊ̯f 7, 49
bʊ̯t Fr. bout 73, 181, 183, 184, 189
by 50
bydro (family name) 219
byfɛt 74
byfʊ̯ːje 202
bytɑ̃ 54
bytɛ̃ 65, 117, 176, 183, 190, 234
byto Fr. bluteau 90, 91, 190
byto Fr. butoir 38, 39
bytro 190, 200
byrase 202
byrɔte 202
bwa Fr. bois 14, 30, 216, 231, 237
bwʊ̯ 14, 30
bwa 14, 30
bwasʊ̯ːje 202
bwɛːr 61, 154; conjugated 155
bwɛsɔ̃ 113
bwɛt Fr. abouette 190
bwɛːt Fr. boîte 187
bwɛːr Fr. boive 118
bwɛjə Fr. bouée 190
bjɛ̃ 69, 118, 165
bjɛ̃ kə 173
bjeːr 25
bzʊ̯ Fr. pesat 191, 265, 276
bzwɛ̃ 194

dʊ̯ːne 12
dʊ̯ːne fɔl 174
dabɔːr 17, 37, 163, 164
d a ku 169
dam 16, 71
daɲɛl 101
darnjɛːr 19
darɲe 101
darjeːr 169, 171, 190, *passim*
dɑ̃ Fr. dans 169
dɑ̃ Fr. don 55
dɑ̃ pə d tɛ̃ (tɑ̃) (or *dɑ̃ pə t tɛ̃ (tɑ̃)*) 169
dɑ̃ːs 76, 116, 126, 188, 239, *passim*
dɑ̃ˑtɪs 34
dɑ̃z œ̃ Fr. dans un 225
dætɪs 69
dɛ̃ Fr. dent 56
dɛ̃ːd 109
de, dez 106, 107
debʊ̯ 9
debʊ̯ːk 11
debagaxe 191
debagaʒe 191, 265
debarke (better *debarce*) 182
debarce (rather than *debarke*) 191, 236
debite 191
debule 191, 192
defɑ̃ːd 149
defɑ̃ːdy 117, 188

defɛ̃ 58, 117
defɛ̃:t 58
defɛ:r 244
defɛt 28
defi 70
degᵕ 9
degu 82
dekɔne 103
delikᵕ 9
delikatɛs (not *delikates*) 76
delɔn 220, 225
delɔʒmɛ̃ 124
dejɛze 101
deo:r 37
depɛ/ 30, 112
depɛ:/ 122
depɔ̃:d 57, 153
deplɛ·zi:r 30
deplwɛje 63
derɑ̃·ʒe 122
desarri:r 19
detarmine 19
detle 138
detɔrs 192, 218
detœrs 191
devire 254
devosjɑ̃ (not *devosiɑ̃*) 37
devosjɛ̃ 56
devɔ·re 24
dezabrije 276
dezabrje 192, 269, 276
dezarte 19
dezartø 19
dezartʏ 95
dezi·re 24
deʒᵕ 113
dɛne Fr. donner 117
dɛrɪk 234
dɛsiɲe 102
də 32
d(ə) 169
də bɔn ø:r 163, 164
dəbut 32
dəbʊt 73
dədɑ̃ 124, 166
dəgre 124
dəxo:r (rather than *dəxor*) 103, 104
dəlᵕ 252
d(e) la, dy, de, dez 106
dəmɑ̃ 163, 164
d(ə)mɑ̃ 54
dəmɑ̃·de 116
dəmɑ̃ 164
dəmɛ̃ 163, 164
də mɛ:m 217
dɔmɛ̃ 164
dəmwezɛl 60
dəo:r 37, 124, 166
dəpi 35, 52, 163, 164, 169, 170
dəpy (not *depy* 233) 51, 112, 152, 163, 164, 169, 170, 224, 233
dəpy kɔ 173
dəsɑ̃:d 149
d(ə)sɑ̃·d 205
dəsɑ̃·dɑ̃ 231
dəsu Fr. dessous 166
dəsur Fr. dessous 97, 98, 166, 167
dəsy Fr. dessus 166
dəsy:r Fr. dessus 166
dəvɑ̃ 169, 197
dəvny 32
dəwɛ:r 32, 61, 69, 71
d(ə)wɛ:r 154; 155; forms 156
di 34
dimɑ̃:f 217
dine 140, 218, 245
diɲ 101
diplo:m 36
di:r conjugated 146
dis, dɪs, di-z 114
disarne 19
disko:r 84
diskɔ̃:t 232
dissɛt, dissɛ-z 114
distrɛt 28
dife 71, 72
dife 88
ditɛl 192, 276
divarsite 19
dijo:m 71, 220, 222, 230
dizgrᵕ:z 11, 79
dizgrɛt 73, 112, 113
diznef 114
dizɥit, -ɥit, dizɥi-z 114
d lwɛ̃z ɑ̃ lwɛ̃ 168
dmɑ̃·de 216
dmi 124
dodif 260
do:r 37, 116
dore E. dory 256
dɔg 227
dɔ:g 227
dɔkto:r 242
dɔl 234
dɔre E. dory 256
dɔrmi:r 143, 146
dɔne 117
dʌl 234
dʌn 41, 45
dʌne 45, 138, 235
dɔ̃ Fr. donc 60, 121, 122, 163, 164, 173, 244, *passim*
dø 113
døn 41, 45, 60, 242
døne 45, 117, 137; conjugtaed, etc. 138; 218, 230, 235
døs Fr. deux 114
dø sɑ̃-z 114
dø:z Fr. deux 224
døzjɛm 114
dœne 24, 117
dra:ft 227
drᵕ 176
draf 227
draɪv 227
drav E. drive 227, 234
dra:v 252
dre Fr. dès 169
drɛ 164, 169, 170
drɛ astø:r 163, 164
drɛ kɔ 173
dro:l 36, 245
drwɛt 73, 109, 112, 197, *passim*
d tɛ̃z ɑ̃ tɛ̃ 169
du Fr. doux 71
dune 45, 49
dusmɛ̃ 46, 167
dusr:r 43
dutɑ̃:s 192, 213, 272, 276
du:z 114
duzɛn (not *duzen* 70) 28, 70, 114
dy bɔ̃ stʌf 272
dygᵕ (family name) 219
dy:r 50, 163, 194, 249, *passim*
dyrɑ̃ 169
dwa Fr. doigt 59
dja 254
dzi:r 81
dzifæ 84
dzijom 84
dzak 220, 222, 252
dʒame 238
dʒe:n 220, 225

dʒɪ 236
dʒɪb 238
dʒɪg a kat 239
dʒɪm 178, 220, 222
dʒɪmɪ 220, 222
dʒo 113, 203, 217, 220, 222, 257
dʒɔb 136, 238
dʒɔbœ:r 238
dʒɔn 220, 222
dʒɔ:ne 172, 214
dʒɔmɪ 220, 222
dʒʌmpe 238

e Fr. et 173
eb◡ 9
ebəlwɛt 64
e bjẽ 174
e:d 29
ede 117
e·de 26
edw◡:r 222
edwɛrd 220, 222
edʒɥidʒ 84
edʒɥig 83
edʒɥig (?) 83, 84
edʒɥij 84
efas 16
efo:r 37
efrɛjã 145
egadɛl 64
egli:z 49, 184, 218, 243
egrã·di:r (rather than *egrã·dir*) 27
egrɛt 26
egzã:p 108, 109
ɛgzavje 221
egɥi:j 26
egɥi·jõ 26
egɥ:ze 26
ei Fr. aïe 174
ek◡:r 13
ekard 64, 166
ekarde 64, 269
ekardõ 64
ekartije 74, 75, 263
ekl◡ 9, 64, 84, 85
eklɛre 162
eklu 46, 48
eklu:r 46, 48, 155, 160
ekɔl 124
ekɔpo 64
ekɔrs 76
ekr◡:ze 12
ekrɛjõ 64
ekri 116
ekri:r 118, 178
ekute 174
ekydje 85, 141
ekyro 38, 39
ekɥi Fr. étui 85
ecɛn 220, 222
ecipolã 193, 276
ecydi 116
ecydje 140, 141
ecyre 38, 171
elɛksjẽ 254
em 116
eme Fr. aimer 26
emɛ Fr. aimait 119
emi Fr. aimai 129
emosjã (not *emosiã*) 37
enarve 19
enarʒi 19
e·ne 26
enɛs 26
ep◡:r 13
epẽ:g 171, 209
epɛ·si:r 30
eple 138
eplyfɪ 95
epol◡·sjæ̃ (not *epol◡·siæ̃*) 207
epøl◡·sjẽ (not *epøl◡·siẽ*) 45
epuste conjugated, etc. 140
efap 68, 98, 99
efarp 68
efife 193
efofɛ·zõ 30
efwe 184
etale 193, 276
etarnel 19
etarnite 19
etarnɥe 19
etaze:r 25
ete 108, 109
etẽ 57
etẽ:d 153
etẽ·dy 153
eti Fr. est-il 110
eticɛt 86
etɔf 217, 226
etrã·ze 149
etrã·ze:r 25
etrwɛt 73, 112
etyje 85
etwɛl 61
etɥi 108
evɛk 30, 84
evɔce 86
eji:r 145
eju Fr. et où 166, 167, 265
ejus Fr. et où est-ce 166, 186, 214, 230, 265
ezarbe (not *ezarbe* 27; and not *ezarbe* 162) 19, 27, 162, 194, 276
ezã:p 108
ezã·be 27
ezvo 81, 108, 109

ɛd 28
ɛ:d 29
ɛg 28
ɛgzavje 220, 222, 224
ɛgzã:p 79
ɛgɥ:j 142
ɛkɔl 241
ɛl Fr. aile 28
ɛl Fr. elle 21, 120, *passim*
ɛlmɪn 190, 200, 220, 222
ɛm Fr. aime 125
ɛme 161
ɛn Fr. une 107
ɛpəly:r 64
ɛ:r Fr. hère 194
ɛrã 31, 32, 245, 255
ɛskalje 108, 109
ɛskarlatin 64
ɛskəlɛt 64, 272, 274, 276, 278
ɛskl◡:v 12
ɛsku 198
ɛskus 64, 265
ɛsky:z (better *ɛscy:z*) 65, 77, 272, 274, 276, 278
ɛskyzab (better *ɛscyzab*) 77
ɛskyze (better *ɛscyze*) 77
ɛskwe 140, 141
ɛscɪf 86
ɛscire 86
ɛscy:z 276
ɛso:r 37
ɛspere 152, 236
ɛspɛ:r 224
ɛspɛs 28, 29
ɛspɛ:s 30
ɛsplik◡·sjæ̃ 77
ɛsplike 65, 77

ɛsplwa 77
ɛsplwɪte 77
ɛsprɛ 77, 272
ɛstarn 18
ɛstaty 64, 65, 106, 272, 276
ɛstɛrn◡ 9
ɛstə 63
ɛstɔm◡ 9
ɛstrɛm 28
ɛstrɛ:m 201
ɛsyrpi 260
ɛfarpi 64
ɛ:t 30; conjugated, etc. 132, 133
ɛ:t a la haf 197
ɛzɑ̃:p 79
ɛze 183, 204

ẽ Fr. un 107
ẽ·depɑ̃·dɑ̃ 119
ẽn Fr. un 107

əd for Fr. de 232
əl Fr. le 218
əstrɔgɔf 64

f◡ Fr. fat 9
f◡:b 12, 66
f◡·xe Fr. fâcher 103
f◡lɛ Fr. fallait 148
fa:b 66
fabricẽ 86
fago 82
fal (*c i*) Fr. qu'il faille 267
faly (family name) 219
fam 105, 106, 119, 185, *passim*
fanal 110
fani 22
farbal◡ 97
fardinɑ̃ 220, 222, 249
fardzina 222
farm 18
farmje 19
faro 194, 264, 267
fartɪl 34
fas 16
fasɑ̃ 55
fatɪk 84, 147, 272
fatɪkɑ̃ 84
fatɪkje 17
faticɑ̃ 189, 197
faticɑ̃:t 109
fatice 84
fatsice 84
faji Fr. failli 195
fajo 195, 244, 269
fɑ̃ 55
fɑ̃·førlyf (rather than *fɑ̃:førlyf*) 93
fɑ̃m 53
federik 99
fedrɪk 220, 222
feneɑ̃ 26
fe:r 155
fɛ Fr. faîte 74, 75, 195, 267
fɛ·blɛs 26, 27
fɛ dəmɑ̃·de 243
fɛ dmɑ̃·de 164, 216
fɛ:r 49; conjugated, etc. 136, 137; 155
fɛr◡:j 11
fɛrblɑ̃·ce 86
fɛ:r dɑ̃ l mece 203, 204
fɛ:r sɔ̃ trɛ̃ 112
fɛt Fr. fait 74
fɛ:t Fr. fête 169
fɛt le 273, 277
fɛz Fr. font 121
fɛzø:z d etɔf 203, 204
fẽ 57
fẽ:d 57, 153
fi Fr. fils 70
fiɑ̃·s◡:j 11
fi:d 235
fidɛl 28, 34, 71
file 109
finɛs 76
fini:r 137; conjugated, etc. 142, 143
fisɛl 29, 34
fɨ:j 152, 203, 219
fɪs Fr. fils 70
fla:sk 227
fl◡ne 171
fl◡nɪr 95
flam Fr. flegme 21, 22, 195
flas 227
flat 21, 22, 235, 246
flat le 117
flɑ:b 66, 265, 267, 269, 272, 276
fleho 121
flɛf 29
flɪp 141, 220, 222, 248
flo Fr. fléau 38, 39, 265, 267, 269, 276
flø:r 234, 235
fo 36
fo·xe (rather than *foxe*) Fr. faucher 8, 103
folwɛ:r 38, 39, 155; forms 156
fo:r 37, 70, 108, 242, 273, 274
forbi:r 38, 39, 183, 267
forkasəl 235
fo·se Fr. fossé 39, 222
foʃ◡je 202
foʃe 37
fo·tr:j 37
fɔl◡:t 11
fɔra Fr. forêt 40
fɔrɛ 40
fɔ·rman 235
fɔrs 40
fɔrtɪfaɪv 235
fɔrʒɔ̃ 98, 99
fɔsɛt 74
fʌl 7, 41
fʌn 236
fʌnɪ 236
fɔ̃·sy:r 195, 276
fɔ̃·tɛn 29
fø 42, 153, 180
førma:ʒ 16
førme 44
førtije 93
føse 44, 142
føj 175
føjte 140
fɤrma:ʒ 16
frɔ:z 11, 15
frɔ·zi 195
frak◡ 9
frama:ʒ 23
frape 128
frazi 21, 22
frɑ̃·bwɛ:z 61, 70, 92
frɑ̃:s 63
frɑ̃·sa 16, 59
fregad 71, 72
fre:r 24, 233, 272, 274, 276, 278
frɛ 31
frɛt (not *frɛ:t* 165) 73, 112, 216, 240, 252, 267, 276, *passim*
frɛ:z 30, 121
friko 196, 235, 264
fripɑ̃ 55
frɔlɪk 235
frɔt 40

frɔ̃:k 52, 84
frɥi 121
fu 182
fula:ʒ 196
fulə̃ri 196
fu:r Fr. four 45, 203
furb 66
furni:r 46
fu tɔ̃ kã 174
fuze:r 25
fʊl 49
fʊrf 49
fʊtbʊ̯:l 234, 235
fymɛl 52
fwa Fr. foi 59
fwʊ̯ Fr. foi 14, 182
fwa Fr. foi 59
fwa Fr. fois 147
fwɛt 74
fjak (not *fiak*) 84
fje 113
fjɛv (not *fiɛv*) 28

gahɔ̃ 103
ga·zɔ̃ 79
gʊ̯ Fr. gars 98, 99, 247, 265, 267, 269, 276
gʊ̯ɲe 12, 247
gʊ̯:f Fr. gâche 15
gʊ̯·te 12
gʊ̯:z Fr. gaz 79
gʊ̯·zɛt 12
gʊ̯·zɛte 210
gabɔte 83
galã:s 83, 263
galã·se 83, 263
galã·sin 83, 263
galã·siɲ 83
gale 236
galfʊ̯ 82
galfate 82
galimacʊ̯ 86
ganɪf (not *ganɪf* 82) 17, 34, 70, 82, 176, 272, 276, 278
gaɲ Fr. (il) gagne 170
gaŋ E. gang 168, 236
gaŋwe 236
gard 49, 109, 110, 123, *passim*
gard (not *gard* 199) Fr. (re)garde 154, 188, 199, 232, 247, *passim*
garde 82
gardə z jø 196
garni 178
garnuj (rather than *garnuj*) 93
garsɔɲɛ:r 196, 219
garsɔ̃ 76, 106, 182
ga:z Fr. gaze 79; cf. p. 109
ga:ʒ 108, 109
gɛt ʌp 236
gə Fr. que 125, 127, 128
gi 127
gite (family name) 219
glas 16
glasje:r 25
glɛ:z 30
glɔb 196
glutɔ̃ 82
glwɛ:r 61, 82
gotje (family name) 219
gɔddam 236
gɔd dʊm 174
gɔlf 82
gɔ lɔŋ 236
gɔ ɔn 236
gɔrʒ 110
gɔ:z Fr. gaze 109; cf. p. 79
gɔrdɛ̃ 93
gɔrlo 93
gɔrlɔte 93
gɔrnaːj 93
gɔrnuːj 93, 94
gɔrɲe 36, 94, 95, 101, 272
grʊ̯ 9
grʊ̯:s 15
grabʊ̯ 9
gra:v 21, 22
grã Fr. grain 54, 204, 215, 222
grã Fr. grand 82
grã for Fr. grande 183, 230
grã bʊ̯:j 111
grã·dzi:r 81
grã·me:r 55, 141
grã mɔd 230
grã·pe:r 172
grã:ʒ 170, 195
grɛ̃ 204, 222
gre 24
greje 109
grɛl Fr. (il) grêle 162
grɛl Fr. grêle 142
grɛ:l Fr. grêle 30
grɛn 29
grɛ:s 30
grɛje 226, 239
grɛjə 190
griɲe 36, 94, 101
grifu 196, 197, 264
grijã 55
gros 109
gro:s 243
grosje:r 25
gro·sje:r 237
grɔɲɔr 95
grɔ̃·də 111
gruɲ 83
gruje 160, 218
gryʒʊ̯ 9
gu 82
gulərɔ̃ 97, 98
gutsje:r 25
gutje:r 25
guvarnã:t 19
guvarne 19
guvarnəmɛ̃ 19
guvarno 19
guvarnɪr(r) 19
gwɛmɔ̃ 215
gwɛlɛt 197, 238, 251
gwɛmɔ̃ 242
gja 254
gjø Fr. Dieu 72

ʃa 254
ʃʊ̯:b 83, 87, 272
ʃamɛ̃ 83, 272
ʃe Fr. gai 112
ʃetərs 236
ʃɛtərs 236, 247
ʃi Fr. lui 83, 115, 117, 245, *passim*
ʃijɔn (not *ʃiɔn*) 84
ʃijɔ̃ 84
ʃo 83, 272
ʃystɛ̃ 220, 223
ʃystɪn 220, 226
ʃɥi Fr. lui 83, 89, 115, 117, 216, *passim*

hʊ̯: 237
hʊ̯:l 237
hʊ̯:jɔ̃ 102
hai:r 102
hamak 102
harp 102

haf 102, 114, 197
hɑ̃:f 102
hɛ̃ 102
he 102
hɛ 102
hɛ:m: 237
ho 237
hol◡ 102, 174
hɔo 237
hɔrspɔ:r 237
hɔ:spɑ:r(ɔ) 227
hɔrspɔ:r 227, 237
hɔ̃:to 102
hy 102, 254
hwɔv 254
hwɔo 254

x Fr. je 115, 116, 180
xabo 103
xamɛ 103
xardɛ̃ 103
xardiɲe 103
xavɛ Fr. j'avais 103
xe Fr. j'ai 103
xe Fr. chez 103
xɛst 103
xə Fr. je 115, 116
xo:r (rather than *xor*) Fr. hors 103, 104
xo:z 103
xo·zɛf (rather than *xozɛf*) Fr. Joseph 103
xøn 103
xuɲɛ̃ 104
xu:r (rather than *xur*) Fr. jour 45, 103
xurnal 104
xyre 104

i Fr. il, ils, elles 50, 90, 92, 115, 116, 272, 276, *passim*
i Fr. lui 89
i Fr. y 166
iguin (better *igwin*) 35, 47
igwɪn 34, 35, 47, 197
igɥɪn 47
i ji di 83
imɑ̃·d 55
imɛ̃:s 34, 56
i m dɔn 115
imɛn 100
i m wa 115
inimice 86
irɔkwa 260
i s ɑ̃ mɑ̃:k 162
isit 73, 74, 124, 166, 167, 184, 243, 265, *passim*
isɪt 7, 34, 73, 74, 110, 113, 124, 166, 240, 265, *passim*
ist 254
istwɛ:r 172
ivarnmɛ̃ 197
iwɛ:r 108, 109, 118, 162, *passim*
iwɛ:r 61, 69
i + *j* Fr. il, ils 90
i j ◡ 181
i je ty Fr. est-il 134
ijɛ:r 165
(i)jɛ:r 109
i ji di 83
i ji dɔn 89
i jɔ̃ dɔne 89
i joz a di 89
iz (not in use) Fr. ils 118

k 128
kar 14
ka(:)r 173
kardɪr 14
kɔ:b Fr. câble 15, 84
kɔ·bre 14
kɔ:r Fr. quart 13, 84, 216, 233
kɔ·re 14
kɔ·ro 14
kɔ·rɔt 14
kɔ·rɔte 199
kɔ·rjɔl (not *kɔ·riɔl*) 205
kɔ·se (not *kɔ·sə*) 49, 108, 119, 196, 231, 243
kɔskə 127
kɔski 127
kɔ·sku 76
kɔsci 127
kɔ:t Fr. cadre 76
kabal 113
kabrwɛt 198
kadɔ.v 195, 198
kafe 17
kafje:r (not *kafjere*) 76, 192
kafje:r (not *kafjɛ:r*) 198, 276
kakawi 260
kakɔ̃:b 23, 177
kalɛf 29
kalnɔ◡ 98
kalrɔ◡ 92
kamarɑ:d 16
kan 16
kanɔ:r 15
kanɔ:j 11
kanadɔ◡ 9, 17
kanal 110
kanawa 260
kanawaf 260
kanajɛ̃ 88
kanajɛn 88
kanibal 260
kanis 232
kanɔt 256
kansɔ̃ 100
kanvɔ◡ 9
kao 243
kaouɛ̃ 260
kaouin 260
kap 16, 68
kapab 209, 218
kapitɛn 29
kapo 198, 217
kaptɪf 34, 71, 112
kar 14
ka(:)r 173
karɑ̃:t 114
karɑ̃·tɛn 29
karɑ̃·tsɥt 114
kardinal 110
kardɪr 14
karɛ:m 30
karɛs 29
karge (better *karʃe*) 199, 264, 269
kargɛ·zɔ̃ (better *karʃɛ·zɔ̃*) 30
karibu 256
kariɔl 232
karisto 199
karkjyl 97
karkjyle 97
karce 87
karcyl 97, 217
karcyle 97
karnɔ◡ 9, 97, 98
kart 188
kartuf 49, 50
kas 78, 272
kaskapejɔ◡ 88
kastɔnad 74, 75, 267, 276
kaf 232
ka:f 232
kafe 80

kaſle 139
kat 8, 113, 114, 233
kataplam 77, 267, 269, 277
katẽ 199, 267, 269
kateſim 78, 267, 269
katɔrz 114
katœrtẽ 93, 94, 199, 200
katœrvẽ 113
katœrvẽ·dɪs 113
katorvẽ·dɪs, -di-z 114
katœrvẽ·z 114
katœrjɛm 63, 91, 94
kat pɛrsɔn 97
ka:v 180, 207
kajak 260
kajẽ 88
kajɛn 88
kazarn 18
kazimẽ 165, 252
kazratẽ 94
ka:ʒ 16
kã Fr. camp 200, 265
kã Fr. quand 154
kã·did◡ 9
kã d kud 85
kã d cud 238
kã:p 231
kã:s Fr. quand est-ce 163, 191
kã:t Fr. quand 55, 74, 75, 131, 163, 178, *passim*
kã·te Fr. canter 200, 232, 265
kã:t e 169, 171, 265, 267, 277
kænɪstə(r) 232
kẽ·zɛn 29
kecẽ 128
kɛg(ə)zã 128
kɛk 91, 113, 129, 272, 277
kɛkã 128, 272, 277
kɛcẽ 128
kɛsjæ (not *kɛsiæ* 221) 74, 75, 221
kə 32, 127, 173
klɛrte 31, 32
klim◡ 9
ki 127, 128
ki kə sɛ 128
kiliu 261
kinikinak 260
kijï:r 35, 146
kl◡:s 15
klam 252
klape 200, 201
klarʒe 19
kle 24
klɛrte 31, 272, 277
klɛrje:r 25
klɪnſe 232
kloty:r 192
klɔf 216
klɔty:r 137, 156
klu 84
klʊb 66
ko:n 36
ko:r Fr. cor 37
ko:r Fr. corps 37, 84
ko:r (Fr. gilet de laine) 167
ko:t 36, 172, 205, 242
koti Fr. coutil 38, 39
ko:z 36
ko·ze 37
kɔk Fr. coq 40, 84
kɔk Fr. coque 190
kɔkdẽ:d 57
kɔcẽ Fr. coquin 86
kɔcɛt 86
kɔl◡ Fr. (Ni)colas 172, 210, 220, 223
kɔle:ʒ 24
kɔlɛksjæ 233
kɔlɛkte 233
kɔlɛkte:r 233
kɔltœ:r 233
kɔltœ·re 233
kɔlwe Fr. clouer 39
kɔmars 18
kɔmarsẽ 19, 56
kɔmã 40
kɔmã:s Fr. comment est-ce 164, 229
kɔmã:s for Fr. combien est-ce 232
kɔmã·se 136, 173, 212
kɔmã 40
kɔmæ̃ 40
kɔmẽ 40, 56, 58, 272
kɔmẽs Fr. comment est-ce 180
kɔmẽ:s Fr. commence 164, 165, 166
kɔme:r 24
kɔmise:r 241
kɔmɔd 184, 212, *passim*
kɔmɔ:d 40
kɔm si kɔm sœ◡ 126
kɔnɛ:t forms 150
kɔnr◡ 245
kɔrd 249
kɔrdɔne 101, 222
kɔride:r 37
kɔrise 104
kɔriɔl (better *kɔrjɔl*) 205
kɔrize le 117
kɔrnɛ:j 206
kɔrsɛt 74
kɔrtɔn 95
kɔſõ 40, 243
kɔſɔnri 172, 211
kɔtõ 40
kʌl 7, 41
kõ:b 200, 245
kõ b◡ 9
kõ·bine·zõ 30
kõ·dɥi:r 71
kõ·fɛs le 117
kõ·fre:r 24
kõ:k 84
kõ·kjɛ:t (better *kõ·cɛ:t*) 30
kõ·p◡ 9
kõ·pe:r 24
kõ·plɛt 73, 108, 112
kõ·plẽ:d 57, 153
kõ·sarvatɪ:r (rather than *kõ·sar-·vatɪr*) 19
kõ·sarve 19, 118
kõ sɛ:r 228
kõ·sɛ:j 244
kõ·səwɛ:r 69
kõ·sõ·ptif 200
kõ·stẽ 76
kõ·strɥi le 118
kõ:t Fr. contre 169
kõ·tẽ 56, 123, 235
kõ·trakte:r 233
kõ·trẽ 57
kõ·trẽ:d 57, 153
kõ·vəna:b 16
kœg(ə)zã 128
kœk 45, 90, 91, 113, 128, 129, *passim*
kœkə 90, 128, 242
kœkfɯa 163
kœkxo:z 104
kœkã 128, 272
kœcẽ 128
kœrve 93
kœcẽ 128
krœ·kœrs 234, 247

krake 23
kramɔn 22
krapo d mɛːr 212
kraf 195
krafwe 96
krɛːd 84
krɛ bɛl 174
krɛ fɑ 174
krɛɛ̃ Fr. chrétien 87
kremajeːr 25
krɛl 90
krɛm 29
krɛːp 30
krɛt 29
kri for Fr. quérir 27, 28, 136, 146, 216, 243, 245, 277, *passim*
kriɲeːr 101
kristal 110
kri(j) Fr. crie 253
krijatyːr 35, 36, 182, 245, 272
krije 128, 228
krijɔ̃ 35, 36, 64
krɔksinɔl 200
krupjeːr 25
krut 73
kryɛl 29
kryjɛl 36
krwa Fr. croix 59
krwɔ Fr. je crois 14, 15, 109
krwezɔ̃ 97, 109
krwɛːr 61; conjugated 154, 155
krjatyːr 181, 182, 210
krɥjɛl 121
ku 45
kuːd 71; forms 150
kuleːv (rather than *kulɔv*) 90
kulwe 96
kumars 49
kumɑ̃ːse 49
kup 68
kupaːb 16, 137
kuːr Fr. cour 45
kuːr Fr. (il) court 45, 116
kuraːʒ 16, 46, 84
kurb 66
kurɛ̃ Fr. courant 46
kurdɥje 49, 101
kuri Fr. courus 129
kuriːr 147
kurs 161
kurt Fr. courte 185
kury 116
kurve 47, 48
kurwa 47, 48
kuʃe 109, 231
kuto 106
kutyrjeːr 25
kuvart 18, 189
kuvɛ̃ 56
kuvri 272
kuvriːr 46, 147
kuzɑ̃ 54
kuzɪn 192, 203
kvd forms 150
kvk 233
kvf 49, 50, 80
kylɔt 215
kylɔt a klapɛ 200, (not *klape*) 201
kyljɛːr 204
kyre 50
kyje 52
kyjeːr 51
kyjɛːr 204
kyzɪn 51, 124
kyzɥeːr 51, 101
kwaʃi 127
kwak 173
kwaki 127
kwan (not *kuan*) 21, 22
kwas 127, 178
kwaskə 127
kwas kə sɛ 127, 162
kwɛ̃ 208, 225
kjabɔːde 140; conjugated 141
kɥiːr 244
kɥijɛːr 204

c Fr. qui 128
cabɔ̃ːde 140, 141
cɛ̃ 87
cɛ̃ːd forms 150, 151; 186
cɛ̃ːz 114
cɛd Fr. tiède 87
cɛk (usual pronounciation for *kɛk* 113); 277
cɛkɑ̃ 128, 272, 277
cɛl 86
cɛːr Fr. tiers 87
cɛːs 30, 86
cɛsi (family name) 219
cɛːt 30, 86
cɛːto 95
cɛːte 86
cɛːtr (not *cɛːtr*) 95
ci 127, 128
ci kɔ sɛ (not *ci kɔ sə*) 128
cis ci Fr. qui est-ce qui 243, 246
cit 86
cite 86, 201
cij 86
cijeːr 146
cid 238
cok (usual pronunciation for *kok* 113); 194
cokfwa 163, 164
cokɑ̃ 128
col 127, 272, 274
colz 127
coːr Fr. chœur 86
coːr Fr. cœur 86, 167
corø Fr. cœureux 247
cun E. tune 87, 239, 253
cy 86
cyn 173
cyre 211
cyjɛːr forms 204
cjyn 253
cɥiːr 216, 249
cɥiːr a patent 241

l 106, 115, 117
lɔ Fr. là 9, 50, 124, 166
lɔːxe 104
lɔːn E. lawn 239
lɔːr 15
lɔːf 15
la 10, 105, 115; 117
la cɛn 123
lacol 127
lacol kə 128
la lø 123
lam 99
la mjɛn 123
la not 123
larmanak Fr. l'almanach 65
larsɛ̃ 90
lasɛl 126, 273
lastik 236
la sjɛn 123
lavaːʒ 121
lave 117, 183
lavɛje 23
la vot 123
lawa (family name) 219
lawa (family name) 219

lɑ̃ Fr. lin 188
lɑ̃·bre 90, 91, 97
lɑ̃·dmɑ̃ 54
lɑ̃·dri (family name) 219
lɑ̃:p 153
lɑ̃·tarn 18, 73
lɛ̃ Fr. lin 60, 188
lɛ̃ Fr. rien 89, 92
lɛ̃·di 58, 267
lɛ̃:ʒ 81
le Fr. le 253, 273, 277
le Fr. les 106, 115
le·dr:r 26
lecœl 127
letri 26
lez Fr. les 106, 115, 117
leʒart 18
lɛ Fr. laid 31
lɛn 29, 100, 109
lɛ:s Fr. laisse 244
lɛse 137, 189
lɛsi 69
lɛst 90
lɛt Fr. laid(e) 29, 74
lɛt Fr. lait 74
lɛt Fr. lettre 89, 178, 242
lɛtər mɔrt 239
le Fr. le (not *le (ʒvo)* as on p. 128, § LI, no. 8) 115
ləblɑ̃ (family name) 219
l(ə) cɛ̃ 123
l(ə)cœl 127
l(ə)cœl kə 128
l(ə) lo 123
l(ə) mjɛ̃ 123
l(ə) no:t 123
l(ə) nɔt 123
ləsɔ̃ 76
l(ə) sjɛ̃ 123
lesɥi 126
ləve 69
l(ə)vɛ 138
ləvɛ:k (family name) 219
l(ə) vo:t 123
l(ə) vɔt 123
libarte 19, 34
liberal 113
limaro 33
limərɔ 33, 35, 36, 90, 91, 92, 264, 267
li:r 147
liv Fr. livre (E. book) 140
liv Fr. livre (E. pound) 229
lizje:r 25
l l 119
lo Fr. lot 239
lofe 239
lofœ:r 239
lɔkjɛ 91
lɔno:r 220, 223, 224, 225
lɔrsk 173
lʌntʃ 239, 240
lɔ̃:g 82
lɔ̃·tɛ̃ 163
lɔ̃·ʒi 112, 180, 201, 269, 277
lɔ̃·ʒityd 201
lø, jø, løz, jez Fr. leur 115
lø Fr. leur 118, 122, *passim*
lø:r 42
løːv 69, 119
løz Fr. leur 115, 117, 122, *passim*
løz ɛ̃·fɛ̃ 125
lr(z) Fr. leur(s) 95
lœ̃·di 231
lsɔ̃ Fr. leçon 147
lu 90
lu:s 227
lut 73
lʊk ɔt 239
lʊs 227, 239
lʊʃ 80
lʊus 227
lymɛl 176
lymje:r 25
lyn 50
lyrɛt 201, 263
lysi 121
lyt 50
lytɑ̃ 54
lwa 59
lwe Fr. loué 214
lwi 121
lwiːz 121
ljœ:r 13
ljeːʒ 24
lɥ 120

m 115
mœ̃l Fr. mâle 15
mœrdi 14
mœ̃rdi 218
mœ̃·fe 12
mœ̃·fuje 202, 212
mœ̃·fwɛ:r 12
mœ̃·fwije 190
mœ ti 135
mœ̃:j 11, 24
ma 10, 122
madørje 44, 94
magane 83, 202
magazɑ̃ 54
magazɛ̃ 17, 245
magwa 257
makinœ 260
mace:r (rather than *macer* 87) 87, 99
macø Fr. Matthieu 185, 220, 223
mal 16, 110
mala:d 128, 234
maladi 128, 209
malafigan 260
malɑ̃ 54
malɑ̃·jøle 88
male·ze 30
mal gane Fr. mal gagné 100, 202
malgre 169
malin 100
mal kadœ:r 195
maltid 65, 200, 220, 225
mamɛ̃ 56
mamzɛl 71, 72, 147, 178, *passim*
manasigan 260
manafigan 260
manitu 256
manje:r 101
manifik 101
manjeːr 17
maŋgam 256
marb 240, 264
marɛ̃·gwɛ̃ 190
mardije 88
marefal 110
margre 169
margjit 220, 225
marʃije 88
mari 121, 239
mari dʒe:n 225
marino 19
marl Fr. merle 18, 208
marsənɛ:r 19
marsi 19, 76
marsje 19
marʃɑ̃·di:z sɛf 240

marʃe 80
marʃɤ 95
marve:j 19
marje 17, 250
marje kokɑ̃ 203, 240
marjije 88
masak 16, 65
masaʃ 34, 71, 112
maskiŋ 260
maskinɔ̃:ʒe 260
maskwabina 256
masɔ̃ 203
maʃikɔte 260
mat Fr. natte 99
mataʃias 260
mataʃje 260
matɑ̃ 54, 163, 233, 273
matɯl 220, 225
matʃikɔte 260
mavɛ:z 23
ma:j 11
maʒɤ-r 95
mɑ̃ Fr. main 50, 54, 136, 176, 249
mɑ̃ Fr. mont 55
mɑ̃:d 49, 55
mɑ̃·dᵕ 9
mɑ̃·gɔne 83
mɑ̃:rᵕ:j 11, 104
mɑ̃·œ 8, 70, 104, 121, 191, 206, 235, 236, 249, *passim*
mɑ̃:k 162
mɑ̃·ke 185
mɑ̃:ʃ 106, 239
mɑ̃·ʃy:r 177
mɑ̃·ti:r 143
mɑ̃·tlɛt 74
mɑ̃·tr 95, 203, 267
mɑ̃·tri 203
mɑ̃·ʒᵕ:j 202
mɑ̃·ʒɔt 202
mɛ̃ Fr. main 176
-mɛ̃ Fr. -ment 19
mɛ̃·cɛ̃ 87
me Fr. mai 24
me Fr. mes 122
medi 27
meɪk 227
me:k 227
mekɔk 256, 257
mekœrdi (not *mekœrdi* 27) 27, 94, 277
mekɤrdi 27, 94
mece 87, 203, 222
meli 220, 225
menaze:r 25
me:r Fr. mère 24, 92, 272, 274, 276, 278
metapejᵕ 88
meta:j 110, 204, 265, 277
metive 204, 277
metrɛs 26
mez Fr. mes 122
me:zɔ̃ (not *mɛ̃:zɔ̃*) 30
mɛ Fr. mais 173
mɛek 227
mɛg 82
mɛ:g 30, 82
mɛ·gri:r 30
mɛ kə 173, 265
mɛkœdzi 27
mɛ:l 30, 90
mɛ·le le kart 188
mɛ(l)jø:r 190
mɛ:m 30, 166, 217
mɛn Fr. Maine 200
mɛ:r Fr. mer 171
mɛs Fr. messe 29
mɛ:s Fr. messe 30
mɛt forms 150, 151
mɛ:t Fr. maître 128
mɛtrɛs 194
mɛ·tri:z 30
mɛzɔ̃ 106, 124, 162, 187, *passim*
mə 115
məlɔ̃ 124
məmɑ̃ 33, 117, 192, 200, 208, 216, 243
məne 33, 62
mənwɛ:r 33, 62, 204, 231
mi Fr. mis 110
midi 242
migrɛn 29
mikwan 257
mikwane 260
mil, mɯl, mil-z 114
miljɔ̃ 114
minɤ-r 95
minʌn 41
mirᵕ:k 12
mirwe 96
miʃɛl 64
mitas 257
mitɑ̃ 205, 265, 267, 270, 277
mitɛn E. meeting 227
mitɯŋ 227
mize:r (not *mizɛ:r*) 243
mizɛn 29
mɯtɯŋ 227
mɯkmak 257
mɯn 126
mɯsdil 240
mne 138
mni:r conjugated 148; 243
mny 99, 100, 110, 121, 245, *passim*
mnyzjc 207
mo 36
modi ʃjɛ̃ 174
modit bɛt 174
mo:r Fr. mord 37
mo:r Fr. mors 37
mo:r Fr. mort 37, 128
mɔd 40, 149, 230
mɔdø:z 203, 205
mɔ·gasɯn 257
mɔkjɤ:r (*mɔcɤ:r*) 43, 95
mɔlɛs 40
mɔna 59
mɔrd 40, 149
mɔrce 87
mɔrso 40, 142
mɔrtwɛ:z 62, 205, 270, 277
mɔry 211
mɔrɛ 40
mʌl Fr. mol(le) 41
mɔ̃ 60
mɔ̃:d Fr. monde 140, 172
mɔ̃(n) 122
mɔ̃:t Fr. monte 199
mɔ̃:t Fr. montre 253
mɔ̃·tɑ̃ Fr. montagne 56, 205, 231
mɔ̃·te 109, 231
mɔ̃·tørrᵕ 93, 230
mø:b 42, 140
mø:l 42
mørkədi 94
mørkɤrdi (not *mørkɤ·rdi* 94) 27, 94
møsjø 191, 211, 245
mu:d 150; forms 151; 273
mude 273
mudi:r 47, 48, 147
mudɔ̃ 273
mudy for Fr. moulu 222, 229

mudʒi 48
muk Fr. moucle 205
mulɑ̃ 54, 272
mulɛ̃ a kuːd 206, 249
muly də si 140
muly t si 206
muɲe for Fr. meunier 206, 270
muriːr 147
mus Fr. mousse 207
muʃ◡ːr 15
muʃwe 96
muj 153
mujase 207, 270
muje 131, 160, 162
mʊd 150
mʊl 49, 50
mʊʃ Fr. mouche 49, 50
myk Fr. mucre 207, 265, 277
myːr Fr. mûr 118, 126, 191
myr◡j 87
myz◡ːr 15
myzje 51, 207
mwa Fr. moi 120
mw◡ Fr. mois 14
mw◡ Fr. mois 173, 194
mwa Fr. moi 60, 120
mwa Fr. mois 194
mwaz 120
mwɛ̃ 165
mwɛce 87, 273, 274
mwɛsɔ̃ 62
mwɛzi 62
mwɛjɛ̃ 63
mjø 125, 245

n◡ˑsjæ̃ 76
nagan 257
naif 71
naɪf 34, 111
nanan 208
nani 21, 22
nanse 225
nansɪ 220, 225, 240
nap 16, 251
narf 18, 70, 110
narvø 19
navije 88
naz◡ːr 15
nazweːr 60
ne Fr. né 24
ne Fr. nez 224, 245
neɑ̃ˑmwɛ̃ 173
neje 63
neːz 24, 30, 181, 186
nɛt 73, 112, 136, 164
nɛːt forms 150
nɛtwɛje 110
nɛje 63
nɛtwɛje 184
nɛːʒ 30
nə 33
ni Fr. ni 173
nigog 257
nik 265, 270
nikʌl 41
nini 192
nitʊʃ 49, 50
nik Fr. nid 208
nirɛlø 208
nɯk Fr. nid 85
no 122
noɛl 200
noːr 37
nordɛ (not *nɔrdɛ*) 74, 75
norwa (rather than *nɔrwa* 98, 246) 72, 98, 246
noz 122
nɔme 40, 113, 241
nɔre 220, 223, 247
nɔrmɑ̃ˑdo (family name) 219
nɔːs d oːr 210
nɔt 122
nʌt 241
nʌts 254
nɔ̃ 168
nɔ̃ p◡ Fr. non pas 248
nø Fr. neuf 70, 112, 207, 214, 265, 267, 277
nøf 42
nøf, nø-z 114
(nöf) 71
nœr oːr 233
nu 100, 115, 120, *passim*
nu dø 121
nu prənɔ̃ 101
nuriːr 143
nuz (not *nouz* 115) 115, 120
nuz oˑt 121
nw◡ 14
nwɛːr 62, 154
nwɛrɔ̃ 210
nwɛje 114
nwɛjo 63
nɥaːʒ 50, 240

ɲɛ Fr. niais 101
ɲɛs 101, 182
ɲɛːzri 34
ɲɛzri 101

o Fr. eau 36, 216
o Fr. haut 214
o Fr. os 36
oˑbarʒ (not *oˑbaːrʒ* 18) 18, 66
obejiːr 143
oˑbɛl 208, 277
obli 38, 39, 48, 235, 250, 267
oblije (not *oblie*) 251
odɛt (family name) 219
oˑxordɥi (rather than *oxordɥi* 38, 39, 104) 38, 39, 104, 164, 249
oˑcɛ̃ (rather than *ocɛ̃*) 86
oˑcɑ̃ (rather than *ocɑ̃*) 86
oˑcynmɛ̃ 168
o larʒ 256
o ljøːr Fr. au lieu 217
o ljøːr də 169, 171
oprɛ də Fr. auprès de 169
oːr Fr. hors 38, 169
oːr Fr. or 108, 109, 210
oːr Fr. or (maintenant) 38
o r◡ Fr. au ras 187, 209
o r◡ də 169, 171
oˑsi 37, 112, 162
oˑsi bjɛ̃ kə 173
oˑsito kə (not *oˑsitɔ kə*) 173
oˑt 120, 205, 211, 215, *passim*
oˑtɑ̃ 37, 165
oˑtɑ̃ kɔm oˑtɑ̃ 168
oˑte 37, 117
oˑtɛl (not *oˑtel* 108) 108, 109
oˑtmwɛ̃ 260
oˑtɔn (rather than *otɔn*) 108, 215, 249
oˑtʌn (rather than *otʌn*) 41
oˑtœrfwa (rather than *otœrfwa*) 93, 163
oˑtun 49
o vɛːp 217
orərˑle 241
ojys 220, 223
oˑzordɥi (rather than *ozordɥi* 104, 164) 38, 39, 104, 163, 164, 197, 273, 274, 277, 278, *passim*
oˑzɔrdɥi (not *oˑzɔrdɥi*) 109

ɔbeːr 24
ɔˈbejːr (not *ɔˈbejːr*) 143
ɔbejisɛ̃ 123
ɔbljɛ 48
ɔbjɛkte 241
ɔdɔrᵕ 9
ɔfɪs 233, 241
ɔfri 272
ɔfriːr 147
ɔktɔb 85
ɔm 106, 127, *passim*
ɔmɛːt 30
ɔnɔ̃ 40
ɔkype 40
ɔpiɲɔ̃ 101
ɔpital 110
ɔpcɛ̃ːd (not *ɔpcɛ̃d*) 67; forms 150
ɔprɛse 178
ɔpsarve 19, 67
ɔpstak 16, 67
ɔptəniːr 67, 273, 274
ɔːr 108
ɔrᵕkːk 12
ɔraːʒ 108, 109, 171
ɔrɑ̃ 54
ɔrɑ̃ːʒ 114
ɔreje 108, 109
ɔrɛːj 240
ɔrɛjɔ̃ 88
ɔrg 82, 108, 109
ɔrgilɲø 92
ɔrgijø 92
ɔriɲe 35, 36, 109
ɔrijɔ̃ 88
ɔrjɛt 74
ɔrjijø (for Fr. orgelet) 88
ɔrjøj 88
ɔrjøjø 88
ɔrʒ 194
ɔrːʒ 229
ɔstinᵕsjɑ̃ 66
ɔstine (not *ɔstin*) 66, 67, 264, 265, 267, 270, 273, 274, 277, 278
ɔstinemɛ̃ 66
ɔˈtɔn 109
ɔʒɔrdɥi 33, 39, 51

ɔ̃ *passim*, 128, 130 foot-note 1, 181
ɔ̃ˈdatra 260
ɔ̃ːg 106
ɔ̃ːk (rather than *ɔ̃k* 202) 154, 178, 202, 203, *passim*
ɔ̃(n) 115
ɔ̃ːz 114

ø Fr. eux 42, 120
ø dø 121
øf 42; Fr. œufs 70, 110, 278
øn Fr. une 50, 65, 107
øːr Fr. heure 42, 162, 224
ørekᵕːr 14
ørmøːj 210
ørøzmɛ̃ 167
øz Fr. eux 120
øz oˈt 121, 125, 128, *passim*

œf Fr. œufs 70
œn Fr. une 107, 113

œ̃ Fr. un 58, 60, 70, 107
œ̃, *øn* Fr. un 113
œ̃n, *œn*, *yn* 107
œ̃ pø 112

paɹl 242
pa(ː)r 169
pare 209
pavtf 243
pᵕ Fr. pas 9, 168
pᵕ for Fr. in- 208
pᵕːk 15
pᵕːkaːʒ 84
pᵕːl 15
pᵕˈliːr 12, 34
pᵕˈlɪːr 12
pᵕ œ̃ 128
pᵕːr 13
pᵕˈrɛ̃ 12
pᵕre 203, 209, 270
pᵕːs 177
pᵕˈsaːʒe (rather than *pᵕsaʒˈe* 17) 17, 241
pᵕˈse 12, 76, 200, 232, 232
pᵕˈse tɔ byte 176
pᵕˈtiːr 12
pᵕˈtɪsri 12, 35
pᵕˈtyraːʒ 12
pᵕːj 11, 24, 30
pagaːj 209, 256, 258
pageje 209
pakan 260
pace 86
palɛ 31
pane 23, 101
pap 16
papᵕ (not *papa* 214) 169, 176, 208, 214, 216, 243
papina 258
papœrman 242
par (not *paɾ* 200) 200, 230
pa(ː)r 169
parapɛl 184, 209
parapɥi 91, 92
parɛ̃ 122, 128
pard 71
pardɔne (not *pardone*) 117
pardri 19
pardy 19, 49, 241, 249, 253
pare 209
parej 192
parɛ 126
parɛsø 124
parɛːt forms 150
parfɛ̃ 58
parfɛt (not *parfɛt*) 29
parfɪd 19, 34
parl 18, 224
parlᵕ Fr. prélart 94
parlᵕːje 202
parle 90, 117
parlərᵕ 116
parlɔte 202
parmɛt 19
parmi 169
parɔkje 19
parɔce 86
parpetɥe 19
parseverãːs 19
parsi 19
parsistãːs 20
parsiste 20
parsɔn 20, 67, 124, 128, 182, 183, 212, *passim*
parsɔnaːʒ 20
parsɔnɛl 20
parsʌn 50
parswade 20
parswe 97
parsjɛn 19
parˈf 18
part 18, 20, 110, *passim*
parti (not *pᵕrti* 201) 121, 162, 240, 245

partinas 20
partiːr 49, 143
partu 241
parvarsjɔ̃ 20
parvartiːr 20
parvartsiːr 20
parwɛs 67
pask(ə) 173
paspejᵕ 88
pasjɛ̃ 209
pasjɛ̃ːs 56
pat 16, 171, 209
patak 85, 207
patat 152, 166, 180, 211, 254, 258, *passim*
patã 54
patent 241
patoˑʒe 217
patɔʃ 217
patuje 202
patwa 59
pave 17
paːj 11, 30
pajas 248
paʒe 192, 209, 265
pã Fr. pain 54, 216, 254
pã Fr. pin 54
pã Fr. pont 55
pãˑbina 258
pãˑd 55
pãˑdɔːr 13
pãˑnã (not *pānã* 72) 72, 169, 171
pãˑnã kə 173
pãˑtut (not *p ã tut*) 168
pɛ̃ Fr. paon 55, 56
pɛ̃ˑtyre 118
peizan 58
peizã 58
pemastoːr 241
pemikã 260
penɛri 27, 31, 32
pepeːr 210, 264
pepinjeːr 200
peːr Fr. père 24, 106, 272, 274, 276, 278
peri 34
peribɔ̃ka 260
petwan 260
peje 108, 148, 232
peje pur 250
pɛ Fr. je paye 140, 147
pɛdlɔːr 242
pɛmbina 260
pɛmɛːtr 241
pɛn 29, 109
pɛːr Fr. paire 199, 237, 243, 247
pɛːr for Fr. pis d'une vache 210
pɛrd 149
pɛːf (rather than *pɛf* 80) Fr. pêche 30, 80, 105, 127, *passim*
pɛːfe 212
pɛje 193, 242
pɛːziːb 30, 34
pɛ̃ Fr. pain 55, 57
pɛ̃ːt 57
pəzã 210
p(ə)ze 139
pəpᵕ 9
p(ə)tã 260
pi Fr. puis 35, 52, 140, 163, 185, 214, *passim*
pik 210
pikwa 258
picã 194, 210
pice Fr. piquet 222
pice Fr. pitié 87, 225
pilyl 167
pinkɛ̃ 258
piɔʃ 201
piːr 34
pirɔg 258
pit 203, 220, 223, 242
piwi (not *piwı*) 260
pijᵕːr 13, 34
pijʏ 95
plaːstə(r) 227
plᵕːt Fr. plâtre 15
plas 16, 216; for Fr. plancher 154, 183, 211, 265, 268
plastoːr 227, 242
plat 73, 112
plã Fr. plein 54, 198, 217, 252
plãˑfe 140, 206, 212
plãːt 112, 222
plɛdo 111
plɛn 177, 215
plɛpeːr 101
plɛːr 155; forms 156, 157
plɛ̃ 57
plɛ̃ːd 7, 57; conjugated 152, 153
pli Fr. pluie 51
plɔrɔrᵕ 116
ply Fr. plus 91, 165, 166, 168
plyme 211, 268
plys Fr. plus 79, 140, 165, 166
plyskɔ Fr. puisque 92
plys kə 173
plyzjeːr 110, 127, 128, *passim*
po 36
pomɔnik 211, 264, 265
pomɔ̃ 38, 39
pomɔnik 211
poːr Fr. porc 38
poːr Fr. port 38
postudʒ 242
postɔfis 242
poːv 36, 224
pororte 93
pɔl 121, 223
pɔli 124
pɔlɪt 140, 220, 223, 224, 228
pɔlɔ̃ 186, 203, 220, 223
pɔm 118
pɔmɔnik 211, 277
pɔɲᵕːr 13, 40
pɔɲe Fr. (em)poigner 171
pɔɲe Fr. poignet 40
pɔrt 230, 232
pɔrtaʒe 211
pɔrte 124
pɔrtfɛ 231
pɔrt le 118
pɔsiːb 40
pɔst 40, 41, 239
pɔstal 16
pɔf 40, 207, 233
pɔt 73, 74, 177, 224
pɔtrin 34, 40, 273
(*pɔ̃m* 41)
pʌl 41
pʌm Fr. paume 37
pʌm Fr. pomme 41
pʌmps 243
pʌntf 243
pʌŋ 183, 243
pʌst 41
pɔ̃ Fr. pont 171
pɔ̃ˑpʏ 95
pɔ̃ ti Fr. pondent-elles 50
pɔ̃ˑtipikᵕ 9
pø Fr. peux 42
pø Fr. peu 142, 165

pøp 42
popolje 44, 63, 91, 94, 165, 175, 225
popɑlje 91, 92
pɔ:r 42, 109, 153, 215, 244
pɔrl◡ 94, 99
pɔrmaje 93, 201
pɔrne 93
pɔrnɛ: ɑ̃ p◡ 122
pɔrnɛr-r 95
pørse 44, 173, 213
pærsø:r 243
pørswe 96
pørzydɪs 94
pɪple 43
pɪrizi 35, 43, 91, 92, 164, 221
pɪro 43
pɪrzydɪs 27, 28, 94
pœ:r 148
pœrl◡ 94
pp◡ 9
prɑ̃ 49, 110, 183
prɑ̃:d 150; forms 151
prɑ̃:d ən marf 243
prɑ̃:z ɑ̃ p◡ 122
prɛ̃ 49, 110, 167, 183
prɛ̃·sipal 113
prɛ̃·tɛ̃ 67
prefɛ:r 126
prel◡ 10
pretɪr 268
pretɪr-r 95
prezarve 20
prezɑ̃ 247
prɛ dø 169
prɛs 228
prɛsk 166
prɛ·fe 30, 131
prɛ:t Fr. prêtre 30, 131, 239
prɛ·te (not *prete* 243) 216, 243
prɛtəre 117
prəmje 114
prəmje:r 109, 114
pri Fr. pris 246
prive 68
prije 165
prije:r 25
prizɔne 101
prɔbɑ:b 16
prɔfɪt 152
prɔfite 152
prɔm(ɔ)ne 161
prɔ◡mi 174
prɔp 118, 204
prɔʃɛ̃ 40
prɔʃɛn 109
prɔvarb 18, 25
prɔne 101
pti 60, 73, 189, 225, *passim*
ptit 183
ptɪt 152
ptœne 260
ptœnø 260
ptœnœ:r 260
ptʃi 80
pudɪŋ 227
pudørri 93
pudrəri 212
pulamɔ̃ 212, 215
pulɛ 160
pum 49
pumø◡:r 49
pur 60
pu(:)r 169
pur kə 173
purkwas Fr. pourquoi est-ce 121, 166, 167, 173
pursyi:r 147, 264, 265, 268, 270, 273, 277
purtɑ̃ 173
purvy kɔ 173
pusa·je 212
pus◡·je 212
puse 109, 152
pusje:r 25, 140
put 73
puwɛ:r 46, 69, 154, 155; forms 157
pʊl 49, 50, 105, 160
pʊlin 227, 243
py Fr. plus 51, 91, 92, 168, 183, 265, 268
pyni:r 143
pynise 164
py ən afɛ:r 212
pys kə 173
pyto 163, 164
pw◡ Fr. poids 14
pw◡ Fr. pois 14, 191
pwarje (family name) 219
pwɛ̃t dy ʒu:r 142
pwɛ·te 142
pwesɔ̃ 60
pwe·zɔ̃ 60, 108
pwɛ:l 106, 112, 244
pwɛ:r 62, 122, 126, *passim*
pwɛro 62
pwɛrje (family name) 219
pwɛ:v 62, 69
pwɛvərje:r 25
pwɛvrje:r 25
pwɛ̃·te 142
pjano 50, 126
pja:r (not *piar* 88, 220) Fr. Pierre 18, 88, 220, 223, 240
pjaro (not *piaro* 220) 220, 223, 243
pjas 74, 75, 78, 232
pje 213
pjɛno 32
pjɛ:r 112
pjɛs (not *piɛs* 199, 226) 76, 199, 226
pjo:l 210, 211
pyi Fr. pluie 51, 91, 92, 164, 191
pɥi Fr. puits 203

ra:l 92
ramystfe 212
ramysje 212
ra·tɛ:r 212
r◡ Fr. ras 10, 187
r◡ Fr. rat 10
r◡·f 244
r◡:fl 244
r◡·mysce 212
r◡·mystfe 212
r◡·mysje 212
r◡·pe 12
r◡:r 13, 15, 92
r◡·tɛ:r 212, 213, 270
r◡·to 12
r◡·je 13
rab◡ 173, 213
rabu:r 65, 97
rabure 97
raf 243
rafrɛ·fɪ:r 30
rak 215, 244
rakɔkije 225
rakɔrce 97, 98
ram◡:s 171
ram◡·se 12, 200, 257
rame 99
ramystfe 89

ramyʂje 89
raple 139
rapoːr 67
ras 16
ravɛ̃ 69
razwe 96
raːʒ 16
raʒve 81
raʒɥe 81
rɑ̃ Fr. rein 54, 218, 242
rɑ̃ Fr. rond 55
rɑ̃ːbri 97
rɑ̃ːbrisaːʒ (rather than *rɑ̃brisaːʒ*) 97
rɑ̃ːd 162
rɑ̃ːfle 55
rɑ̃ːfɔrme 151
rɑ̃ːxe 213, 270
rɑ̃ːkɔ̃ːtre 113
rɑ̃ːpɔːr 13, 15
rɑ̃ːpliːr 143
rɑ̃ːt Fr. rentre 216
rɑ̃ːtre 162
rɑ̃ːtrɛje 213
rɑ̃ːvɔrse 44, 251
rɑ̃ːweje 63
rɑ̃ːwɛje 69
rɑ̃ːze 55
rɑ̃ːz 216
re bɔːtɛːm 174
rediːr 29
redzɥiːr 25
regale 82
regle 82
reklɔːm 15
rekɔlte 188
rekɥiam (not *rekwiam*) 21, 22
repɑ̃ːd 55
repete 117
repɔne Fr. répondu 152
repɔ̃ːd 150; forms 151, 152
rɛs Fr. (tu) restes 151
retɪf 34, 71, 110, 111, 122, *passim*
retɔrsiːr 94
retɪrsiːr (rather than *retyrsir* 27) 27, 28, 94
reziperː 213
rezɔn 124
rezɔne 26, 27
rezɥiːr (not *rezɥːir*) 81
rɛd 50
rɛdiːr 29
rɛg 29, 82
rɛːn Fr. reine 30
rɛn Fr. renne 30
rɛnf 254
rɛste 73, 76, 121, 162
rɛsti 174
rɛːv 69
rɛːzɔ̃ 30, 79, 92
rəboːr 37
rəbuːr 265
rəflɑ̃ 70, 91, 92
rəforme 44
rəgard 125
rəgrɛ 82, 131
rəkɔmɑ̃ːde 117
rəkuːr 84
rəlɔːf 15
rəlik (*ik*) 109
rəmarsimɛ̃ 20
rəmarsje 20, 92
rəmniːr (rather than *rəmnir*) 100
rəmoːr 37
rəne 33, 101
rəpɑ̃ːtiːr 33
rəpri 67
rəpoːze 33, 218
rəpozwe 96
rəprɔf 33
rəsɑ̃ːb 192
rəfarfe 20
rətirɑ̃ːs 33, 213, 214, 268, 277
rətrɛt 29
rəvɑ̃ːʒ 81
rəvniːr (instead of *rəvəniːr*) 231
rəvire 218
(*rəṽniːr*) (rather than *rəṽnir*) 100
rəʒjɛ̃ 178
ri 126
rido 36
riːr conjugated 148
rirɔ 116
rixːr 43
rifɔːr 15
rifɔvːr 15
riːv 92
rɪt 254
rkɔŋ 154
rlre 192
roa Fr. rouet 21, 74
rotsi 48
rotsiːr 48
roːd 36
rɔdo (not *rɔdo*) 254
rɔdɪr (not *rɔdɪr*) 95, 268
roːz 37, 79, 146, *passim*
rɔb 40, 178, *passim*
rɔːb 239
rɔfe 171
rɑf 118, 244
rɑn 234, 244
rɔ̃ːflɪr-r 95
rɔ̃ːp 149
rɔ̃ːʒɪr 95
rpoːzwe 97
rsɑwɛːr 69, 154, 155; forms 157
rsɥ 230, 249
rfarf 253
rtsirɑ̃ːs 33
ru Fr. roue 45, 253
rua 21
rut 172, 229
ruti 47, 48
rutiːr 47, 48
ruʒ 81
ruʒi 46
ruʒɪr-r 95
rydweje 63
rym 119, 195
rymatɪs 8, 99
ryso 51, 108, 121, 214, *passim*
rrɔnɑ̃ 218
rwa (not *rɔa* 31) Fr. rouet 31, 74
rwejal 63
rwejɔm 63
rwɛt 74
rwɛjal 16
rjɛ̃ 128, 176
rjɛ̃ kə 168

s Fr. se 115
s Fr. ce 123, 124, 126
sɔ 10, 50, 76, 115, 124, 125, 126, *passim*
sɔːb 11, 12, 50
sɔspan 244
sa Fr. ça 10
sa Fr. sa 122
sabɔ (not *sabɔ* 10) 10, 66
sagamite 261
saiboːr 246
sak 16
sakawa 261

sakormɛ̃ 93
sakorfɪs 94
sakɪrfɪs 34
sakr 174
sakre 174
sakre fu 174
sakre mɔdi fu 174
sakrilɛʒ 24
sakristi 174
sal 16, 118, 136, 212. *passim*
sala:d 16
sale 177, 216
salɔ̃ 245
salwa 97
salwe 96
sapũ Fr. sapin 54
sapɛ̃ Fr. sapin 17
sapẽ Fr. sapin 17
saprɛsti 174
sare Fr. saurai 223, 277
sarf 70, 110
sarfœ:j 77
sarmɛ̃ 20
sarmɔ̃ 20, 211
sarmɔne 20
sarp 18
sarpɛ̃ 20
sart 18, 20
sartɛ̃ 20
sartɛnmɛ̃ 167
sarvɛ̃ 20
sarvi 128
sarvi:r 20, 143
sarvitɪ:r 43
sarvɪs 20, 34
sarvitø 20
sarvityd 20
sarvja:b 20
sarvjɛt 20
sarʒ 18
sarʒɛ̃ 20
satũ Fr. satin 54
satɛ̃ Fr. satin 17
satẽ Fr. satin (not *satɛ̃*) 17
satisfɛt 29
savate 214
savaʒɛs 256, 258
savɔnɛt 214
savɔ̃ 189
sa vu Fr. savez-vous 273, 277
sawajɛn 261
sawɛ:r 62, 69, 155; forms 158
sã Fr. sans 169
sã Fr. sens 78
sã·ble 140. 142, 162
sã kə 173
sã:t 175
sã·tɛn 29
sã·ti:r 143
sã·ti(:r) a 170
sã·tral 16
sã·z 114
sãʒe 55
sɛ̃, sɛ̃·k, sɛ̃·z Fr. cinq 113
sɛ̃ Fr. saint 216
sɛ̃·kã:t 114
sɛ̃:n 232
sɛ̃·pati 73
sɛ̃:t 50
sɛ̃:t ɔ:n 109
sɛ̃ ʒɛrmɛ̃ 118
se Fr. ses 122
se Fr. ces 123
sede 76
se:f 244
seler◡ 10
selɛb 29
sen◡ 10
serjø 186
serjøzmɛ̃ 224
s e sakrã 174
sejɔ̃ 201, 268, 270, 277
sez Fr. ses 122
sez Fr. ces 123
sezã 258
sezi:r 143
sɛ:k 76
sɛktã:b 173
sɛl Fr. sel 76, 90
sɛrtifik◡ 10
sɛg 82
sɛk 84
sɛktã:b 85
sɛn 232
sɛnt 232
sɛre Fr. serrer 179; (serré) 247
sɛf 240
sɛt E. set 245; (not *set*) 249
sɛt, sɛ-z 114
sɛtle 245
sɛ:v 69
sejɔ̃ 27
sɛ:z Fr. seize 114
sɛzi:r 143
sɛ·zi:r 30
sɛ·zisa:b 30
sɛ·zɔ̃ 30
sə Fr. ce 33, 115, 123, 124, 126, *passim*
səkup 33
səku:r 33
s(əl)a 125
səl◡ 10, 33
səlʊn 227
selʊn 227
s(ɔl)ɳi 126
səmã:s 214
semã:s 33
səme 118
səmɛn 221, 231, 240
s(ə)mɛn 233, 243
s(ə)t 123, 124
si Fr. si 168. 247
si Fr. -ci 124
si Fr. scie 140, 197
siflø 111
simce:r 87
sinal 110
si:r (family name) 219
sis, sɪs, si-z 114
sisil 225
sisɪl 35, 220, 225, 226
sitarn 18
s i vu plɛ 249
sije for Fr. siffler 214, 268, 270
sɪt Fr. -ci 124, 194
sɪt Fr. ici 166, 167
skw◡ 258
sl◡ 10
slab 246
slak 246
slace 247
slipørs 247
smart 247
s mezɔ̃ 124
smɛn 127. 154
snak 172. 247
so Fr. saut 37
so:r 37, 76
sosje:r 25
so:v 148
sova:ʒ 88, 209. 256
sovaʒɛs 88. 209
sɔld◡ 10
sɔn Fr. sonne 216
sɔnr-r 95

sɔɲ 178
sɔɲe 40, 61, 140, 142, *passim*
sɔɲø 61, 273
sɔrsje:r 25
sɔrt Fr. sorte 40, 176
sɔrti 162, 254
sɔrti:r 143
sɔrtir⌣ (not *sortir⌣*) 10
sʌl Fr. sol 41
sɔ̃(n) 122
sɔ̃:b 66
søl⌣ Fr. celle-là 124
søme 52
søl Fr. celle 124, 125
søl Fr. seul 42, 211
sølsit (*it*) 124
sø:r 42, 192, 237
sørwa 45, 72, 98
sø:z Fr. ceux 124, 125, 126, 228
søz l⌣ 126
sø:z l⌣ 124, 125
søzisit 126
søzsi 126
so:z sit 124, 125
span 234, 247
spɑ̃:dɑ̃ 173
spɛktak 16
spitf 248
spri 248
sprɪŋ 248
s sove 148
st⌣sjɔ̃ 109
stand 248
ste:k 249
(*sterre* E. star) 18
stɛl(i)sit 126
stɛll⌣ 126
stɛlsi 126
stə 123, 124
stəlɥi 124, 125, 126
stəlɥil⌣ 124, 125
stəlɥisit (*it*) 124, 125
stil⌣ 126
stim 233, 239, 243, 249
stimbot 227
sti:mbʊt 227
stimœ:r 249
stisit 126
stɪmbɔot 227
stɔk 249
stʌd(s) 245
stʌd(z) 249
stʌf 215, 234, 250
stol⌣ 124
stølsit (*it*) 124
strap 249
strɛ̃:g 74, 76
stʊk(s) 249
stypi:d 136
suborkje (*suborce*) 47, 48
suborce 86, 94
subrice 86
su:d 150; forms 152
sucɛ̃ 87
suf 70
suflr-r 95
sufri 272
sule:v 141, 228
sulve 139
sumɑ̃:s 51, 52
sune 49
suɲe 40, 49
sup 68, 229
supe 136, 226
sup(ə)ze 139
supjɛ:r 25
sur Fr. sous 97, 98, 171
su(:)r Fr. sous 169
surd 71
surifo 77, 270
surifod 69, 266
surwa 97, 98
susɪs 47, 48
sutɛrɑ̃ 54
suvɛ̃ 163
suvɛrɑ̃ 54
suje 49, 89, 136, 177, 258, *passim*
sy Fr. chez 45, 51, 52, 77, 169, 172, 244, 247
sy Fr. sud 246
sy Fr. (je) suis 51, 132, *passim*
sy Fr. sur 50, 77, 98, 99, 110, 169, 171, 172, 184, 206, 240, 264, 268, 270, 273, 277, *passim*
syɛtr 72
syfi 70
sy l kɑ̃ 200
sy l lɔ̃ 172
syme 51, 52, 231, 273
sypo:z 37
syprɛm 29
syr Fr. sous 77, 97
sy:r Fr. sur 254
syr Fr. sûr 193
syrmɛ̃ 168
syrwa 72
sywɛje 250
syzɛt 73, 112, 113
swa Fr. soi 115, 120, 121
swa Fr. soi 120
swene 40, 61
swenø 61
swɛ:r 213
swesɑ̃:t 61
swejɔ̃ 63
swɛf 62, 70
swɛ:r 161
swɛsɑ̃:t 114
swɛsɑ̃:tdis, -dɪs, -di-z 114
swɛsɑ̃:tedis, -dɪs, -di-z 114
swite 250
swɪtf 250
sjarʒ 18
sje:ʒ 248
-sjɛ̃ Fr. -tion 56
sje:ʒ 24
sjɛl 76
sjo Fr. seau 35, 36, 264, 265, 268, 270, 273, 277
sɥi 126
sɥig Fr. celui que 127
sɥil⌣ 126, 273
sɥisi(t) 126
sɥɪt 154
sɥiv 109

ʃ Fr. je 115
ʃ⌣ 10
ʃ⌣k 212, 215
ʃ⌣:r 13, 92, 188, 241, 250
ʃ⌣rce 87
ʃ⌣ry 14
ʃ⌣rwɛ:je 14
ʃ⌣rje 172
ʃ⌣rjo 14
ʃ⌣tɛn Fr. châtaigne 100, 101
ʃ⌣tɛn Fr. châtain 13, 29
ʃ⌣tlɛn 13
ʃ⌣timɛ̃ 56
ʃ⌣to 13, 37
ʃ⌣to d kylɔt (rather than *ʃ⌣:to*) 215
ʃagamo 259
ʃakɛ̃ (better *ʃacɛ̃*) 58
ʃakɑ̃ 17

ʃaʊ̃ 86
ʃaʊ̃ 86, 128
ʃalɪ:r 7, 43
ʃap Fr. écharpe 27, 28, 68, 98, 99, 154
ʃapo 127, 214
ʃarfø:j 20, 77, 80
ʃarʃe 20, 109
ʃarl 80, 113, 121
ʃarpɛ̃:ce 87
ʃarf 222
ʃarʃe 121, 243
ʃarʒ 114
ʃarʒe 232, 251
ʃapo 23
ʃarfo:j 270
ʃarʃe 246
ʃaspɛ̃:t 247
ʃatɔn 246
ʃatsɛl 247
ʃã:b 118, 161
ʃã:dɛl 71
ʃã:ce 87
ʃã:pʊn 227
ʃã:sɔɲe:r 101
ʃã:t 118
ʃã:tø 111
ʃã:ʒ 232
ʃã:ʒe 123
ʃã:ʒɪ 95
ʃæmpu:ɲ 227
ʃæmpʊʊɲ 227
ʃæpo 23
ʃeɯ Germ. schön 36
ʃe:p 245
ʃe:p də ʃapo 245
ʃe:ve 246
ʃɛd 186, 245
ʃɛ:n 204
ʃɛ:r 167, 193
ʃɛrite Fr. charité 31, 32, 183
ʃɛs Fr. sèche 77, 240
ʃɛse 77, 268
ʃɛsrɛs 77
ʃɛswɛ:r 77
ʃɛvrø 44
ʃɛ:z 30, 147, 199
ʃəʃe:r 83
ʃ(ə)mã 54, 244, 250, 276
ʃ(ə)mɛ̃ 272, 276
ʃʃal 69, 81
ʃʃo 69, 81
ʃiʃɲe 102
ʃikane 102
ʃi:r 246
ʃipe 246
ʃmã 274
ʃmɛ̃ 32, 124, 189, 217, 244, 274, 278
ʃmɛ̃ d (t) fɛ:r 233
ʃnice 247
ʃomje:r 25
ʃoje:r (rather than *ʃojer*) 88
ʃo:z 79
ʃɔfa 80
ʃɔkɔlᵕ 10
ʃɔp 245
ʃø Fr. chez 45, 115, 120, 169, 172, 264, 266, 268, 270, 277
ʃøf 70
ʃøz Fr. chez 169, 172
ʃøz ø Fr. chez lui, chez elle 121, 125
ʃre Fr. (je) serai 80
ʃ se Fr. je sais 115
ʃ sy Fr. je suis 115, 121, *passim*
ʃ sy aprɛ 110
ʃ ʃã:t 115
ʃu 80
ʃutjam (not *ʃutiam*) 76
ʃʊs 49, 50, 77
ʃy Fr. (je) suis 80
ʃyne Fr. cheminée 52
ʃyt 73, 174
ʃy Fr. chez 169, 172, 222
ʃyz Fr. chez 169, 172
ʃyz ø 136
ʃwa 59
ʃwajɛ̃ 260
ʃwɛzi:r 143
swɪtʃ 188
ʃjɛ̃ 80
ʃyine Fr. cheminée 52

t Fr. tu, te 115, 116
t in *parl t i* 118
taɪz 251
tᵕ 10, 172
t(ᵕ) 277
t ᵕ k a wɛ:r 123
tᵕ:r 15, 163, 165, 213
tᵕ:s 15
tᵕ:t 176
tᵕtune 47, 48
tᵕ:f 15
tᵕte 13
tᵕ:j 11
tᵕje 258
tᵕjø 88
tᵕjø:r 87
tᵕjɪ:r 13
tᵕjæ:r 88
ta 10, 122
tab 65, 66, 124, 232, *passim*
ta:b 8, 16, 66
tabᵕ 10, 66, 243, 254, 259
tabagan 259
tabace:r 87
tabølje 63, 66, 91, 92, 94, 165
tale:r 163, 164, 165, 235, 264
tamɔhᵕk 259
tanã:t 125
tane 243
tap 251
tapi 204
tarase 20
tardɪf 35, 71, 111, 112
tari:b 20, 34
tarɪb 20, 34, 92
tarm 18
tarni:r 20
tarje:r 25, 109
tasəri 215
tazi 220, 225, 252
tã 165
tã:bu:r 215
tã:di kə 173
tã:dis kə 173
tã:dormɛ̃ 94
tã kə 173
tã:pɛ:t 243
tãsjɔ̃ Fr. attention 223
tã:t 112, 189, 252
tɛ̃ Fr. temps 56, 72, 113, 127, 214, 234, *passim*
tɛ̃:be 45
tɛ̃:k 251
te Fr. tes 122
te Fr. thé 176
tebo:r 251
te:r Fr. taire 155
te:ty 170
tez Fr. tes 122
tɛ:r Fr. taire 155; forms 158
tɛ:r Fr. terre 92, 110, 230, 239
tɛri 243

tɛriːr 31, 32, 215
tɛːt 30
tɛt bɛ̃ k wi 168
tɛːt d arije 216
tɛty 170
tɛze vu 121
tɛ̃ːbe 45
tɛ̃ːd 7, 154
tɛ̃ːdy 57
tə 33, 115, 116
təxur 104
təmᵕːj 11
təʒu 163, 165, 194, 253
təʒur 33, 163, 165, 181
ti in interrogation, exclamation, etc. 50, 118; 128, 132, 133, 134, 160, 161, 175, 178, 186, 246, 273, 277
tibɔdo (family name) 219
tikwape 261
ticɛt 251
tim 227, 237, 251
tiːm 227
tinɛt 177
ti pɔl 223
tirᵕːje 13, 34
tirᵕːjmɛ̃ 13
tirwe 96
tit Fr. petite 89
tizan 176
tizɔne 102, 171
tiːʒ 34
tim 227
toːl 216
tolain (not *tolain*) 243, 252
toːro 37
toːs 252
toːz 252
tɔdoːr 220, 224
tɔdɔːr 224
tɔf 252
tɔmak 85, 254, 259
tɔn 162
tɔ(n) 122
tɔrᵕːj 11, 216
tʌf 252
tʌfe 253
tʌmblə(r) 227
tʌn 41
tɔ̃ːbe 116
tɔ̃ːbe ɑ̃ amuːr 252
tɔ̃ːbləːr 227, 252
tɑ̃ːbe 45, 116, 162, *passim*
trap 16
travaːj 106, 125, 222
travaje 116, 209, *passim*
travaje o mece 203
travɛːr 231
travɔrs (not *travors*) 44
travɔrsɑ̃ 44, 54
travɔrse 44
travɔrsje 44
travɪrrs 17
trazor 22
trɑ̃ Fr. train 54
trɑ̃ Fr. tronc 55
trɑ̃ːblɛ 252
trɑ̃ːkiːj (better *trɑ̃ːciːj*) 34
trɑ̃ːeil 34
trɑ̃ːciːj 86
trɑ̃ːcal 86, 253
trɑ̃ːpe Fr. tromper 55, 158, 161
trɑ̃ːpø 55
trɑ̃ːprːr 55, 95
trɑ̃ːspoːr 37
trɑ̃ːt 114
trɛ̃ 112, 156
trezoːr 37
trezɔrjeːr 25
trɛf 29
trɛmɛn 251
trɛn Fr. traîne (verb) 230
trɛːn Fr. traîne (noun) 216
trɛnᵕːr 15
trɛn a bijo 216
trɛno 184, 195, 232
trɛnr 95
trɛt Fr. traite 29
trɛːt Fr. traître 72
trɛːz 114
trɛ̃nᵕːr 15
tribːr 37
triktrak 216
troto 39
trɔ 40, 50, 109, 165, 180, 210, *passim*
trɔtr 95
trɔtwɛːr 62
trɔ̃ːp 217
trɔ̃ːpe 161
tru 45
trub(l) 232, 252
truɲɔ̃ 47, 48
truːv 175
truve 253
trwa Fr. trois 211
trwas Fr. trois 114
trwᵕ Fr. trois 14, 176, 206, 243
trwᵕːz, trwa-z 113
tsy Fr. tu 134
tʃɛk 233, 234
tʃɛce 233
tʃɛl Fr. quel 87
tʃizɔne 102
tʃuldrən E. children 18
tʃwizɪnɛːr 101
tu Fr. tout 74, 112, 121, *passim*
tu d ɑ̃ː ku 169
tu d sɥt 154
tu la nɥi 74, 76, 151, 153
tu le dø 129
tu l ʒuːr 74, 76
tuːr 45, 72
turceːr 87
turnavɪs 21
turnəvɪs 21
tuʃe 80
tu(t) 128
tut Fr. tout 74, 112
tut ɛ̃fɛ̃ 65
tut on rʌn 244
tu t sɥt (rather than *tu d sɥt*) 154, 242
tʊs Fr. tousse 195
tʊf 49, 50
tʊt Fr. tout 73, 74, 192, 246, 247
ty le 118
ty, t 115, 116
tytweje 63
twa 120
twa Fr. toi 59
twa 120
t wa bjɛ̃ Fr. tu vois bien 115
twa Fr. toit 59
twaz 120
twelɛt 61
twenɛt 220, 226
twɛːz 62
tjun 253
tɥe (not *tɥer* 50) 50, 153, 185, 199
tɥe la lɑ̃p 217

u Fr. os 46, 78

wbliãːs 273, 277
ublize 47, 48, 231, 242
um 49
umᵕːr 47, 48, 171
unɛl 49
up 68
wʁagam 260
us Fr. os 46
us Fr. où est-ce 166
ut Fr. ôte 252
utarːd 213
wte 47, 48, 140, 142, 273, 274
uti 245
wtiko 260
uːv Fr. ouvres 116
uvart 18, 241
uvri 272
uvriːr 147
uvraːʒ 194
wʒurdɥi 39

uːv Fr. ouvre 49

yfɔni 50
yfrɔzini 50
ykaristi 50
ylali 50
ylɔʒi 50
ymøːr 231
yn 70
ynivarsɛl 20
ynivarsite 20
ynɔ̃ 102
yrɔp 50
ystafˑ 50
yʒɛn 50, 220, 224, 253, 273
yʒini 35, 50, 220, 221, 226

vᵕ 10
vᵕːz 11, 198, 217
vᵕˑzø 217
vakabɔ̃ 84, 273, 277
vace 86
val (*c i*) Fr. qu'il vaille 268
valiːz 233
valøːr 217, 246
valʁːr 43
vapʁːr 17, 43
varb 18
vardiːr 20
vardᵕːt 20
vardyːr 20
vardziːr 20
vargl᷊ (not *vargl᷊* 10) 10, 20, 82
varmeːj 20
varmɪn 35
varn Fr. verne (vergne) 102, 217
varn Fr. verne not vergne 100, 249
varniːr 20
varɲ Fr. vergne (verne) 102, 217
vars 18
vart 18
vartigo 20
varty 20
vars 162
vart 154, 204, 275
varʒ 18, 239, 244
varʒe 20, 68
vaf 142
vajãːt 162
vã Fr. vend 225
vã Fr. vent 162, 243, 246
vã Fr. vin 54
vãːd 149
vãˑda Fr. vendais 59
vãˑdørdi 94, 216
vãˑdʁ 95
vãˑte 245
vɛ̃ Fr. vent 56, 162, 243
vɛ̃(t), vɛ̃ˑz 114
vɛ̃ˑtdøˑz 114
vɛ̃ˑteɑ̃, -ɔn 114
verᵕ Fr. verrat 174
veje 136
vezetal 110
vɛlimø 91, 92, 266, 273, 277
vɛːp 217
vɛːr Fr. vers 169
vɛs 78
vɛsɛl 245
vɛsiːj 243
vɛjo 111
vɔniːr 137
vi 34
vide 124
vif for Fr. vive 71, 226
vifmɛ̃ 167
viktwɛːr 62, 220, 226
vilɛ̃ 68
vine 204
vineːg 30, 34
vire 200, 218
virt Fr. vitre 142
viːv 150; forms 152
vijøːr 88, 270
vijʁːr 43
vizaːʒ 118, 213
vizite 110
vɪd 124
vif 111, 112
vit 160
vlᵕ 109, 112, 245
vlɛ̃ 91
vlimø 273, 277
vniːr conjugated 148
vo 50, 122
volwɛːr 38, 39, 155; forms 159
voz 122
vɔl 140
vɔlᵕːj 11, 87, 191
vɔløːr 148
vᵕːt 40, 122
vʌl Fr. vol 41
vø Fr. (je) veux 42, 69
vøːv 42, 69, 111, 112
vøvaːʒ 112
vʁʁaːʒ 43
vra 16, 68
vræ 68
vre 68
vrɛ 68, 158
vu 115, 120
vu dø 121
vulã 109
vulwɛːr 154, 155; forms 159
vuz 115, 120
vuz oˑt 121
vy 50
vjarʒ 18, 34
vjɛ̃ˑdrᵕ (not *viɛ̃ˑdrᵕ*) 237
vjɔlã 55
vjø 201

wa Fr. oie 59, 109
wa Fr. vois 128
wakyːr 59
watyːr 59
wᵕ Fr. oie 109
wᵕˑgɪn 35, 205, 241, 248, 253
wᵕːk 253
wᵕˑran 253
wᵕˑwarɔ̃ 259

wa Fr. voix 69
wabaltik 235
waɪ(:r) (rather than *waɪ:r*) 227
walamif 260
wananif 260
wa:r Fr. voir 69
wa:r E. wire 227, 252
waf 261
wafø:r 253
watap 261
watfe 253
watfman 253
wety:r 61, 62, 179
weja:ʒ 61, 63, 110
wejɛl 63
wezã 54
wezɛ̃ 61, 62; forms 197
wezɛ̃ 196
we:zine 61
wezɪn 61, 62
wezo 61
wɛl◡ 127
wɛ:r 69, 109, 137, 155; conjugated, etc. 159, 160
wɛ:r E. wire 252
-wɛ:r 33
wɛri 34, 62, 69
wɛrɔ̃ 62
wɛt 31, 32, 218, 278
wɛtre 218
wety:r 61, 62, 69, 199, 205, *passim*
wɛja:ʒ 16, 61, 63, 69
wɛjaze 63
wɛjazø 63
wɛjɛl 69
wɛzã 54, 244, 247
wɛzɛ̃ 61, 62, 172
wɛzɪn 7, 35, 61, 62, 109
who 237, 254
wi Fr. oui 165, 168, 212, 217
wɪf 261
wo 237, 254

j Fr. lui 83, 115, 117, 118
ja 254
j◡:b Fr. diable 88, 252
jal Fr. elle 120, 121
jale 134, 135
jamɛ̃ 88
jɛ̃ Fr. rien 89, 109, 128, 184, 240, *passim*
jɛ̃ kə 168
-je:r Fr. -ière 101
jerɛ 88
jerɪ:r 88
jerisab 88, 209
jɛ Fr. guet 88
jɛ:p 30
jɛ:r Fr. guère 88, 168
jɛ:r Fr. guerre 88
jɛ:r Fr. hier 163, 165, 213, 270, *passim*
jɛri 242
jɛ:r swɛ:r 247, 248
jɛrjɛ 88
jɛte 88
ji Fr. lui (before consonants) 83, 89, 117, 118, 245, 273
jibu Fr. hibou 172
jid Fr. guide 83, 270
jide 88
jieze 218
jirlã:d 88
jifɛ 88
jit◡:r 88
jite (family name) 219
jud Fr. guide 88
jø Fr. Dieu 85, 88
jø Fr. gueux 88, 270
jø Fr. leur 89, 115, 117, 118, 273
jøl 88
jœn Fr. un 113
jø:z (rather than *jøz* 88) Fr. gueuse 88, 224, 270
jøz Fr. leur 89, 115
jœn 113
jy Fr. eu 165, *passim*
jystɛ̃ 220, 223, 226
jystɪn 223
jwo 69

z Fr. ce 124
zabɛl 220, 226
zabɛt 220, 226
zarze 20, 218
zavje 220, 224
z bat Fr. se battre 148
zɛ̃:g 83
zɛl 79
zɛro 31, 32, 79
zgɔ̃ 79, 82
zgɔ̃:d 114
zgɔ̃de 79, 82
zgɔ̃-:t 114
zgrete:r 79, 82, 128
zgre 79, 82
zi Fr. lui 115, 117
zido:r 220, 224, 248
zig-zag 82

ʒ Fr. je 115
ʒ◡:k 15
ʒ◡:r 215
ʒ◡:r-r 95
ʒake 220, 224
ʒacɛt 86
ʒaluzri 98, 219
ʒamɛ 112, 168, 183
ʒarb 18
ʒardã 54
ʒardɛ̃ 162
ʒardɪne 102
ʒarmɛ̃ 20, 220, 224
ʒarmɛn 203
ʒarze 20, 27, 35, 79, 218, 242
ʒ ava 16, 131
ʒ avɛ 16
ʒ avɔ̃, etc. 131
ʒ avjɔ̃ (not *ʒ avɔ̃* 234) 115
ʒazɪ:r 95
ʒ aʒɛl 176
ʒ ãn e t ɑn, etc. Fr. j'en ai un 113
ʒãːs 78, 80
ʒɛ̃ 56, 80
ʒɛ̃:s 78
ʒ don 138
ʒ e ◡:t 162
ʒ emi 129
ʒ etjɔ̃ 115
ʒ e y y 129, 131
ʒ e y jy 129, 131
ʒezɥt 35
ʒɛ:n 30
ʒɛrgo:d 219, 266
ʒə 33
ʒə, ʒ, ʃ, xə, x 115
ʒə kuri 129
ʒ(ə)le 139
ʒ(ə)te 139; conjugated, etc. 140
ʒətɪ:r 204
ʒ(ə)val 272, 276
ʒə vnɛ 115
ʒəwo 69
ʒilɪk 35, 220, 226
ʒizje 35, 81, 264, 266, 268

ʒɣɣ 173
ʒl Fr. golée 135
ʒ mɔ̃ pɛ̃ 135
ʒ mɔ̃ sɔ̃b 142
ʒ m sɔ̃b 162
ʒ m sɔ̃bl 172
ʒonzïr 144
ʒɔli 65, 167
ʒɔli Fr. joliment 177
ʒɔlimɛ̃ 207
ʒʌli 177
ʒʌmpe 238
ʒɔdi 216
ʒɔl 125
ʒɔn 42
ʒɔn for Fr. jeunes gens 236
ʒɔnɛs 182, 219, 264, 266
ʒʏnɛs 43
ʒɑli 41
ʒu Fr. (la) joue 45, 108
ʒu Fr. (il) joue 108, 126, 228
ʒukwɛ:r 85, 264
ʒuce 85
ʒuɛr (not *ɛuɛr* 74) 45, 74, 127
ʒurnal 110
ʒykwɛ:r 85
ʒyɛe 85, 266
ʒɣli Fr. Julie 112
ʒymɛ̃ 56, 81, 247
ʒypɑ̃ 55
ʒypɛ̃ 55
ʒys 78, 209, 298
ʒysk 233
ʒysk a s kə 173
ʒyʒ 80, 209
ʒral 32, 69, 81, 274, 278, *passim*
ʒral Fr. chevaux 106, 110, 182, 189, 237, 247, 268, *passim*
ʒrale 81
ʒ vənɛ 115
ʒrïj (rather than *ʒvij*) 81
ʒrije 81
ʒro Fr. cheval 110, 122, 128, 186, 192, 244, 266, 268
ʒvo 81, 266, 278
ʒ vjɛ̃ 115
ʒwa 59
ʒwal 69, 81
ʒwe Fr. jouer 46, 240
ʒwɛ̃ 57
ʒwɛ̃:d 57, 151, 152, 153
ʒwo 81, 235
ʒɣal 81
ʒɣale 81
ʒɣi e kri 89
ʒɣïj 81
ʒɣijɛt 73
ʒɣo Fr. cheval 81
ʒɣo Fr. cheveu(x) 81

ɣi Fr. huit 229
ɣil Fr. huile 232
ɣit, ɣt, ɣi-z 35, 114

Corrections.

In a number of cases the correction here noted is simply an attempt to make a more accurate record. In as far as possible attention has been called to the correction in the Word index.

Page

1, foot-note 8, l. 7 for Frechette read Fréchette
5 insert *æ̃* just after *æ*
5 „ after *ɲ* the symbol *ŋ* E. ***thing***
6 „ *ŋ* under *g* in the space: Velar, Nasals
6 tabulate the nasal *æ̃* with the oral *æ*
6 „ *ɤ*, instead of mid-front-narrow-round, as the high-front-wide-round vowel described on p. 52, under 5
10, list 1, no. 38 for *sab◡* read *sab◡*
„ 44 „ *sɔrtiɤ◡* „ *sɔrtiɤ◡*
„ 49 „ *vargl◡* „ *vargl◡*
10, foot-note 5 „ note „ foot-note
12, l. 14 „ note „ foot-note
15, foot-note 1 „ NB. „ N. B.
„ 2 (p. 16) „ D. H. T. „ H. D. T.
17, list 9, no. 8 „ *ærʒɛ* „ *ærʒɛ̃*
„ 10 „ *a:ral* „ *aral*
„ 21 „ *p◡sa:ʒe* „ *p◡sa:ʒe*
„ 24 „ *satɛ̃* „ *satɛ̃*
17, 3. ll. 6 and 8 „ Ste. Anne „ Ste Anne
18, list 10, no. 15 „ *o·ba:ʒ* „ *o·barʒ*
18, foot-note 6 „ Idem „ Ibidem
19, list 11, no. 34 „ *kɔ̃·sarvatɤr* „ *kɔ̃·sarvatɤ:r*
19, foot-note 1 „ *barso* and *barʒri* „ *barso* and *barʒri*
20, list 12, no. 4 „ *ap◡ti:r* „ *ap◡ti:r*
21, 4. no. 7 „ *kuan* „ *kwan*
„ 9 „ *rekwiam* „ *rekɥiam*
22, no. 7 „ *kuan* „ *kwan*
23, Note, l. 2 „ *a* „ *a*
25, list 14, no. 2 „ *bane:r* „ *bane:r*
„ 3 „ *b◡rje:r* „ *b◡rje:r*
(In all cases where ◡ is written, ◡· or ◡: appears to be more nearly accurate.)

Page

25, list 14, no. 5 for *bulɑ̃·ʒe:r* read *bulɑ̃·ʒe:r*
25, foot-note 3 „ notes „ foot-notes
25, foot-notes 7, 11 „ Idem „ Ibidem
27, list 6, no. 2 „ *egrɑ̃·di:r* „ *egrɑ̃·di:r*
(In all similar instances, as in ordinary French, the final syllable is rather long.)
27, list 6, no. 9 for *retɤrsir* read *retɤrsi:r*
27, *β*. l. 2 „ *ezarbe* „ *ezarbe*
27, *γ*. no. 6 „ *mekardi* „ *mekardi*
27, foot-note 2 „ Idem „ Ibidem
„ 4 „ note „ foot-note
28, list 16, no. 13 „ *fiɛr* „ *fjɛr*
29, „ 16, „ 31 „ *parfɛt* „ *parfɛt*
29, foot-notes 2, 6 „ note „ foot-note
30, list 17, no. 15 „ *kɔ̃·kjɛt* „ *kɔ̃·ɛt*
30, „ 18, „ 9 „ *karɑ:ʒɔ̃* „ *karɑ:ʒɔ̃*
„ 14 „ *mɔ̃ʒɔ̃* „ *meʒɔ̃*
31, 4. l. 5 „ *r◡a* „ *rwa*
32, l. 1 „ *language* „ *langage*
34. list 20, no. 10 „ *trɑ̃·kil* „ *trɑ̃·eil*
35, Sp. cases, no. 4 „ *iguin* „ *igwin*
35, l. 1 under Special cases „ Dialect *i* in nos. 1, 2, 5, etc. „ Dialect *i* in nos. 1, 2, 4, 5. etc.
37, list 24, no. 1 „ *derosiɑ̃* „ *derosjɑ̃*
„ 2 „ *emosiɑ̃* „ *emosjɑ̃*
38, Sp. cases, no. 8 „ *oxordɥi* „ *o·xordɥi*
41, list 27a, no. 10 „ *otan* „ *o·tan*
(In cases similar to the two just noted, where the French spelling is *au*, the approximate correct representation appears to be *o·* rather than *o*.)
44, 7. l. 2 for *travors* read *travors*
45, Note „ *epol◡siɛ̃* „ *epol◡sjɛ̃*

Page				
50,	middle	for	*tyːr*	read *tɥe*
52,	5. l. 4	„	open *r*	„ open *y* (= *r*)
59,	middle paragr.	„	though	„ tho
59,	list 38. no. 1	„	*aparswa*	„ *aparswa*
61,	Note, l. 1	„	where ever	„ wherever
66,	3. no. 1	„	*ɔstin*	„ *ɔstine*
67,	list 44, no. 4	„	*apsɔlusjɑ̃*	„ *apsɔlysjɑ̃*
	„ 9	„	*ɔpɛ̃d*	„ *ɔpɛ̃ːd*
70,	middle, Cf. etc.	„	*yn duzɛn*	„ *yn duzɛn*
70,	6. l. 8	„	Dubois	„ Du Bois
72.	no. 7	„	*pɑ̃nɑ̃*	„ *pɑ̃ːnɑ̃*
73,	list 47, no. 2	„	*ɛ̃ːkjɛt*	„ *ɛ̃ːcjɛt*
74,	„ 48, „ 2	„	*ɛ̃ːkjɛt*	„ *ɛ̃ːcjɛt*

(Before front vowels, *c* rather than *k*, and *ɟ* rather than *g*, is the rule.)

74,	l. 10	for	*tu l zuːr*	read *tu l ʒuːr*
74,	9. Sp. cas., no. 6	„	*nɔrdɛ*	„ *nordɛ*
74,	foot-note 1	„	*abese*	„ *abese*, Fr. abécé
75,	no. 6	„	*nɔrdɛ*	„ *nordɛ*
76,	no. 9	„	*kafjere*	„ *kafjeːr*
76,	Note, l. 2	„	*futiam*	„ *futjam*
76,	3. no. 3	„	*delikates*	„ *delikatɛs*
77,	list 49, no. 5	„	sècher	„ sécher
77,	„ 50, „ 1	„	*ɛskysab*	„ *ɛscyzab*
	„ 2	„	*ɛskyːz*	„ *ɛscyːz*
	„ 3	„	*ɛskyze*	„ *ɛscyze*
80,	3. no. 3	„	*pɛf*	„ *pɛːf*
81,	2. no. 2	„	*rezɥːir*	„ *rezɥiːr*
81,	list 52, no. 6	„	*ʒvij*	„ *ʒviːj* and also in foot-note 1
82,	list 53, no. 4	„	*ganf*	read *ganɟ*
84,	fine print to no. 5 end	„	*fiɔn*	„ *fiɲɔn*
84,	3. no. 2	„	*fiak*	„ *fjak*
86,	list 53a, no. 23	„	*ocɑ̃*	„ *oːcɑ̃*
86,	middle, last l.	„	*ocɛ̃*	„ *oːcɛ̃*
86,	foot-note 2, last word	„	*ɑ̃trəcɛ̃*	„ *ɑ̃ːtrəcɛ̃*
87,	list 54, no. 14	„	*macer*	„ *maceːr*
88,	„ 55, „ 11	„	*fojer*	„ *fojeːr*
88,	„ 56, „ 25	„	*joːz*	„ *joːz*
88,	foot-note 6	„	*piar*	„ *pjaːr*
90,	no. 2	„	*kulor*	„ *kuloːr*
91,	Remark	„	*bəlwe, bəlɥe, bəlue*	„ *bəlwɛ, bəlɥɛ, bəluɛ*
93,	list 57, no. 11	„	*fɑ̃ːfərlyf*	„ *fɑ̃ːfərlyf*
	„ 21	„	*otorfwa*	„ *oːtərfwa*
93,	foot-note 2	„	*garnuj*	„ *garnuːj*
94,	list 58, no. 5	„	retrécir	„ rétrécir
94,	8. no. 4	„	*morkoːrdi*	„ *mərkərdi*

Page				
95,	list 60, no. 6	for	*cɛːtr*	read *cɛːtr*
97,	„ 63, „ 8	„	*rɑ̃ːbrisaːʒ*	„ *rɑ̃ːbrisaːʒ*
98,	no. 7, l. 4	„	*nɔrwa*	„ *norwa*
100,	no. 2, l. 3	„	*reɶ̃nir*	„ *rəɶ̃niːr*
	l. 4	„	*remniːr*	„ *rəmniːr*
100,	2. Sp. cas., no. 6	„	vergne	„ verne (vergne)
101,	list 64, no. 1	„	*baneːr*	„ *bajeːr*
102,	4. Sp. cas., no. 3	„	vergne, verne	„ vergne (verne)
103,	middle	„	F. Aranjo	„ F. Araujo
103,	list 66, no. 5	„	*dəxor*	„ *dəxoːr*
	„ 7	„	*foxe*	„ *foːxe*
	„ 16	„	*xor*	„ *xoːr*
	„ 18	„	*xozɛf*	„ *xoːzɛf*
	„ 20	„	*xur*	„ *xuːr*
104,	„ 29	„	*oxordɥi, oʒordɥi*	„ *oːxordɥi, oːʒordɥi*
108,	list 67, no. 17	„	*oːtel*	„ *oːtɛl*
113,	just before 8	add to *kək* or *kɛk*:		*cək* or *cɛk*
114,	Note, l. 2	for	bay des Chaleurs	read Baie des Chaleurs
115,	1, l. 6	„	*nouz*	„ *nuz*
117,	5. no. 4	„	*pardone*	„ *pardɔne*
	„ 7	„	preterez	„ prêterez
118,	Remark 2, no. 3 bottom	„	*mekriːr*	„ *m ekriːr*
127,	1°. l. 4	„	Fr. *cel*	„ celle
128,	§ LI, no. 8	„	*le ʒvo*	„ *lə ʒvo*
128,	§ LI(A), l. 5	„	*ci kə sə*	„ *ci kə sɛ*
135,	3. l. 3	„	preterite	„ preterit
143,	middle, 3d ex.	„	*ɔbejːr*	„ *ɔbejiːr*
154,	l. 4	„	*tu d syɥt*	„ *tu t syɥt*
155,	foot-note 2	„	Behren's	„ Behrens'
162,	l. 5, no. 8	„	*ezarbe*	„ *ezarbe*
165,	no. 27	„	*frɛːt*	„ *frɛt*
168,	5. (bottom)	„	*p ɑ̃ tut*	„ *pɑ̃ːtut*
169,	6. l. 1	„	*dɑ̃ pə d tɑ̃ (tɛ̃)*	„ *dɑ̃ pə t tɑ̃ (tɛ̃)*
173,	no. 22	„	*oːsitɔ kə*	„ *oːsito kə*
198,	no. 99	„	*kafjɛːr*	„ *kafjeːr*
199,	no. 101	„	*karge*	„ *karʒe*
199,	no. 101, 2	„	*gard*	„ *gard*
199,	no. 103	„	*piɛs*	„ *pjɛs*
200,	no. 107, 1	„	*par*	„ *par*
	2	„	*arieːr*	„ *arjeːr*
201.	l. 5	„	*clapet* canadien	„ *clapet* acadien
201,	no. 114, ex.	„	*pɔːrti*	„ *parti*
202,	l. 6	„	*ɔ̃k*	„ *ɔ̃ːk*
202,	Note at end, after = le gâter	add	Rivard.	

Page				
205, foot-note 2	for	*kɔ̆·rjɔl* (or *kɔrjɔl*)	read	*kɔ̆·rjɔl* (or *kɔrjɔl*)
206, no. 131, l. 2	„	(1643)	„	(1635)
	„	(1692)	„	(1672)
207, no. 132, l. 3	„	*epɔl◡·siæ̃*	„	*epɔl◡·sjæ̃*
211, no. 151, l. 5	„	sur	„	súr
214, no. 170, l. 4	„	*papa*	„	*papɔ◡*
215, no. 174	„	*fɔ̆:to*	„	*fɔ̆·to*
215, no. 177, l. 4	„	*otɔn*	„	*o·tɔn*
220, no. 27	„	*piaːr*	„	*pjaːr*
220, no. 27 a	„	*piaro*	„	*pjaro*
221, no. 4, l. 2	„	*arfɑ̃:bo*	„	*arfɑ̃·bo*
221, no. 6, l. 2	„	*kɛsiæ̃*	„	*kɛsjæ̃*
222, no. 20, l. 3	„	*basjɛ̃*	„	*basjɛ̃*
224, no. 37, l. 4	for	*adɛ*	read	*adɛ*
226, no. 55, l. 3	„	*piɛs*	„	*pjɛs*
227, l. 12	„	Tardival	„	Tardivel
227, 8 lines from bottom	„	*waːr*	„	*waʊ̯ːr)*
230, no. 12, l. 4	„	traine	„	traîne
231, l. 3	„	*rərəniːr*	„	*rərəniːr*
233, no. 35, l. 3	„	*depɥ*	„	*dəpɥ*
234, no. 40, l. 4	„	*ʒ arĩ̃*	„	*ʒ avjɔ̃*
236, no. 54, l. 2	„	*debarke*	„	*debarce*
237, no. 64, l. 3	„	*riɛ̃dr◡*	„	*vjɛ̃·dr◡*
254, l. 1	„	*rɔdə*	„	*rodə*
257, no. 20, l. 5	„	Frechette	„	Fréchette

PRINTED IN THE OFFICE OF EHRHARDT KARRAS, HALLE A. S.

BINDING SECT. APR 15 1968

PC
3642
C3G4

Geddes, James
Study of an Acadian-French dialect

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY